

Darryl Frederick

Theater of the recent maneuvers and Japan's aggression since 1895. 1: Formosa ceded to Japan in 1895. 2: Port Arthur and Kwantung Peninsula leased by Japan in 1905. 3: Karafuto ceded to Japan in 1905 by Russia. 4: Korea annexed by Japan in 1910. 5: Mukden seized by Japan in 1931. 6: Shanghai bombarded by Japanese in 1931. 7: Manchuria declared the Japanese puppet state of Manchukuo in 1932. 8: Jehol Province annexed by Manchukuo in 1933.

## The Chinese Chessboard

*The kidnaping of Chiang Kai-shek is the dramatic expression of a series of moves and counter-moves, with Japan playing a deep game*

By Theodore Draper

NEVER was there woven a tapestry of more intricate imperialist design by fine Japanese hands than the strange se of the kidnaping of Chiang Kai-shek Chang Hsueh-liang. The details of the it have a fascination of their own, but they : treacherous because it is easy to get lost them to the extent of obscuring the fundamental forces at work. The motives, rivalries, st records of both men are not remotely as portant as the underlying factors: the necessity of Japan for precisely such a diversion advance its program of conquest, and the ed for the unification of the Chinese people s the condition for effective resistance to Japan's further penetration. The still-confused complex of events in the kidnaping takes on meaning and significance only by reference to these factors.

The chief actors in the drama are not merely two individuals with very spotty

records, but rather, one, the dominating figure in the central government of China at Nanking, and the other, a provincial war lord whose very person reeks with the corruption, disorder, and national disunity of the feudal past. More than anything else, national disunity has been the official Japanese pretext for dismembering China. That is why China stands to lose if the provincial war lord wins; China will gain if the central government gets the upper hand.

As president of the Executive Yuan (council), Chiang Kai-shek is head of the civil government of all China; as chairman of the Military Affairs Commission, he is commander-in-chief of the national army. This government, whatever was true of it in the past, has more recently been the instrument for advancing the national unification of China, especially since the settlement of the southwest "rebellion" last summer and the

successful resistance to the Japanese invaders in Suiyuan. It is not necessary to assume that Chiang Kai-shek has a personal stake in the unification of China; historical forces, backed by the hearts and minds of the broad masses, are at work.

Chang Hsueh-liang is a provincial war lord who will be remembered after the other war lords have been forgotten, chiefly because of his shameful surrender of Manchuria to the Japanese in 1931. Chang not only failed to put up resistance; he prevented anything but abject surrender until it was too late. Then Chang just ran away. For a time, he was forced to live abroad; cowardice made China an unsafe refuge. On his return, Chiang Kai-shek entrusted him with command of the "bandit-suppression" (i. e., anti-Communist) forces in Honan province, but Chang failed to exterminate anybody but thousands of his own troops. When the Red Army more re-

cently moved up into Shensi and Kansu in the northwest, Chang was shifted into the same territory.

The details of the kidnaping may be taken with the utmost reserve. Chiang Kai-shek, so the cables go, was careless enough to visit a hot springs twenty miles from Sian, capital of Shensi province and headquarters of Chang Hsueh-liang, without protection, just in time to be confronted by a mutiny of Chang's troops. Chiang and a number of other high government officials were seized and arrested by Chang, who immediately broadcast his demands to Nanking: a war of liberation against Japan; unification of China through the recovery of all territories seized by Japan; and reorganization of the Kuomintang (Nationalist Party) to admit Communists to membership, reverting to the status of 1925-27.

It was not clear, at first, whether Chiang was dead or alive. Rumors flew thick and fast: that Chiang was safe but hardly sound considering his position; that he had been spirited into inaccessible Shensi retreats; that he had been slain. Behind the whole plot, according to the early dispatches, were the Chinese Communists and the Soviet government. Chang Hsueh-liang's three demands were pointed out as obviously Communist-inspired. It was said that Chang had already concluded a Communist alliance. This is the most significant element in the whole situation, and bears the closest scrutiny.

THE KIDNAPING of Chiang Kai-shek was nicely timed to suit the immediate requirements of Japanese imperialism.

For the past eight months, native troops from Manchukuo, under Japanese direction, have been encroaching upon the province of Suiyuan from the east. The Japanese invasion of Suiyuan is an extension of the whole line of Japanese conquest in China from the snatching of Manchuria in 1931, the annexation of Jehol in 1933, to the establishment of a puppet Hopei-Chahar Political Council in 1935. This last was Japan's first concrete bid for power over all the five northern provinces: Hopei, Chahar, Shantung, Shansi, and Suiyuan. The immediate goal of the Japanese is to set up a puppet state in Inner Mongolia, comprising Ninghsia, Chahar, and Suiyuan. Such a puppet state would effectively separate the Mongolian People's Republic (Outer Mongolia), an independent state with a mutual-assistance pact with the Soviet Union, from the rest of China and provide a necessary base for attacking the Lake Baikal region of the Soviet Far East. It would also put Shensi, Shansi, and the rest of Hopei completely at the mercy of Japan.

The Japanese timed their first penetration of Suiyuan with the disaffection of Kwangsi and Kwangtung, the two important southwest provinces which were only nominally under the control of Nanking. They could not take advantage of that crisis because Chiang Kai-shek settled it too quickly and without the firing of a shot. Severe fighting finally occurred in early November of this year between the Japanese-dominated Mongols from Man-

chukuo and the Suiyuan troops faithful to Nanking. The invaders were repulsed at the border town of Pailingmiao and that Japanese adventure came to a temporary halt.

The Suiyuan failure created a ticklish situation for the Japanese. This attempt had tested the strength and spirit of the Chinese. Now Japan had to raise the ante by bringing in its own troops. Their Suiyuan setback had a tremendously invigorating effect upon the whole anti-Japanese movement throughout all China. It was a living demonstration that resistance against Japan is not futile when there is a united will to fight.

At the same time, Japan announced an anti-Communist pact with the Nazis which was going none too well. This anti-Communist agreement, signed on November 25, was only a belated sequel to an anti-Soviet pact signed by Japan and Germany on January 6. The pact was received with exceptional disfavor by the democratic countries. The Soviet government precipitated a split in the ranks of the Japanese bourgeoisie by refusing to sign a vital fishing agreement, and more or less of a government crisis ensued in Japan.

These are the most important special circumstances behind the kidnaping of Chiang Kai-shek. Japan, for one, needed this diversion in order to strengthen its hand in Suiyuan. Nanking would have to withdraw troops and materials from that province to Shensi to meet the threat by Chang Hsueh-liang, if all went well with the Shensi plot. In the second place, the Shensi affair exactly suited the purposes of Japan in terms of its treaty with the Nazis against the Soviet Union. Japan now needed a Communist threat to China's unity, even if such a threat had to be organized under its own auspices.

It must be remembered that the treaty with the Nazis has changed the Japanese situation with respect to China in an important respect. The conquest must be speeded up so that Japan may not be embarrassed in the event that the Nazis are soon forced to move towards the Ukraine to avert an internal explosion. A unified China is a wall between Japan and the Soviet Union. The Shensi kidnaping, if it could be somehow pinned on the Chinese Communists and the Soviet government, would give the Japanese foreign office the opportunity to say: "Chang Hsueh-liang has demonstrated to us in person the necessity of the German-Japanese agreement."

To be sure, that is what a Japanese foreign office spokesman actually did say. But after *Izvestia*, the Soviet government organ, published a sharp reply in which it directly accused Japanese imperialism of fomenting the Chang Hsueh-liang disaffection, the Japanese foreign office hastened to absolve the Soviet Union of all blame in the affair—and itself at the same time. The gesture merely showed that the Shensi war lord was not doing so well, and might have to be left in the lurch.

ONE element in the whole case which has been completely neglected to date is the fact that the Japanese foreign office and the Japanese press in Shanghai (much more responsive

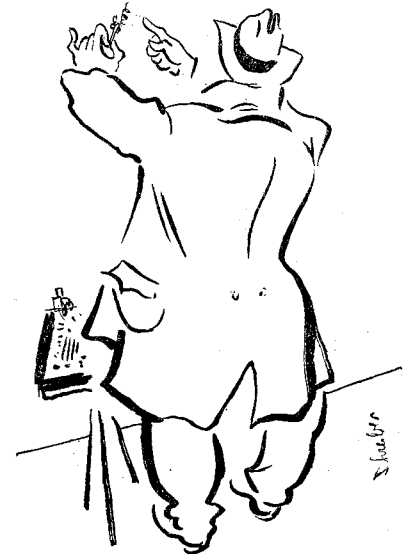
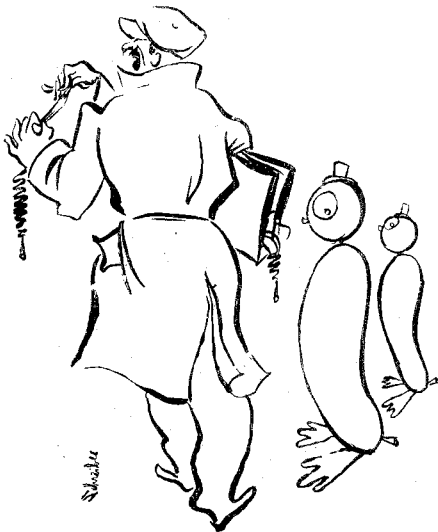


to the needs of Nippon's military clique than the press in Japan) has for the past three months been carefully spreading propaganda to the effect that Chang Hsueh-liang was splitting away from Chiang Kai-shek, in favor of an alliance with the Chinese Communists and the Soviet government for an anti-Japanese war. On September 29 the Shanghai *Nippo* reported that Chang had signed a "truce agreement" with the Communists whom he had been sent to exterminate. That mouthpiece of the Kwantung (Japanese) army also broadcast the charge that Chang intended to break away from Nanking, set up an independent state, and strike up an alliance with the Soviet Union. From then on, the Japanese press assiduously cultivated this theme, although Chang Hsueh-liang denied the reports in an interview with the correspondent of the London *Daily Herald* on October 2. Furthermore, we know that Chiang Kai-shek flew to Sian on October 2 where he held a conference with Chang and other northern generals. According to the Shanghai *Nippo*, the trip was made because Chang had become extremely dissatisfied with the treatment accorded his troops by Nanking. In retaliation for this threatening anti-Nanking position, the paper declared, Chiang had decided upon a "reorganization" of Chang Hsueh-liang's army.

Why all this elaborate fanfare by the Japanese press? It would seem that the Japanese were becoming very anxious to get rid of Chiang Kai-shek. On December 1, the Hearst papers published an article by Sadao Araki, Japanese imperialism's bitter-ender, former minister of war and member of the Supreme War Council. Twelve days before the kidnaping of Chiang Kai-shek, Araki wrote as follows:

I am afraid that if General Chiang Kai-shek dances to the Soviet tune, he will be shot to death while in his trance, by young Chinese Communists who will take the opportunity to dispose of him so that they may, under Soviet direction, dispose of the present Chinese government and pave the way for an invasion of all China in a sensational coup d'état that would startle the world.

A really remarkable prediction. Ten days later, Chang Hsueh-liang emerges as the



## DAY BEFORE CHRISTMAS

*The Sidewalks of Union Square*

Drawings by Georges Schreiber



"young Chinese Communist" who decides that Chiang Kai-shek "will be shot to death." It is painfully obvious that Araki is so good a prophet because his clique has had a hand in hanging events—even if a war lord of Chang Hsueh-liang's corruption has to pose as a Communist.

These facts would tend to prove that there is nothing unpremeditated about the present situation. If there existed an actual split-in-the-making between Chiang Kai-shek and Chang Hsueh-liang, then the Japanese militarists started to make capital of it and exploit its possibilities three months ago. If no such break between the two was imminent, then the Japanese press may be charged with the bold and diabolic intrigue of nursing a myth

that one of the war lords was turning anti-Japanese because it could be turned to their own account.

NOW CONSIDER the Soviet aspect. The (Japanese) Domei news agency persistently reports that Chang Hsueh-liang has concluded an alliance with the Soviet Union against Japan and Nanking. The Japanese imperialists are not so numbskulled as to believe that kind of rot, even their own. The Japanese Foreign Office, when it permitted or ordered the publication of this canard, was certainly aware of the stand taken by the Soviet Union in the case of the Kwangsi-Kwangtung southwest revolt. At that time, on July 29, *Izvestia* wrote:

This issue is significant in many respects. The southern Chinese generals acted under the banner of the struggle with Japan. But their defeat in no way means the defeat of the anti-Japanese ideas by which they were allegedly led. On the contrary, the failure of this attempt to earn political capital by means of an anti-Japanese movement is explained primarily precisely by the fact that the action of South China, not only in reality was not directed against Japan, but directly favored the plunder plans of Japan. This fact was realized in time by Chinese public circles. This provocation failed also, because in the eyes of the entire Chinese nation the anti-Japanese campaign of the southerners showed as a screen for the mercenary, semi-feudal provincial separation of the local military

clique, whose victory would still further weaken China, and would be advantageous only for Japanese imperialism.

*Izvestia* issued a similar statement soon after the news of Chiang Kai-shek's kidnaping reached Moscow. The first Japanese attempts to implicate the Soviet Union were false not only because of strict non-interference by the Soviet government in the internal affairs of China, but also because the Soviet government, on principle, is opposed to any action which would disunite China. A unified China is a bulwark of world peace.

DESPITE the fact that Chang Hsueh-liang raised pro-Communist and anti-Japanese slogans, the program of the Chinese Communist Party is condemnation of his deeds. Its record is just as clear as that of the Soviet government. It would take too long a digression to give any adequate account of the fifteen fateful years of the Chinese Communist Party, but its main line of development is pertinent to the issue at hand.

From its beginnings in 1921 until the spring of 1927, the Chinese Communist Party steadily increased in numbers and influence as the result of an alliance with the Kuomintang. In the midst of a victorious campaign against enemies internal and external, the national bourgeoisie in the Kuomintang, under the leadership of Chiang Kai-shek, treacherously turned on the Communists, murdered them by thousands, and came to terms with the Japanese militarists on a policy of capitulation. From this point on, the Communists were put on the defensive by Nanking's superior numbers and armament. Various Soviet centers were established in the interior of the country by the end of 1927, but it was not until the beginning of 1931 that the Red Army succeeded in gaining a firm foothold in Kiangsi and Fukien provinces. Chiang Kai-shek sent army after army against it, but the

Red Army was a match for all of them. At the end of 1934, the Communists decided to move their main forces from the central provinces to the northwest in Shensi and Kansu. After a "great trek" of 8000 miles over mountains, parched plains, and almost impassable rivers, always fighting against odds, the Red Army entrenched itself in its new territory by the beginning of 1936.

MEANWHILE, in the summer of 1935, the Chinese Communist Party announced that the old program of fighting Nanking was altogether inadequate to meet the existing situation. Japan had by this time succeeded in outdistancing all of its imperialist competitors in the Far East with such effect that the liberation of China from imperialist rule was no longer one of opposition to imperialism in general but, rather, concrete opposition to Japanese imperialism. For the time being, the sharp antagonisms among imperialist powers could be utilized to greater advantage than ever before to further the Chinese unification and liberation movement.

Above all, the necessary condition for breaking the Japanese strangle-hold on north China was the internal unification of the country. No matter what the cause, civil war between Chinese groups played into the hands of the Japanese. The Red Army was certainly not strong enough to cope with both Tokyo and Nanking at once. And victories by Chinese over Chinese were Pyrrhic in respect to Japan.

"Turn your guns outward," the Communists pleaded. Despite the past of even Chiang Kai-shek and Nanking, the Communists were far from putting them in the same category with the Japanese invaders. Any weakening of the authority of the central government, especially in the last two years, has always accrued to the gain of Tokyo. So the Communists proposed a united national front against Japanese imperialism, a united front between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, an all-China, anti-Japanese army and an all-China government of national defense composed of representatives of all parties in the anti-Japanese front.

Substantially this program has already been adopted by all progressive tendencies in China to the marked displeasure of the Japanese military clique and their satellites. The successful resistance in Suiyuan is in large measure attributable to the extent to which this program of national salvation has been accepted by the broad masses as well as influential individuals even within the Kuomintang. There is tremendous ferment and organized anti-Japanese activity among the students of China on the basis of this program. Even Chiang Kai-shek, at least in words, has retreated from his former intransigence. For the past few months, Chiang has uttered anti-Japanese declarations which he never permitted himself to state openly before. He sent reinforcements to Suiyuan. He opened negotiations with Japanese Ambassador Shigeru Kawagoe on the elaborate program for further penetration in China presented by Prime Minister Koki



Old-Fashioned Christmas

John Mackey

Hirota and gave Kawagoe little satisfaction. The negotiations dragged on between Kawagoe and Foreign Minister Chang Chun, but Nanking was reported as countering with stiffer anti-Japanese demands than ever before, until finally Kawagoe lost face and returned to Tokyo with nothing accomplished. There is no telling how far Chiang intended to go, because in the midst of his brave speeches he cracked down on the National Salvation movement and arrested a number of extremely prominent Kuomintang members because they issued a manifesto in support of the anti-Japanese united front.

ONE thing is certain, however: irrespective of Chiang's motives or consistency, the unification of China reached a stage which threatened Japan's whole program of conquest.

In the northwest, the Communists have had to do little fighting because so many of Chang Hsueh-liang's forces have adopted their program and refuse to fight their Communist comrades. It is a matter of record that the Communist movement in China has never been as strong as it is today. The dramatic encounters of the Red Army have ceased, but its penetrating influence has increased immeasurably. Edgar Snow, Chinese correspondent for the London *Daily Herald* and the New York *Sun*, recently finished a four-month stay in the

Soviet districts in Shensi, Kansu, and Ninghsia, interviewed many of the leading Communist chiefs, including Mao Tse-tung, chairman of the Chinese Central Soviet government. He reported that there are not less than 100,000 men, "modernly armed with latest types of rifles, automatic rifles, machine guns, trench mortars and artillery—all of which appeared to be captured from enemy troops," and about 50,000 additional armed partisan troops. "I have visited many Chinese armies in my seven years in China," Snow wrote in a recent letter to the *China Weekly Review*, "but I have not seen one in which the fighting spirit, political education, literacy, patriotism, and morale tone were at such a high level."

The Japanese were well aware of this upsurge of popular support for the Communist policy of united national front against imperialism as well as of the decided increase in the strength of the Red Army and the Soviet regions in the northwest. Fomenting dissension and civil war in China is their answer to this development. If it is not of their making, they exploit it; but they are not beyond manufacturing its threat, even under cover of the anti-Japanese struggle itself, if need be.

There is little hazard in stating that when the whole story of the kidnapping finally emerges, if it ever does, Japanese imperialism will be implicated at every point.

# Mr. Sullivan's "Racket"

*That current book on labor-union corruption raises some questions which are regarded differently by this author and Remington Rand*

By Rhoda Holmes

"CRYING NAT" SHAW has a new job. The pay is good, the hours are easy, and he meets the very best people. Big bronze doors are open to him, and important executives sometimes shake hands with him before they sign on the dotted line. "Crying Nat" is selling *This Labor Union Racket*, by Edward Dean Sullivan, and he likes it as well as breaking strikes for his old friend, Pearl I. Bergoff.

Mr. Sullivan's book has other distinguished vendors, too. Alex L. Hillman, president of Hillman-Curl, Inc., who published it, has taken a personal interest in the sales campaign. A few weeks ago he boarded a west-bound plane to supervise General Motors' purchase of several hundred copies. Pontiac Motors' plant foremen needed at least a hundred to distribute to their employees, and Mr. Hillman wanted to be sure that they got there.

The energetic publisher hasn't moved in such distinguished circles in some time, for as chief shareholder in William Godwin, Inc., a great deal of his attention has been taken up with defending himself in court against charges of sponsoring the kind of literature which is sold under the counter in the less reputable bookstores. *The Man in the Monkey Suit*, for instance, cost him a \$200 fine, and *Wanda* had to sell briskly to make up for the \$500 penalty it drew. Fortunately, *The Doctor's Wife* got away with a suspended sentence, and *Flesh and Other Stories*, privately printed several years before, escaped with a stern warning.

The mailing list for *This Labor Union Racket* is Mr. Hillman's pride and joy. The Chicago Motor Bus Co., whose company union is praised so highly in the book, was flattered to the extent of an order. Hotchkiss Arms, up in Connecticut, thought its employees needed educational advantages in their leisure hours, and Lukens Steel, in Coatesville, Pa., thriftily took advantage of the bargain rates offered for large orders. A storekeeper in Kohler, Wis., enjoyed a burst of prosperity when the plumbing company executives saw the nice things Mr. Sullivan had said about them.

Best of all, Remington Rand, busy with what Mr. Hillman calls "unfortunate labor trouble," became worried about racketeering in unions. Possibly on the recommendation of "Crying Nat," who was busy in Hartford, Conn., persuading the Remington Rand strikers there to go back to work, the company ordered 1500 copies. Mr. Hillman was so proud of that he mounted the stand in the

National Labor Relations Board industrial espionage hearing last month to tell the public all about it.

This success is not surprising, though, considering all the trouble Mr. Hillman went to before the book came out. Impressive circulars, warning America in two-inch red letters to awake to its peril, were sent to prospective customers. Book-sellers were notified that "the special market for this book is being exploited." Executives learned from the pages of the *New York Times* that they owed it to themselves and their businesses to read it.

And finally, *Barron's Weekly*, the *Wall Street Journal*, the *San Francisco Wall Street Journal*, the *Chicago Journal of Commerce*, and the Hearst papers all gave it wonderful reviews. As a matter of fact, "Crying Nat's" job is a cinch.

Mr. Sullivan is feeling pretty set up about the whole thing, too. An ex-Hearst newspaperman who specializes in exposés, he may have been pardoned a little nervousness about the reception his latest opus would get. Indeed, his old publisher, Vanguard Press, after considering the idea of presenting the book, finally turned it down.

Mr. Sullivan himself had dropped words of praise for rank-and-file union members in his *Rattling the Cup on Chicago Crime*. Possibly a right-about-face would be unstrategic; or even worse, unprofitable. Naturally he rejoiced with his publisher when the book went into its second printing two weeks after its appearance.

The ointment was not wholly clear, of course. One large fly was Louis Adamic, who had done considerable exposing of union conditions himself. Up rose Mr. Adamic to denounce *This Labor Union Racket* as a "superficial, ill-thought-out, xenophobe book, concocted around Hearst and Chicago *Tribune* headlines, conceived with the ambition of cashing in on the current anti-Red, anti-alien hysteria."

A good many other critics said things about anti-union propaganda, ignorance of historical forces, blatant forms of Red-baiting, inconsistencies, inaccuracies. All in all, it was a good thing that so few executives bother to read book reviews.

One of the best ways to figure out the relative merits of Louis Adamic and James Rand, Jr., as judges of literature, is to read *This Labor Union Racket*. What is it all about?

It is a very interesting book. In crisp newspaper sentences, Mr. Sullivan digs again and again into the dirty past and present of the American labor scene. Facts? He has plenty of them, a hundred sordid stories of gangster-ridden unions, of graft, of terrorism against bosses and workers alike. Names and dates, court records, colorful descriptions of organized crime in action. Fascinating stuff, like dynamite.

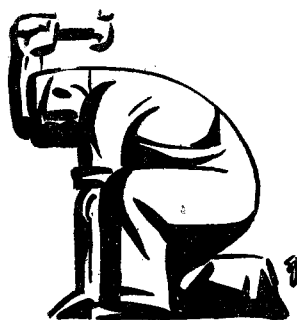
And the danger of this book lies in the fact that to a hasty, an uninformed, a prejudiced reader, it looks as if racketeering has eaten so thoroughly into the structure of labor unions that they themselves are rotten. After all, the quickest way to fix a wall half-destroyed by termites is to build a new wall, you argue—or Mr. Sullivan does.

And that is just what he does. The new wall, of course, would be composed of large company-union bricks, fired in reliable furnaces. The big happy family of the Chicago Motor Bus Co., the merry villagers of Kohler, Wis., the contented population of Weirton, Pa., all have Mr. Sullivan as spokesman.

Organized labor is the helpless prey of all the worst forces in the underworld, says Mr. Sullivan. It has fought a losing battle since Prohibition brought the gangsters in. Its leaders are crooked, and either work through hired thugs or do their dirty work themselves. The employers suffer, the workers suffer, the situation is hopeless. And that is why Mr. Rand likes the book.

What about Mr. Adamic? He knows himself that a great many of Mr. Sullivan's stories are true. He spent two chapters in *Dynamite* deploring that very thing. Yet he took a page and a half of the *Saturday Review of Literature* to call Mr. Sullivan almost every printable name. Is it just professional jealousy?

No, Mr. Adamic happens to know that *This Labor Union Racket* has page after page of misstatements, of confusing generalities, of downright untruths. He knows that Mr. Sullivan has ignorantly or intentionally distorted the picture he presents. He knows that



Scott Johnston