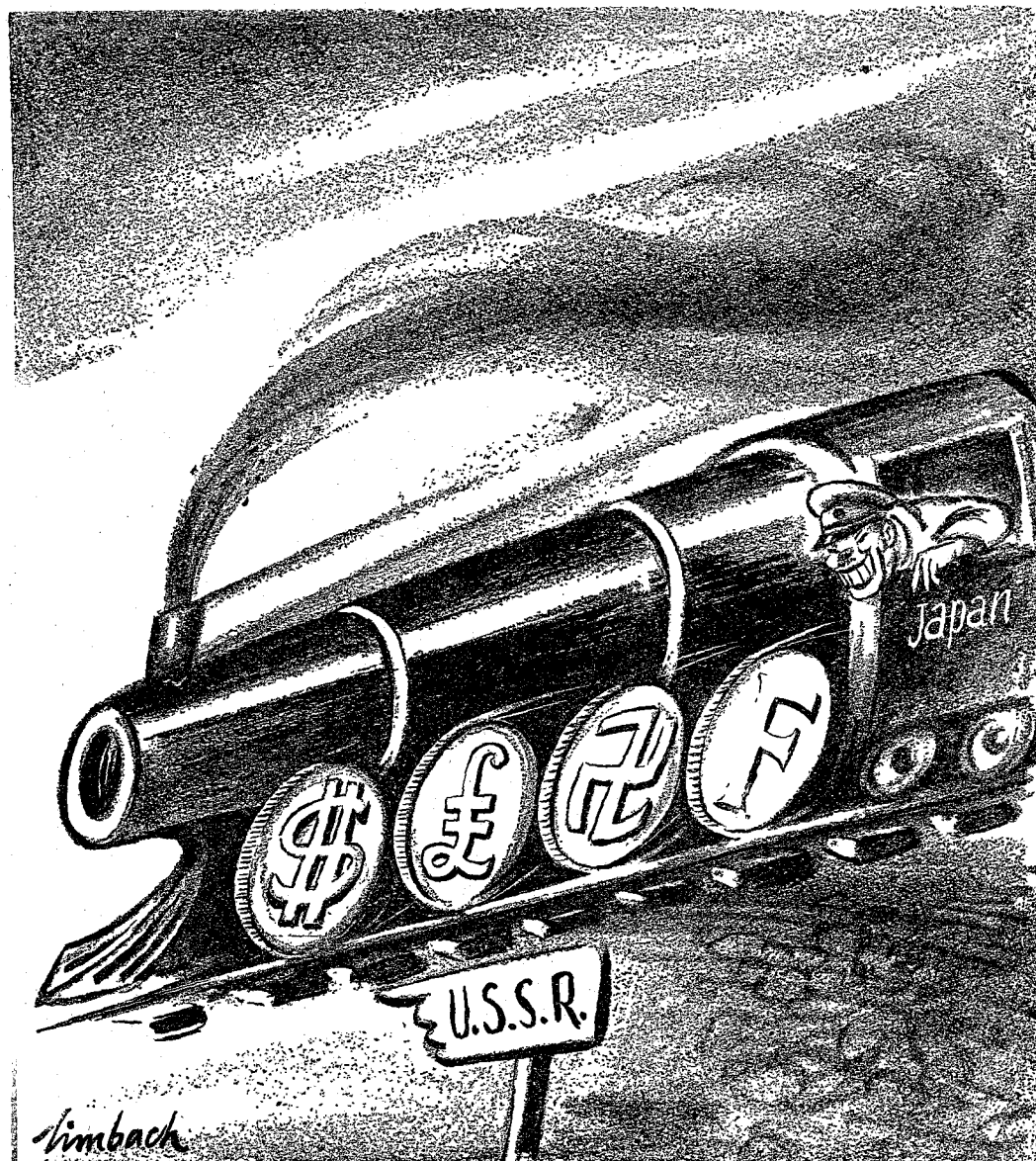


new Masses

SEPTEMBER 4, 1934

FOR the first time in the history of its foreign relations, the Soviet Union has been compelled by Japanese war provocations to use language which in diplomatic circles rings as a grave warning. Directly charging the Manchurian authorities and the Tokyo government as responsible for the perpetual trouble on the Chinese Eastern Railway—derailments, wrecks, attacks on stations and trains, imprisonment of Soviet railways employees on trumped-up charges—the Soviet government advised Japan “to draw all the necessary inferences”—a weighty phrase in diplomatic parlance. However, the Japanese government has neither made reply nor ceased provocations; indeed it has immediately sent war planes to North China for “purposes of maneuvering.” And this intense war situation, Japanese war lords would have the world believe, is solely the result of the failure in negotiations over the sale of the Chinese Eastern Railway. How preposterous in view of the negligible difference between the sums asked and offered! Japan’s threats to seize the railway, her provocations and slanders against the U.S.S.R. are but a facet of her attempts to extend her Asian empire by wresting Siberia from the Soviet Union.

THERE is, for example, her activity in Inner Mongolia. By fostering Pan-Mongolism, Buddhist and Mongolian Conferences in Tokyo, by organizing the Mongol princes and lamas, Japanese imperialists have been trying to secure hegemony over Inner Mongolia. Japan has concentrated troops at Dolonor (Chahar province)—a springboard for her Mongolian adventure as well as a concentration point for her spies and agents. Now Colonel Doihara, the well-known Japanese intriguer and head of the Japanese Secret Service in Manchuria, has arrived in Dolonor for the purpose of organizing four divisions of Mongolian cavalry in Inner Mongolia. Recruiting offices have been set up in Dolonor, Linhsi, and Hailar, and a station for the training of Mongolians in modern warfare. At the same time, bribery and intimidation are being used to bring the Mongolian League to join the puppet state of “Manchukuo.” There are indications that Japan may



make her first thrust against the U.S.S.R. by compelling the Mongolian princes to lead their tribes against the Mongolian Peoples' Republic, or by causing some border incident between tribes, thus manufacturing a reason for war action which could be used demagogically to keep Japanese imperialism “blameless.”

HOWEVER, in her plots against the Soviet Union Japan is having no end of difficulties. For one thing, Japanese war-lords have discovered that military seizure of territory is not always followed by successful subjugation of the people. The Soviet slogans as to the liberation and autonomy of colonial and semi-colonial peoples have reached the remotest corners of the Asian continent, and have brought a vision which cannot be shattered by imperialist cannon. The Japanese boast of successful control of Manchuria is nonsense. As students of Far Eastern affairs have observed, Japan has absolutely no control beyond the railroad dis-

tricts. The Japanese speak of “bandits,” but as a matter of fact these bandits are armies. In Kirin, an army of 60,000 Chinese volunteers is fighting off the invader; in Heilungkiang anti-Japanese armed forces are even greater. The air of injured innocence of the Japanese war-lords through all their dealings with the Soviet Union is rank hypocrisy. If they have not as yet actually set foot on Soviet territory it is not because of their pacific propensities; it is because they are forced to operate in an atmosphere surcharged with the Soviet idea, which has thus far prevented them from consolidating the peoples and territories over which they are apparently in control.

THIS difficulty encountered by Japanese war-lords in Manchuria is precisely the difficulty which Chiang-Kai-Shek, (hireling of the chief imperialist countries, including Japan), is encountering in his fight against the Chinese Soviets. For example, Foochow.

Doubtless because of censorship, the newspapers have carried no reports from that city since the middle of August. According to last reports, the Chinese Red Army had reached a position of 16 miles outside of Foochow. Landlords were fleeing from even so far south as Amoy. The imperialists had sent their gunboats to Foochow. The 6,000 Nanking soldiers sent to reinforce the Foochow garrison had been met by the Red Army which disarmed 4,000 and dispersed the rest. Shuikow was captured, large amounts of ammunition and supplies were taken. During the past months 6 anti-Soviet regiments have been disarmed. The Red Army has broken the strict blockade of the Soviet district maintained by Chiang-Kai-Shek. New strategic supports have been established. In view of Chiang-Kai-Shek's repeated promise to "wipe out the Red bandits," the Red Army's march to the sea assumes special importance. He had concentrated most of his troops against the Central Soviet district. The Chinese press had been filled with reports of the imminent capture of Juikin, the capital. However, Chiang suffered a series of severe defeats, whereupon he transferred a section of his troops to the Fukien front, to concentrate on attacking from the east. But the eastern wing of the Red Army advanced and occupied Fu-An and Kweihua, two important districts in Western Fukien. In the struggle for these two districts, the 52nd Kuomintang Division was cut to pieces, and another division suffered severe losses. At the same time the Soviet power was established in seven districts on the coast in Northern Fukien, thereby creating a serious threat to Foochow (which lies directly south).

THESE new districts under Soviet control are of considerable strategic importance. To the east they form a chain along the coast, to the north they join the province of Chekiang, toward the west they form the key position for the whole north of Fukien and are an excellent base for attack toward the south in the direction of Foochow. The Red Army is not yet capable of holding towns within range of imperialist armies (the imperialists drove the Red Army out of Changsha, and prevented the capture of Foochow last November). But its present advance toward Foochow, from the viewpoint of military strategy, cannot be overestimated. Although geographically isolated and nowhere near the Soviet Union, the 80,000,000

people of Soviet China have been developing military and political forms and strategies startlingly parallel to those adopted in the early years of the U.S. S.R. The idea of Communism is not confined within the borders of the Soviet Union. Inherent in the breakdown of capitalism, inherent in modern imperialism, the Communist idea has filled the air of the entire world. And in lands where the soil is ripe, it has taken root and is flowering. No capitalist bayonet, whether wielded by Japan, Chiang-Kai-Shek, or any other force of reaction, can root it out.

THE persecution of militant intellectuals is not limited to California alone. For more than two months, Jan Wittenber, Chicago John Reed Club artist, and others have been imprisoned in Hillsboro, Illinois, under the most miserable conditions. They have been indicted by the Grand Jury. Wittenber and John Adams, marine organizer, were charged with conspiracy to overthrow the U.S. government. They face a penitentiary sentence of twenty to thirty years, under the Criminal Syndicalist Act of Illinois which was passed at the time of the Palmer Red Raids in 1919. Their "crime" is that of organizing unemployed farmers and miners in a struggle for adequate relief. Adams and Wittenber have been separated from the local prisoners. They are not permitted to receive THE NEW MASSES and other literature. The Jan Wittenber Defense Committee, which includes Carl Haessler, Llewelyn Jones, Lawrence Lipton, Thomas McKenna, Dr. Curtis W. Reese, Dr. H. M. Richter, Prof. Frederick Schuman, Dr. William Twigg, Prof. James M. Yard, and other Chicago intellectuals, calls on individuals and organizations to flood Governor Henry Horner, Springfield, Illinois, with letters and telegrams protesting against the unreasonably high bail and demanding the release of Wittenber, Adams, and the others in the Hillsboro jail.

MORE than 1,000 technicians have been separated from Slum Clearance Project 33 in one of the most amazing mass lay-offs witnessed in New York. The internecine political warfare in the Administration which caused the wholesale wiping out of an entire project is, in spite of its callousness, relatively unimportant. What is important and significant is that in its desperate haste to cut relief jobs and satisfy the

bankers and real estate boards, the LaGuardia Administration cast off altogether its former pretense that dismissals were based on proof of lack of need. The simple truth is that the hypocritical slogans of Roosevelt and LaGuardia about the "American way of work-relief instead of the dole" are being abandoned in favor of the miserable sub-standard handouts of the "home relief" system. Under this system these unfortunate professional workers, if they are lucky enough to meet the degrading and pauperizing qualifications of the Home Relief Bureau, will receive from \$8 to \$10 per week for an entire family.

THE abrupt termination of Project 33 is significant also because it gives the lie to LaGuardia's fine promise that the slums would be cleared and new houses constructed for workers. Ironically enough it was Project 33 which was pointed to as proof of the City's intention in this regard. Officialdom may order sweeping and outrageous dismissals, but workers do not always accept without protest. A spontaneous call for a meeting to plan action brought out some 300 men and women, largely architects, engineers, etc., from Project 33. It was decided to assemble at City Hall the next day, where a committee presented the following demands: (1) That all those discharged be reinstated immediately in order to continue and complete the socially necessary work still remaining to be done on this project; and (2) The gradual changing of the status of the men and women engaged in this work from that of relief workers to that of regular workers at standard wages, because their training and living requirements justify such a change and because the work to be done is not of a "temporary, emergency" nature, but of the utmost necessity and value to the city. Among the organizations whose members are involved in these actions are the Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians, the Architectural Guild, and the Associated Office and Professional Emergency Employees.

A REVEALING tangent to the events in San Francisco was provided when the University of California chapter of Phi Beta Kappa, "the college honor society founded in 1776 at the College of William and Mary in Virginia and now having chapters in 126 American colleges and a living member-

ship of over 63,000" (as of 1932) made General Hugh Johnson an honorary member of the society for his strike-breaking speech at Berkeley. Although this speech exhibited more venom and ignorance than scholarship, we assume the award was made for his long years as research-assistant to Bernard Baruch, during which time he studied carefully tactics of mobilization for war (he was author of the Selective Draft Act), of demagogic evasion, and of cracking down on rebellious workers. What Pacifist Mary Emma Woolley, Scientist Robert A. Millikan, and Rev. B. Fossdick, who are high officers of Phi Beta Kappa, will do about this we can hardly venture to predict; but we feel sure that officers John W. Davis and Owen D. Young will have their faith in scholarship renewed. But Phi Beta Kappa has its radical scholarship too. Several weeks ago, the chapter of the College of the City of New York adopted three significant resolutions. One demanded "of the German Government the immediate, safe release of Ernst Thaelmann and all anti-Fascist prisoners." A second memorialized Congress in condemnation of the Genney bill providing for a teacher's "loyalty" pledge. And the last provided for real research: an investigation into the connection between the Department of Military Science and Tactics of C. C. N. Y. and the fact that Leonard

William Rockower, an advanced student in the R.O.T.C., had been invited by the Friends of New Germany to teach military science to the New York section of its Nazi Storm Troop. It is such action that may possibly justify those conspicuously fondled keys.

TWO more Negro workers have been lynched. According to the usual Associated Press dispatches, Robert Jones and Smith Houey were "snatched" by "mobs" and hanged. Each was being brought to court, at Ashland, Mississippi, one from Tupelo, the other from Holly Springs. "The Sheriff said the lynchings had apparently been carefully planned, with every road leading into the town blocked by mobs." Jones and Houey were to stand trial for the murder of Connis Gillespie, a white landowner, found slain on his burned property a year ago. Jones had recently been tried for fatally wounding a deputy sheriff who broke into his house while investigating the Gillespie killing. Jones had been convicted of the deputy's killing, but the Supreme Court, in what the A. P. dispatch calls "a widely discussed opinion," had reversed the findings and ordered a new trial, meanwhile explaining to the lower court how Jones could be railroaded to death *legally*. Under the pressure of growing Negro militancy, the Court had held that a man's

home, "however humble, is his castle," and that the deputy had no right to invade Jones' home without a warrant. The deputies bringing Jones to trial for the Gillespie affair had their own ideas. "The mobs were masked and deputies said they did not recognize any of the men." District Attorney Fred Belk is quoted as promising "a rigid investigation." Meanwhile, the A. P. dispatch states that he "said he had a confession signed by the two Negroes in which they admitted that they had killed Mr. Gillespie." The New York Times fulfills its role by printing the story on the Sports Page.

PROFESSORIAL hacks are at it again. The Herald Tribune Magazine Section recently featured a long article, *Where Communism Fails*, by Neil Carothers, Professor of Economics and Director of the College of Business Administration at Lehigh University. In addition to the old lies and misrepresentations (including Communism's "misreading of human nature"), Professor Carothers plays several new tricks. The time is past when one could dismiss or neglect Marx. So we get this: "*Das Kapital* mercilessly dissects the competitive system, demonstrates its inevitable decline and predicts a cooperative economic order. Three books have altered the course of history above all others: the Bible, *The Origin of Species*, and *Das Kapital*." But lest his readers be tempted to read the book: "Written in hopelessly technical German, in translation it is beyond ordinary comprehension." So much so that "A hundred books have been written to explain Marx and not one has done it." But even if you could read it it wouldn't do you any real good, for "Marx's economic reasoning was unsound, his theory of production inadequate, his forecast of the social order incorrect, his philosophy not even new." Despite all that, we are shocked to learn that "he presented the first complete explanation of economic evolution, predicted with inspired analysis many of the results of a mechanized industry and offered a definite program for the complete destruction of capitalism."

BUT the program is no good, it's bad for business, and against man's "natural and inborn" desire for private ownership (of both toothbrush and automobile factory, Prof. Carothers?). And it won't work. "The only large-scale experiment began with Keren-

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sky (!) in Russia in 1917, and it has not yet collapsed. It probably will, but it has survived after a fashion for seventeen years" unfortunately. Then come the standard lies about the Soviet Union; the professor doesn't even bother to invent new ones. He ends by advising two things: sterilization ("the economic future may lie not in economics, but in biology") and exiling of "parlor pinks." ("It is a pity that they cannot all be removed to some isolated Communist community . . .") Obviously, Professor Carothers serves his masters well. Who are his masters? On the Board of Trustees of Lehigh are: Charles M. Schwab, chairman; Eugene Gifford Grace; and lesser lights like Samuel Dexter Warriner, president of Lehigh Coal and Navigation Co., Allentown Iron Co., Allentown Terminal R.R. Co., etc., etc.; William Carter Dickerman, president of American Locomotive Co., etc.; and thirteen others of the same interests. Our verdict on Professor Carothers must be: Moley, to the brain gang with him.

THE drive to have the United States government "take over" arms and munitions plants has reached an official stage. More than 200 representatives of leading munitions makers have been summoned to testify. The

most drastic ultimate objective of the inquiry was indicated in Congress by the Hon. George Foulkes of Michigan who rose in the House on May 28 and delivered an unusually blunt attack on James H. Rand, Jr., of the Remington Arms Co., in which he quoted some of Senator Borah's "oratorical javelins at the munition manufacturers" and perorated on all those who "traffic in the tools of death and destruction. . . . They are engaged in an indefensible business—a business that is indefensible in private hands, for the government should manufacture whatever munitions are to be made. . . ." Confiscation of munition plants is thus not intended, and could no more be executed than the purchase by the government of private plants. Since, as the editors of *Fortune* take pains to point out, the armament industry is inextricably connected in personnel and process with the trusts that supply raw materials and with the banks that supply finances, confiscation or purchase could only be carried out successfully on a large scale. It means expropriating the *industrialists and financiers as a class*, something their executive committee at Washington would not do; or buying the capitalist system from them, which would leave matters as they are. Concerned with the perpetuation of the system, the campaign-

ers' proposal resolves itself, as the Hon. Foulkes reveals, to changing the personnel and improving the war industry.

REACTION in a double sense underlies the radical attitudes and phrases of the campaigners and the work of the Senate Committee. What will probably result from the Senate investigation is the appointment of a Federal Arms Commission, with the armament makers well represented. This governmental commission in the face of present war preparations will cement the connections between the war industries and those indirectly, but necessarily, related to them. The drive toward war will be intensified: a governmental agency, instead of private firms, will use armaments to press for advantage against economic rivals. Reaction also is involved in the effects intended against growing mass anti-war sentiment and action. Publicizing Senate activity might hinder the development of a militant mass organization like the American League Against War and Fascism. The idea that the government is doing things might lead workers, farmers, intellectuals away from mighty demonstrations which objectify and unify the fight against war, and which have stimulated present demagogic attacks against war by the campaigners.

The Week's Papers

WEDNESDAY, August 22.—American Liberty League, to "combat radicalism, preserve property rights, uphold Constitution," is formed by prominent Democrats and Republicans to fight New Deal. . . . Secretary of Commerce Roper assures business Administration does not aim to abolish profit motive. . . . Roosevelt orders 10 percent reduction in weekly hours, 10 percent raise in wages in cotton garment industry, net effect being to cut workers' incomes. . . . Worker is killed, four hurt, by explosion in Hercules Powder Co. plant at Kenvil, N. J. . . . Donald and Eleanor Henderson testify before New Jersey Legislative Committee on Seabrook Farms strike. . . . N.R.A. announces it is not obliged to remove Blue Eagle from concerns even when National Labor Relations Board finds them guilty of violating codes. . . .

Thursday.—Meat prices expected to rise to highest point since World War. . . . Senator Schall charges Government plans to establish news bureau to supplant private news services in censorship move. . . . Blue Eagle ordered withdrawn from Chicago Bus Company for discharging union employees, precipitating a strike.

Friday.—United Textile Workers Union rejects offer of cotton textile industrial relations board to arbitrate proposed strike "because of lack of confidence" since board's failure to act in stretch-out complaints. . . . Northwest drought areas swept by snow and frost. . . . Reciprocal tariff treaty with Cuba signed by U. S. . . . Soviet-U.S. debt talks appear deadlocked at Washington. . . . Kohler is busy training a private army of 600 to break strike, workers charge. . . . Wholesale commodities

prices reach highest point in three years, Bureau of Labor Statistics reports. . . . 1,000 dye workers in Paterson strike in sympathy with workers of Pennsylvania firm who walked out. . . . Leo Gallagher opens fight against attempt to obtain California injunction to ban Communist Party.

Saturday.—Representative Weideman, at end of Congressional Committee hearings, says there is no "red menace" in the United States. . . . Okey Odell, strike leader of onion workers, kidnaped by mob in McGuffey, O., and released after tortures. . . . Roosevelt studies plan to make Federal relief permanent. . . . Congress to be asked to make C. C. C. camps permanent. . . . Hopkins refuses to give Federal relief funds to Pennsylvania unless State agrees to contribute part of needed funds. . . . Demanding better food, 200