

The Imperialist Conflicts Over the Chinese Markets

White supremacy in the Orient is again being seriously challenged. This time it is not the workers of the world who are demanding "Hands Off China", in the interest of the Chinese Revolution. Now it is Japanese imperialism which is demanding that the American and British imperialism check their aggressive action in the Chinese markets. China, the main country concerned, has little or nothing to say and must continue to play the role of expressing her bourgeois needs through imperialist spokesmen.

The declaration of Amai of the Japanese Foreign Office which was the unofficial announcement of official action taken two months prior in communications to China, was followed up by government declaration which affirmed the Japanese policy of the "Monroe Doctrine" for Asia. Japan, the leading imperialist power in Asia, long ago decided that the American imperialist policy of "America for the Americans" is a good policy for Asia.

In 1915, when Japanese imperialism endeavored to impose the twenty-one demands upon China, while the western imperialists were engaged in armed conflict, everyone knew that this meant the establishment of a protectorate over China. Japan did not succeed in 1915, and all indications are that she has not succeeded this time. But Japan is in a far more favorable position now to continue her Manchurian policy of acting first and speaking afterwards.

The Struggle for China
The struggle for domination over China, which can only be accomplished at the expense of other imperialist powers, to say nothing of the interests of the Chinese workers and peasants, has been the consistent policy of Japanese and other imperialist powers. While the main strategy of American and European imperialist powers, for domination and markets, revolved around hegemony in Europe, and, in turn, in the colonial countries as the outcome of domination on the continent, the main strategy of Japanese imperialism for the whole century revolved around the struggle for domination of Asia.

U. S. imperialism won its position of domination in America as the broader base of operations for the struggle to place Europe on a rational basis. Japan seeks a broad Asiatic base as her first step in an attempt to prevent American imperialism from "organizing the world" to her own liking.

America's attempt to organize the world presses heavily upon Great Britain, Japan, France and Germany in all parts of the world. At present it finds one of its main focal points over the struggle for hegemony in China. It expresses itself in opposition to Japan's closed door policy. But this in no way signifies a lessening of the antagonisms to England.

The Chinese market, for all purposes, is the prize and most important conquest of the imperialist needs today. No one realizes this better than Japanese imperialism. The steady encroachment of the Western imperialists since the defeat of the second Chinese revolution compels Japan, as a life and death matter, to answer each step of further penetration by other imperialists with a more aggressive policy for her own ends. This is leading directly to the new imperialist war.

International Policy Decisive
The reorganization of the different imperialist nations within the depression cycle has passed the initial stage. The internal reorganization, based on one form of nationalism or the other, through inflation, currency devaluation and reduced wages, and concentration and centralization of finance and capital, has reached the stage where the international policies, coordinated with the internal policies of the imperialist nations, become decisive. This phase primarily expresses itself in a war for markets. Trade wars and dumping intensify all the

economic contradictions that national internal reorganization was supposed to have modified, if not eliminated altogether. The only stage that can follow this under capitalism is the stage of open armed conflict expressed in imperialist wars and civil wars between classes.

The main contending forces concerned in this struggle in the Orient are: Japan, the United States and Great Britain as the main imperialist contenders; the oppressed millions of China; the Soviet Union and the proletariat of the world which will defend the U.S.S.R. against imperialist attacks.

The pressure of the crisis of world economy upon Japan was almost as great as that which effected Germany before Hitler took power. But Japan was faced with a more favorable capitalist variant and found an outlet in the armed invasion and further conquest of China. With this military strategy Japan was forced to intensify her trade war with the other imperialist powers and has successfully invaded and challenged the Western robbers on every continent, making inroads in strongholds of the United States and Great Britain.

Enlarging the Contradictions
Japan's way out of the crisis and the contradictions of world economy is proving no more successful than the way attempted by Germany or any other imperialist power. Japan's way out has accomplished in the Far East what Germany's way out is accomplishing in Europe. It is extending and enlarging the contradiction and causing a concentration of the war clouds which inevitably lead to war.

Therefore, China, as the most important market for Japan, as well as for the other imperialists, is at the same time the base for Japanese war supplies in the struggle against Western imperialism. Japan cannot let go of China and retreat. Diplomatic retreats will only cloak economic and military advances and preparations for Japan's defense of her "rights" to domination in the Orient.

Great Britain sees this problem as clearly as do the American imperialists. But England does not hold the same favorable world position. This forces the British imperialists to take more drastic steps at once which are resulting in a gigantic trade war between England and Japan. It has reached the point where British diplomacy must openly and bluntly speak of a trade war with Japan.

The U. S. and England

To some this implies a united front of the United States and England against Japan. But in reality a trade war by England aimed at Japan, which gains the support of the Empire, will at the same time become an intensified force against the American imperialists in their search for markets. This will intensify the antagonisms and, unless agreements and concessions between British and American imperialism can be arranged, it will result in an extension of the trade war to new heights and bring the war just that much closer.

This increasing war danger and growing reaction in Europe will tighten the grip of world economy around Soviet economy. With Stalin at the helm, the Soviet Union will undoubtedly give more concessions to world imperialism. The American imperialist recognition of the Soviet Union, which was cloaked as a peace move and heralded by the Pravda as a big step to further world peace, was in reality a strategic move in the war preparations of America, aimed on the one hand against the new Hitler Germany and on the other hand against aggressive Japanese imperialism in the Orient.

Upset "Balance of Power"
The successful invasion of China by Japan and the victory of Fascism in Germany upset the "balance of power", both in the Orient and in Europe, and called for a regrouping of forces in preparation for the coming war. Of course it also called for increased armaments, a mad race of imperialism for war supplies and instruments of death.

The position of the United States in regard to Japan was as firm as the position taken by England, but could be presented in a different fashion. The battle of diplomacy over China is only a spark of what is really going on under the surface. The moves and preparations of American imperialism in the race for the Chinese markets, and other markets Japan is invading, are laying the basis for a gigantic explosion.

America's imperialist success in Latin America, and her strategic position in relation to decadent Europe, make it necessary to challenge the Japanese or any other imperialist power aiming to dominate the Orient. Otherwise, America's desire to organize the world for her economic needs will receive a blow which it will be difficult to recover from.

—HUGO OEHLER.

New Trends In the Trade Unions

(Continued from page 1)

a declaration from Tighe, that he "washes his hands of the whole business".

Officials in a Dilemma
Mike Tighe may yet try to defeat and nullify the convention action. Sell-outs are not merely a thing of the past but can be expected to be repeated on a more serious scale. But this is an entirely different matter now that the workers are in motion toward a higher level of class consciousness. "Outlaw" strikes and "outlaw" movements can be expected to occur. Today, however, such are not so easily defeated. The union officials are in a dilemma with the company unions pressing from the one side while on the other side hangs the shadow of more militant organization and action by the workers.

In the automobile situation the union officials accepted the Roosevelt agreement which legalizes the company union; Bill Green's "great strike in history" was won for the time being by the auto bosses. The union officials accepted the special mediation board whose duty is to forgive and defeat action. As a result an "outlaw" movement is already in its inception. It started from St. Louis where the union

locals proposed secession from the A. F. of L. and found support from locals in other parts of the country.

Danger of Premature Splits
In this action, however, there is a great danger of a premature split which can be isolated and led into the void. The center of gravity of the trade union movement is still within the A. F. of L. A continuation of its policies and betrayals will unmistakably lead to the possibilities of new militant unions emerging. But such moves can become successful only after the rank and file thoroughly absorb the experiences after a period of crystallization of forces and a better understanding of the purposes and tasks of militant unions. Above all it can become successful only under the direction and influence of a conscious left wing movement. Nevertheless this trend shown amongst the automobile workers is highly indicative for the future.

Within the federal unions trends in a progressive direction are visible. At a conference in Washington the latter part of January delegates representing almost 100 federal unions with an estimated membership of 250,000 formulated demands to the effect:

1. That the organization of federal unions be continued aggressively.
2. That the members of the federal unions be not segregated into craft unions.
3. That a bureau be established within the A. F. of L. to "aid and stimulate the formation of such industrial unions".
4. That where "a reasonable and sufficient number of such federal unions form a national organization and apply for a national or international charter, same shall be immediately granted".

Trend Toward Industrial Unionism
Here the trend is very definitely toward industrial unions to be established on a national scale for the respective industries. Unquestionably, that trend will take further hold and finally take on the form of a definite movement which it will be difficult for the reactionary officials to check or to defeat.

The workers from the mass production and the basic industries, who are now joining the unions in great numbers, have lost some of

their great illusions about the NRA. They propose in the main to rely upon the power of their organization. In this they press the union officials for action. They put the officials to the test and the failure to head their demands will be clearly demonstrated before the eyes of the rank and file.

On the one hand preparation is made for many of them to be swept into discard. On the other hand, the militant currents become strengthened. Already today these new mass numbers in the unions are in the position of defending the unions, of fighting for their recognition and of driving them into action on a large scale against the leaders who yield to the company unions and accept the class collaboration basis instituted by the NRA. The trends which are now in the making point toward a new stage of militant unionism.

—ARNE SWABECK.

Minneapolis Union Prepares For Action

(Continued from page 1)

Local 574, by the other unions. With one or two notable exceptions, the officials for the other unions act as though the General Drivers were in the way.

This attitude must be changed. It is a menace to the whole labor movement. The General Drivers can and must be made the corner stone for the trade union structure as a whole. This corner stone is not yet in place. The entire workers movement will see to this job and bring the unions into action to this end.

The General Drivers Union is faced with a vast problem, faced with a real struggle. Not a workers organization, not a single worker, will hold back. Strike with united forces. The trade unions as a unit must back this fight to victory.

—R.

Militant Builders

The Club Plan Sub Drive for another 1,000 new readers was extended at the request of several of our branches. It is being conducted for the express purpose of enabling workers who cannot afford the regular rates. It goes without saying that this low rate does not cover the cost of production. We are able to do this only through the help of the Pledgers.

For the benefit of those who do not know how this Club plan works we wish to explain:
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A Social will follow the lecture. There will be food, music and dancing. Admission is free.

Theatre Party

The New York Local of the Communist League arranged for a theatre party for the play "Stevendore" at the Civil Repertoire. This play has been hailed by all reviewers for the quality of its production and it is of a distinctly working-class character. Comrades and friends of the League are asked to buy the tickets ranging in price from 30 cents to \$1.50 at our office, 126 E. 16th Street, for the performance Monday, June 18.

The International Position of the Revolutionary Policy Committee

In an objective situation marked by the manifest decay of capitalism as a social and economic system, and rotten-ripe for revolutionary advances, the proletarian movement of the world staggers under the blows of catastrophic defeats. This state of affairs, for which Stalinism and Social Democracy bear the joint responsibility, has induced the deepest crisis the labor movement of the world has ever known. Great organizations, resting on the support of millions of workers, have been put to the historic test and proved completely bankrupt.

What else could result from such catastrophe but disintegration of the old organizations, on the one hand and—since the class struggle is not suspended for a single day—new ferment, critical analysis and the search for new paths on the other? One of the expressions of this search for a new road, and a most significant one, too, must be said, is the emergence of the Revolutionary Policy Committee of the Socialist Party with its straight-out challenge to the policy of social reformism.

WHICH WAY FOR THE R.P.C.

Will it carry out this challenge to the end? That remains to be seen. The program, as it now stands, incomplete in some respects and wrongly formulated in others, does not of itself give a definite answer to the question. If the implications of the first declaration are developed to their logical conclusion, and the program is rounded out accordingly, the R.P.C. can undoubtedly become a rallying center for the revolutionary socialist workers, and especially the socialist youth.

Failing to adopt these amendments and corrections in time, the Revolutionary Policy Committee will be likely to sink into the morass of centrism. That is, serve as a force to head off the revolutionary trend in the party and help to bolster up the tottering structure of Social Democracy, hopelessly discredited on a world scale, decaying with the decay of capitalism which it has served, and organically incapable of regeneration.

We hope for the former outcome of this promising development in the S. P. Every revolutionist worthy of the name will be ready to aid such a development. At the same time, without casting the slightest doubt on the seriousness of the signers of the declaration, it is necessary to point out the danger of a different result and to show the source of this danger in the program as it now stands.

Nor is it altogether excluded that the R.P.C., or a part of it, in receding from social reformism, can even land in the bill alley of Stalinism, the accomplice of Social Democracy in the assassination of revolutions and the enthronement of Fascism. Against such a calamity, also, programmatic clarity is the first and most important preventive.

INTERNATIONALISM—PARAMOUNT QUESTION

Formal programs, however, are meaningless today unless they candidly face the determining feature of the crisis in the labor movement of the world—the bankruptcy of both the Second and the Third Internationals—and the fundamental problem of the epoch—the reassembling of the revolutionary vanguard in a new organization, under a new banner. The catastrophic defeats of the working class under objective circumstances highly favorable for revolutionary victories present a contradiction which means one thing above all others: the leadership has broken down, the organizations they directed were inadequate.

This is the crux of the whole question of the regeneration and revival of the revolutionary labor movement. Every party, group and current, now as in the period following the betrayal of the workers into the world war, is tested and its whole course is determined by its approach to this question of internationalism.

It seems incredible that a group which denounces social reformism as a road that "led to death" in Germany should retain the slightest allegiance to the International which led the socialist masses to defeat and death, not only in 1933 but before that in 1914, and which systematically betrayed them in all the years between. Surely, an analysis of the fundamental causes of the treacherous role of the Second International, and the declaration of an irrevocable break with it, are elementary requirements of revolutionary socialists. Yet all the program of the Revolutionary Policy Committee has to say on this paramount question is the following:

"The Socialist Party of America must make every effort to get the above principles adopted by the Labor and Socialist International in order that it may be the effective instrument of promoting the world revolution."

When the Second International collapsed in 1914 and betrayed the laboring masses into the bloody shambles of the war, Lenin and the other revolutionary socialists, even though they were only a handful, declared the organization to be dead for the revolution and turned to the preparation of a new International. Everything the Second International and its leading and most representative party in Germany did since that time, only served to confirm the analysis of Lenin.

The party and the International that had failed in the great historic test was irrevocably lost for the workers' cause. It survived only as a reactionary and treacherous force in the labor movement, an ally and support of capitalism. This was understood by the revolutionary vanguard. That is why they formed the Communist International. Socialist workers, who assimilated the lessons of the war and post-war experiences later, expressed their revolutionary standpoint by leaving the Second and joining the Third International.

AGAINST THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL!

Now, when on top of every other perdy, the German Social Democracy, with the full support of the Second International, held the masses back from struggle against Fascism and lifted Hindenberg into the presidency in order that he might open the door for Hitler—is it possible now that revolutionists should advocate adherence to this corrupt and rotting part of decaying capitalism, that they should tell the workers to hope for its reform and regeneration?

WAUKEGAN MEETING

Waukegan, Ill. — Shachtman's meeting here in Waukegan was a success. The crowd was not large, about 65 or 70, but all political faiths were represented and a great deal of interest was shown. The discussions were still proceeding strongly when we had to break up at 12:30 A.M.

The Stalinists were very peaceful although there were a number pres-

No, that is not possible. Whoever gives the workers such advice is no revolutionist at all. Whoever preaches the lie about the reform of the Second International makes himself its accomplice in the German and Austrian betrayals and prepares new Germanies and new Austrias.

This section of the program of the Revolutionary Policy Committee stands in irreconcilable contradiction to the other sections which challenge everything the Second International stands for and which it will continue to stand for in practice as long as it exists and pollutes the working class movement of the world. If the Revolutionary Policy Committee wishes to become a revolutionary force it should lose no time in demanding an immediate break with the Second International. Otherwise it will hopelessly discredit itself with the revolutionary workers in the Socialist Party and lose the possibility of regaining their confidence.

A BAD "STRATEGY"

If the international relations section of the program of the R.P.C. is not seriously meant, if it is "strategy", then it must be said it is a bad strategy that works a double evil. If they want to make a revolutionary fight and carry it out to the end the most important thing is to attract the revolutionary socialist workers and give them a clear lead on the most important questions. Among these internationalism takes first place—a primary interest in internationalism is the first mark of the revolutionist. Serious revolutionary workers will never forgive those who play hide and seek with such a question.

On the other hand, a "strategic"—insincere—declaration for the reform of the Second International can defeat the aims of the genuinely revolutionary elements in the R.P.C. by converting the group into a shelter for centrists, that is, for the most dangerous enemies of a revolutionary policy at the present time, whose function is to blur the distinctions between revolution and reform and to blunt the edge of the revolutionary weapons.

THE ROLE OF CENTRISM

Pseudo-radicalism—centrism—represents in fact the predominant tendency in the parties of the Second International today. After the debacle of social reformism in Germany, followed by the Austrian tragedy, social reformism has been fearfully discredited. And the dismissal of the Social Democratic (Stunkeys) in favor of Fascists in a number of countries has induced even the most incorrigible and loathsome traitors, including those who offered to "coordinate" themselves to the Hitler regime, to indulge in radical bluster. For example, the German Social Democratic Party now adopts a revolutionary program!

The new centrists declare for the most revolutionary principles, for "the dictatorship of the proletariat" or anything else you want, but on one condition: keep within the framework of the old Social Democratic parties and the Second International with all the scoundrels and traitors and King's Ministers and never do anything to carry out the "revolutionary" principles in action. (The Kantorovich group, now apparently fused with the "Militants", are representative of this centrist current in the United States.)

In this way the revolt of the socialist workers is curbed, their revolutionary impulse for action is restrained, they are held in the strait-jacket of the old bankrupt organizations and the way is prepared for new betrayals and defeats.

THE MARXIST FIGHT AGAINST CENTRISM

Under these new conditions in the labor movement the formal criticism of social reformism misses the mark. What is needed now, above all, is a Marxist fight against centrism and an exposure of its role. For this, a formal program of general principles alone is inadequate—the centrists, hard pressed by the revolutionary sentiments of the masses, are very apt to sign it! The formula for this fight, as for all the other fundamental problems of the time, is: The struggle for the Fourth International!

The perditional game of the centrists in the Social Democratic parties is facilitated for the moment by the circumstance that events which discredited the Social Democracy in a second historic test have revealed also the complete bankruptcy of the Communist International. Given a revolutionary policy and leadership in the Comintern the masses of disillusioned socialist workers would today be streaming into its ranks in an irresistible flood. From the time of the launching of the Comintern in 1919 until 1923 this process went on continuously. Under Lenin the Comintern gained at the expense of Social Democracy all along the line. No such movement is observable today. Caught in a vice between bankrupt Social Democracy and Stalinism, and trusting neither, the workers are held in the old organizations by the formula of centrism. And by that the crisis is prolonged and deepened.

THE REVOLUTIONARY WAY OUT

The first condition for the solution of the international crisis of the labor movement is to assemble all the awakening revolutionary forces for a common struggle. It is unthinkable that this assembly can take place on the basis of either the Second or the Third Internationals. It will take place, rather, in irreconcilable struggle against them. If they were not both bankrupt the present crisis of capitalism would have led to revolutionary victories instead of fascist reaction.

Forces making for the revolutionary regeneration of the international movement converge from three different sources. They are: the International Communists (formerly the Left Opposition of the Comintern), independent socialist parties and groups, and the bona fide left wing developing and growing rapidly in the Social Democratic parties. The task is to bring them together, to unfurl a clean banner.

The Revolutionary Policy Committee undoubtedly has the possibility of becoming a serious force in the coming regroupment in the United States. A clean break with the Second International, not only as a program but also as an organization, is its necessary next step on this road.

—JAMES P. CANNON.

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ent and they took part in the discussion. Shachtman dealt them a hard blow and turned each of their arguments against them. He created a very favorable impression. It would not surprise me if we obtained several new members due to his visit, within a short time. We shall send a write-up to the Militant within a few days.

The Stalinists broke faith in the United Front May Day meeting here, so the Finnish Progressive Society and our group had to organize one of our own on a few days notice. We had a good program and about 150 attended. The Socialists had refused to participate in the first place and had one of their own on April 28th. Glotzer from the Chicago branch spoke at our meeting.

—O. A. WATERS.