

# China War Spells Doom For Japanese Imperialism

## CHIANG KAI-SHEK GOV'T WEAKENS CHINA'S FIGHT BY SUPPRESSING MASSES

(Continued from page 1)

capital invested went into war industries and in the first quarter this year this rose to 70 per cent. And these industries are a drain, not a source of revenue.

While in the rest of the world prices are dropping, Japan's price level was 13.8 higher in the first quarter of this year than it was in 1937. Exports, vital to the maintenance of Japan's light industrial plant, have fallen off 20 per cent with no prospects of recovery. Everywhere Japan's rivals are gleefully pouncing on the markets she had gained and which she is now obliged to abandon at a rapid rate. Japan's gold reserves and credit abroad have sagged to the point where cash alone will serve, and in this important commodity Japan is now seriously lacking.

### Growing Stringency

On the home front, these difficulties have been translated into growing stringency, increasingly severe measures of governmental control over industry and trade, the depression of an already low standard of living and corresponding growth first of apathy and soon of outright hostility on the part of a population unwilling for very long to accept propaganda tracts in the place of rice. Japan has already barred the use of cotton domestically and rigid control has been established over the manufacture, trade and use of 17 major commodities including copper, gasoline, oil, pig iron, steel, wool fabrics, leather, rubber, lead, tin, zinc, nickel and antimony.

To cope with the multiplying difficulties, the Japanese government is transforming itself, step by step, into an outright military dictatorship. Japan's principal rivals, the United States and Great Britain, will not, certainly, come to her aid. Her friends, Germany and Italy, cannot do so. Unless the international situation alters radically in her favor, Japan is destined in the not too distant future to suffer the most profound internal convulsions.

### The Chinese Bourgeoisie

In continuing to offer resistance to Japan, the Chinese bourgeoisie is gambling on this prospect. From a Japan threatened with internal collapse it hopes to secure the most favorable possible terms. As against this, it counts on holding out until British and/or American imperialism is finally compelled to intervene and save the Chinese bourgeoisie from Japan by yoking it more securely to chariot wheels of the City and/or Wall Street. Which it is to be will be decided, in turn, by the outcome of the struggle between British and American imperialism for world domination. In the meantime the Chinese bourgeoisie will continue to exploit the limitless man power at its disposal—man power which has given a glimpse in the past year of its capacity for heroism and sacrifice—and to depend on the magnitude of the country itself—to tire out the attacker.

Throughout the first year of the war, the Chinese bourgeoisie has dared only to conduct a purely military-defensive struggle. It has succeeded in making the invasion a costly adventure for Japan, as we have seen, but it has also shown that such methods cannot effectively withstand the imperialist attack and will not, certainly, serve the interests of Chinese national liberation. So long as the leadership of China remains in the hands of the bourgeoisie, the outcome will be either a compromise with Japan or the subjection of China to the United States and Great Britain. Neither eventually will free China. Neither will liberate the masses who are bearing the chief burdens of the conflict of which they are also the principal victims.

### A Revolutionary War

The war against Japanese imperialism will be forced to a victorious and liberating conclusion only when it is clearly linked in the minds of the masses with their own struggle in their own behalf. Only in this way will it be possible to galvanize the vast man power of the country. This will require bold social measures that will prevent the merchants, bankers, and landlords from continuing to load the costs of the war on the backs of the exploited. A still bolder revolutionary program, identifying for the peasantry the aims of national liberation from imperialist aggression with their own liberation from thralldom on the land, will bring forth reserves of physical and moral strength against which the Japanese invaders will never be able to prevail. Partisan warfare waged by such forces will make

China as unconquerable as Siberia was when it was overrun by the invading armies of the interventionist powers 20 years ago.

But such a war cannot be made to order. In the years when it was a revolutionary peasant force, the Chinese Red Army was able to withstand the superior forces of the Kuomintang precisely because it unlocked the simple secret of successful partisan warfare. "Because the masses are interested only in the practical solution of their problems of livelihood," Peng Teh-huai, a Red leader once said, "it is possible to develop partisan warfare only by the immediate satisfaction of their most urgent demands. This means that the exploiting class must be promptly disarmed and immobilized."

### Stalinist Capitulation

In other words, the fight could be carried forward against Japan by rousing the masses to the realization, in word and in action, that this fight was identical with the struggle for the land, by intensifying, not by suspending the class struggle. By its complete capitulation to the Kuomintang, the Red Army abandoned this struggle. In return for a bloc with the bourgeoisie—in whom Stalin placed all his hopes for a Chinese fall against Japan—the Red Army surrendered its leadership of the peasants and fore-swear the mobilization of the working class, already long since abandoned by the Communist Party. The Eighth Route Army—the former Red Army—has played a brilliant but limited role in the military events of the past year. It surrendered the opportunity events offered to it to play an infinitely more heroic role on an incomparably higher plane. The bourgeoisie, for its part, was no more willing than it was in the days of the first "anti-imperialist united front" of eleven years ago to abdicate any of its own fundamental economic interests.

With the connivance of the Communist Party, it has set up a fraudulent "People's Council"—an appointed body of docile Kuomintang bureaucrats and a few futile intellectuals plus seven captive Communist Party delegates—as a forerunner of the "democracy" which it promises. In this deception the Stalinists have participated with only the faintest whisper to the general effect that they had hoped for a more democratic body. Actually the bourgeoisie is making just as certain now, as it did in 1927, to keep the workers and peasants yoked to its wheel, to make them bear the cost of the war and to prevent them from rising to struggle in their own interest.

### Death to Strikers

The workers, who had begun in 1935-36—a year of economic recovery—to reassemble their scattered forces and to conduct increasingly bold and militant strikes, were thrust back by the war, which has caused such terrific destruction in the chief industrial centers and which naturally checked the brief economic upturn. To insure itself against any attempt by the workers to reject the new loads now laid upon them, the Kuomintang government has established the death penalty for workers who dare to strike or even agitate for a strike. With these policies in general, the Communist Party, to use Wang Ming's words, has declared itself "fully satisfied."

The further course of the war in China will be determined by many factors, near to and remote from present-day battlefields, but the cause of Chinese national liberation will be served in the coming period only to the degree that the masses cease being as "fully satisfied" with the continuing domination of the bourgeois exploiters. This will in turn depend upon the emergence of a new revolutionary party capable of marshalling the workers and peasants in their own organizations and of embarking with them on the path of revolutionary struggle. Such a party will have to know how to join in the present battles side by side with Chiang Kai-shek or "the devil himself," but it will also have to be ready to continue the fight when the Chiang Kai-sheks abandon it—as they did a decade ago—and to carry on the struggle against all who would seek to bar the way to the victory of the workers and peasants in the Chinese revolution of tomorrow.

ASK FOR THE APPEAL AT YOUR NEWSSTAND

## How Stalin Gov't Aids China War

Writing to a friend in the United States, Madame Chiang Kai-shek, wife of the Chinese dictator, describes the assistance which is being given to China's fight against Japanese imperialism by the Stalin regime in the Soviet Union.

Says Madame Chiang: "Indeed, the Russian attitude toward China is exactly similar to that of the so-called imperialists. Russia wants no more to make an outward show of helping China than does America. Both seem to be animated by the one idea, to sell equipment for cash—and be sure of getting the cash first. We have to pay for Russian planes as we have to pay for American planes. We have to pay for Russian volunteers to fly them as we have to pay for Americans." ("New York Times," July 10, 1938.)

In its China policy, as in its international policy generally, the counter-revolutionary Stalinist bureaucracy consistently destroys the reputation of the first workers' state as the true and disinterested champion of the nations and peoples oppressed by imperialism—a reputation built up, not under the regime of Stalin, but under the regime of Lenin and Trotsky.

## RADIO IS USED TO GENERATE WAR HYSTERIA

The conscious campaign of American imperialism to whip up the lagging patriotism of the American masses, a campaign initiated at the secret conference between Roosevelt, army and navy heads and representatives of the kings of United States finance capital, proceeds at an ever-growing pace.

A remarkable brazen piece of incitement—brazen, at least, at this stage of the game—was to be heard on the radio the evening of July 7, on a program sponsored by the company selling "Tenderleaf Tea." Here an open appeal was made to encourage every patriot snoper and busy-body to cooperate with the Federal Bureau of Investigation in gathering the names of "trouble-makers."

The program is one of those everlasting serial plays, known as "One Man's Family," and deals with the experiences of the family of Henry Barbour, a San Francisco stock-broker. Paul, eldest of the Barbour children, at the program's inception some years ago, was a representative of the "lost generation," a philosophical pacifist war veteran who nursed his wounds carefully and wrote books.

With the growth of the program's popularity and achievement of a nationwide hook-up, Paul has progressed to some sort of a volunteer G-man, and is frequently absent from the family freestone on mysterious journeys. It was the family discussion of one trip that set the stage for last week's bit of propaganda.

To protect "Democracy" after praising collective security as the solution of the world's ills, and neatly poking holes in the fallacious theory of "isolation," Paul let it be known that his mysterious expeditions were for the purpose of protecting "democracy" on the home front.

"We on the West Coast," said Paul, "are especially in danger from advocates of alien ideas and trouble-makers of all sorts." And, in reply to a question from his younger brother, Paul told his family—and several millions of eavesdroppers—to gather the names and addresses of these trouble-makers.

"Do you mean that the Federal Bureau of Investigation would like the names of trouble-makers?" another member of the family asked.

"Yes, and all potential trouble-makers," the amateur G-man replied.

It is interesting to note that the West Coast, where one of the most militant and least patriotic labor movements in the United States exists, is singled out for this attack.

The Intended Victims

Just who are these "trouble-makers" that the Federal agents are interested in enough to seek information from the vast radio audience of America? Japanese spies? Members of the Nazi Bund?

Not at all, we think. Soon enough will revolutionists be called "Japanese spies" and "agents of Hitler." The Stalinists have already let out that cry.

We have only to look back to the days of the last war to see who receives the brunt of the attack of the "patriots": the discontented workers, the rebellious strikers, the forthright revolutionists.

## Divide and Rule Policy Explains Palestine Riots

The long-smoldering antagonisms in Palestine have again flared into armed fighting between Arab and Jewish groups and between Arab nationalists and British troops. Great Britain has rushed two additional cruisers, close to 2,000 marines, and two battalions of colonial troops from Egypt to assist the 8,500 soldiers already stationed in the mandated territory to quell the Arab general strike and uprising.

More than 100 Jews and Arabs have been slain and over 200 wounded in the fighting that has been raging since July 7. The spark which ignited the present conflagration was the hanging of Ben Yosef, reactionary Revisionist Zionist, by the British authorities. He had been convicted of terrorist activity against the Arabs and his execution immediately set off violent Jewish-Arab battles.

The Arab movement, like movements for colonial liberation everywhere, endangers imperialism and native landlordism. For this reason, Great Britain and the Arab Effendis (landlords) have for years desperately sought to divert this movement into channels harmless to themselves. The main aim of Great Britain, since it received the Mandate, has been to rule Palestine by fomenting strife between the Arab and Jewish people.

The crassest proposal yet made by Great Britain is the "Partition Plan." England aims to divide Palestine into three parts — an Arab state, a tiny Jewish State with an Arab minority of some 300,000 population, and a British military zone. This policy is designed to intensify still further the friction between Arab and Jew and would allow Britain a free hand over the entire area by unlimited control over the military area. The attempt to put over this plan is at the root of the present conflict. The Arab masses seek to prevent the division of their land by their own armed intervention.

Britain is Responsible

In spite of all London's protestations about the need for British troops to maintain order in Palestine, imperialist Britain bears direct and primary responsibility for the sanguinary fighting between Arab and Jew. Palestine is for Britain a center of the greatest strategic importance, protecting the route to India, defending the Suez Canal, intersecting important railway lines, and serving as the terminus for oil pipelines from Iraq, which provide Britain with a necessary refueling base.

To maintain her hold over

this Eastern Gibraltar, Mother England seeks to divide the Arab and Jewish masses by stirring up race riots. The explanation for the Jewish-Arab conflict is to be found in this fact. Britain, aided by the Arab landlords, who fear the nationalist movement for their own reasons, has succeeded in imparting to the Arab movement a pogromist character, thus leading it away from its legitimate objective of colonial liberation and threatening it with self-destruction.

The Zionist movement is carefully utilized by Great Britain. This is especially true of its most reactionary section, the Revisionists, who seek to organize terror bands against the Arabs and offer themselves as tools of British imperialism against Arab nationalism. England has hypocritically promised to make Palestine a homeland for the Jews. But this is sheer duplicity. No sympathy for the victims of Anti-semitic persecution stirs in Britain's breast.

### Empire Doors Closed

As a matter of fact, the doors of the British Empire are closed to the Jews. Even the number admitted to Palestine is a miserable handful. Actually, Britain forbids the Jewish masses to arm themselves, cuts down immigration quotas to the bone, and prevents the building of Jewish industry for fear of the development of an industrial proletariat. Britain is motivated by only one desire in her toleration of Zionism.

She seeks to use the Jews as a buffer against the Arab movement, to lead the Arab nationalists into the false belief that the independence of their land is threatened, not by British imperialism, but by the Jews. Zionism is permitted so that, Hitler fashion, Britain can utilize the Jewish people as a scapegoat for the Arab masses. At the same time Britain encourages Arab agitation against the Jews with the aim of instilling a deep hatred for the Arab people among the Jewish masses.

And for this, the Zionist movement is willing to support and defend British domination of Palestine and to fight against Arab independence!

### Danger of Disunity

The greatest danger facing the Palestine people, both Arabs and Jews, is disunity. The struggle between Arab and Jew benefits only Great Britain and the imperialist system. The burning need of the moment is a unified movement based on a struggle to overthrow the dominance of British imperialism and for the independence of Palestine. This is no Utopian goal.

## Some More Questions

# TO MOISSAYE OLGIN

By MAX SHACHTMAN

Since our Open Letter to you concerning the fate of your two old friends, Juliet Stuart Poyntz and Noah London, further information has come to our attention which warrants some comment by you.

We asked last week: "What assurance have you that tomorrow or the next day, you will not face—not the firing squad in a G.P.U. cellar, but the murderous slander campaign against the expelled scapegoat?"

We came a little closer to the mark, it appears, than we thought.

For is it not true that you, who go to the Soviet Union almost every year for a visit, were refused a visa by the Soviet authorities when you tried to arrange for your periodic visit a few months ago?

Is it not true that the refusal was based upon the fact that, servile to the Stalinist machine though you are, ready as you always are to apologize for its hideous crimes, it nevertheless was apprehensive about your possible reaction to the "absence" of all your old friends that you would note as soon as you arrived in Moscow? That virtually every single one of your old acquaintances and associates in the old days of the Polish Bund, the socialist movement in which you were raised, the men and women who finally went over to the Third International, has recently been shot or imprisoned? That virtually every one of your old intimates of the Jewish Section of the Russian Communist Party has met the same fate?

And is it not true that, in order to assuage your feelings, which were so badly hurt at the refusal of a visa to the land you claim as your fatherland, the party here organized a series of "birthday banquets" and celebrations in the main cities, and finally sent you on a junket to California, which, while it has not established "complete socialism," at least has a safer climate—if you know what we mean?

And is it not true that your good friend A. A. Heller, the angel of the International Publishers, staunch Stalinist like yourself, was also refused a Soviet visa at the same time, perhaps because the G.P.U. remembered the vigorous protest against its abuses made by Mrs. Heller the last time the couple lived in Moscow?

Don't you think that your "public," whose flattering applause has always been such intoxicating music to your ears, is entitled to a plain-spoken statement from you regarding the matters touched on here? Don't you think, finally, that it might be well, in the same statement, to say a few words about the mysterious disappearance—not so mysterious, perhaps!—of your good friends of yesterday, Juliet Poyntz and Noah London?

### Knives Workers



INDALECIO PRIETO

## PRIETO LETTER REVEALS HOW REVOLUTIONARIES IN SPAIN WERE WIPED OUT

How the Prieto-Stalinist government of Loyalist Spain "cleaned up" the revolutionaries by sending them to the most dangerous sectors of the front to be finished off by Franco is revealed by Prieto himself in a cynically frank letter alleged to have been sent by him to Fernando de los Rios, Ambassador to the United States, shortly after the Barcelona May Days of 1937.

This letter, and the accompanying article, appeared in *Independence News*, Paris, for June 26, 1938, where it was stated that the letter was reprinted from *Espagne Nouvelle*, No. 50-51, and that it had previously been published in underground Spanish papers.

"At last the most important part of the clean-up behind the lines has been accomplished. In Barcelona, as throughout the province, the machinery of the F.A.I. and C.N.T. has now been broken up; their most dangerous elements are dead or in prison; what is still more important is that those who have returned to reason are today convinced, or at least tamed.

Saw Easy Task

"But the strongest resistance having been broken, it will be very easy for us to carry on a

repression without violence and without effort, but so efficaciously that the work will be completed shortly.

"We still fear, however, that the brigades of these elements remaining at present at the front might leave to come to the aid of their organizations. But I believe they will not dare do so. It would be very difficult, moreover, for them to organize such a movement. Furthermore, we have decided to proceed on the various fronts with a series of offensives for which we shall use the F.A.I. and C.N.T. elements first as shock troops. We have also decided to transfer these elements to the most dangerous sectors. Thus the Rebels themselves will help us to complete the clean-up, for which we should be grateful to them.

### Pleasing Their "Friends"

"By following this policy, we shall please, as you know, the three countries that have given us the most assistance and that have lately demanded such a policy from us." (Excerpt from a letter from Indalecio Prieto, dated May 25, 1937, at Valencia, and addressed to don Fernando de los Rios, Spanish Ambassador in Washington.)

The contents of Prieto's letter are of capital importance. They demonstrate irrefutably the theory we have many times set forth in this publication, that the May days were carefully prepared by the Stalinists and reformists with the complicity, as this letter indicates, of the minister of national defense.

Prieto also confirms in very clear fashion the way in which the government itself proceeded to disorganize the Aragon front—first destroying the revolutionary military brigades by exposing them to the enemy's fire (it was thus that the 29th Lening.-P.O.U.M. Brigade was dissolved and later, to a lesser extent, those of the C.N.T.-F.A.I.) and then withdrawing thousands of men from the front to augment the forces against the proletariat in the rear.

### Planned Mass Murder

Prieto knew, too, that the revolutionary organizations would not recall their forces from the front because they were too conscious of the stakes in the civil war; that was why the government did not hesitate to send revolutionary volunteers to fight, without artillery or aviation, an enemy ten times superior in equipment, heedless of whether that inferiority might lead to the demoralization of the war fronts, such as unfortunately occurred on the Aragon front when the fascists launched their drive.

That is why the new military brigades, formed from elements politically supported by the Stalinists and reformists, as for instance the 41st Brigade, demoralized and without revolutionary spirit, ranks as well as leaders, crossed the French frontier without offering resistance or giving battle to the fascists, who were easily able to reach Lerida.

### Disastrous Policy

Prieto's policy, which he himself reveals in this letter, led to all these disasters. Now that he has fallen into disgrace, he has plenty of time to meditate on the consequences of his betrayal of the Spanish proletarian revolution which he helped to destroy, he and the Stalinists, under the pressure of the "three countries" that have given Spain the most assistance.

## Stalin Murders Foreign Communists In U.S.S.R.

(Continued from page 1)

the Polish C. P. supported Pilsudski's uprising in 1926. (It is not amiss to point out that comrade Trotsky was an uncompromising opponent of this tactic.)

### Shot for "Espionage"

Simultaneously with the arrest of Sokhatsky and Voyevudsky came the arrest of the following members of the Central Committee: Klonovich, Khrostel, Yulskii-Bukshorn. They were all shot in 1934.

In the same year they shot Vandursky — poet, proponent of proletarian art in Poland, and former head of the Polish theatre in Kiev—and Teshner (Anton Werner), member of the C.C. of the Polish Y.C.L. Both of them were shot in connection with the Sokhatsky case—for espionage.

They were all "exposed" by Lensky and his group. After their execution—the Polish party press was filled with articles about the "exposed provocateurs" and about the radiant plans for the future now that the "atmosphere has been purified." Stalin, however, did not rest content with these victims. Additional ones became necessary—and it was now the turn of Lensky and his group.

### Lensky Group Purged

It began with the arrest (and execution?) of the well-known writer Bruno Jasensky, author of the novels "I Set Fire to Paris" and "The Man Who Changed His Skin," which created a sensation. He was accused of ties with Yagoda's tool, Auerbach, and the "Polish spy" Domsky, former member of the C. C. of the Polish C. P. who was already in exile for many years. Later, the following were arrested (and shot?): Lensky ("The Polish Stalin"), general secretary of the Polish C. C., Albert Henrikowsky, a well-known member of the Proletarian, and Bronkowsky.

Of the former collaborators of Varsky and Kostzeva, the following were arrested during the recent purges: Valetsky (Horowitz), Lapinsky, a prominent member of the Berlin embassy, later the head of the foreign department of Izvestia, and Unschlicht.

### II—Germany

After the seizure of power by the Nazis, many prominent German Communists fled to the U.S.S.R., where a worse fate awaited them than in Hitler's Germany. In 1934 began arrests and executions among the German emigres in the U.S.S.R. We give a list, far from complete, of the victims of Stalinist terror.

### German Emigres Shot

Herman Kupferstein and his wife departed from Paris for Moscow in 1935. He was a prominent member of the League of Red Front Fighters (R.F.B.). In 1932, he had shot two officers on Buelowplatz in Berlin. In Paris he was one of the leaders of the German communist emigres. He was shot in Moscow as an agent of the Gestapo. After his death, the G.P.U. spread rumors to the effect that 2,000 English Pounds had been found in his possession during the raid.

Ernst Ottwald—in 1927 he left the ranks of the Nazis to join the C.P.G. He played a prominent role in the League of Revolutionary Proletarian Writers. Author of a series of novels exposing national socialism (Nazism). After Hitler's assumption of power, he lived in Prague. In 1936, he left for the U.S.S.R. together with his wife, and there they both were arrested as agents of the Gestapo. Gunther — another well-known

member of the League of Revolutionary Proletarian Writers. Arrested in Moscow on the charge of espionage.

### Executed as Spies

The following former members of the Central Committee of the German Communist Party have been arrested and shot as spies: Heinz Neumann, Hermann Remmele, and Schubert, a deputy in the Landtag.

Werner Hirsch — a bourgeois journalist, joined the C.P.G. in 1924 and from that time has been the closest henchman of Thaelmann. After Hitler's assumption of power, Hirsch was arrested but shortly set free. During one of his conspiratorial meetings with Thaelmann, they were both arrested. Hirsch was sent to a concentration camp. Owing to his mother's influential connections, he was set free in 1935, and fled to the U.S.S.R. where he was arrested as an agent of the Gestapo and the organizer of Thaelmann's arrest. In 1937 he was shot. His wife was in the employ of the Paris office of the T.A.S.S. In 1936 she was freed. At present she is living together with her child in great want in southern France.

In 1937, the following were arrested: Ziskind, former editor of the Rote Fahne in Berlin; Nikolaus Birkenhauer, former editor of the Ruhr Echo, in 1933-1934 secretary of the Political Bureau of the C.P.G. in Paris, and later, after the Seventh World Congress of the Comintern, head of the Paris Committee for the defense of Thaelmann.

### Victims Pile Up

In the summer of 1937 Kurt Sauerland, the former editor of Roter Aufbau in Berlin, was arrested in Moscow.

Since 1936 the following have been incarcerated: the Austrian physician Gerber, former collaborator in the central theoretical organ of the C.P.G., Die Internationale; Boross, the former editor of the Internationale Presse Korrespondenz, and later editor of the Rundschau, who was famous for his dispatches concerning the U.S.S.R. and his paeans of praise to Stalin; and Professor Halle, a prominent member of the C.P.G.

At the end of May 1937 they shot in Moscow Rudolf Haus (Hausschild), a specialist in military questions in the C.P.G. whose articles appeared in Pravda and Izvestia. He "confessed" to espionage for the Reichwehr.

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# NOT GUILTY

## REPORT OF THE COMMISSION OF INQUIRY INTO THE CHARGES MADE AGAINST LEON TROTSKY IN THE MOSCOW TRIALS

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