

Sino-Japanese War Is Prelude To Greater Pacific Conflict

Our Solidarity Is With Masses of China, Japan

National Revolutionary War Will Transform The Whole East

The war in China is a matter of vital concern to every American worker, for that war is only the prelude to the greater war for which this country is now being prepared.

It is primarily to dominate the Pacific and to become the unchallenged master of China's wealth, of its market and of its resources, that American imperialism is building up its great war machine.

That is why this week on the 21st anniversary of this country's entry in the World War, the great American fleet is engaged in vast maneuvers in the Pacific Ocean. That is why the battleships and planes of the American Navy are drilling within striking distance of Japan's Pacific island possessions.

Japan's Invasion

Japanese imperialism, America's great Pacific rival, is engaged in a robber-invasion of China. With all the barbarism and cruelty of modern warfare, it is attempting to make itself the master of a greater land whose people comprise more than one-fourth of the population of the entire world.

We support with all our strength the resistance that the Chinese people are offering to the invaders. China's struggle to free itself from the stranglehold of the imperialist freebooters and hijackers is a great progressive struggle. Every Chinese victory is not only a blow at Japanese imperialism, but a blow at all imperialism and therefore a blow at the war-makers.

But this does not mean for a single instant that the American workers should support "their" government in a war against Japan. The American government will eventually come to grips with Japan but although the American workers will be told it is to "save" China that they must die, it will be only to "save" China for the money-bags of Wall Street. With their interests we have nothing in common.

The Fight For Liberation

The task of Chinese liberation rests upon the Chinese workers and peasants who, with the material and moral support of workers all over the world can and will mobilize in their millions and repel the invader.

To do this they will have to fight against the Chinese bosses as well, for the Chinese bosses have sold them out to imperialism before and will do so again.

The Chinese employers of labor and owners of land have subjected the workers and peasants to the most grinding exploitation known in the modern world. Their interest lies in sharing the fruits of this exploitation with their foreign masters. General Chiang Kai-shek is fighting Japanese imperialism only because it cannot, because of its own economic weakness, agree to share the booty with him. He is only too willing, and has said so a hundred times, to turn China over to the control of the United States or Great Britain.

Chiang Kai-shek is fighting at the moment for a choice of masters. The real fight for Chinese liberation is the fight against all masters and that fight can be waged only by the masses of workers and peasants under the banner of their own party and a program that satisfies their own economic interests.

Real Road To Victory

Because Chiang Kai-shek still fears the masses more than he fears the imperialist invader, he has kept the struggle within the limits of a purely military defense. This has enabled Japanese imperialism to win control over all of North China and the coastal provinces to below Shanghai. Chiang has been aided in this by the Communist Party, which abandoned any pretense at a revolutionary program for the masses and has subordinated itself 100 percent to the Kuomintang, Chiang Kai-shek's party.

He will be prevented from continuing this policy to its ruinous end only through the independent mobilization of the workers and peasants for the struggle in their own interests. That is the real road to victory over Japanese imperialism and the real road to Chinese national liberation.

Offering our fullest solidarity and support to China's struggle, we at the same time stand guard

Workers of World Must Absorb Lessons of Spanish Civil War

The Spanish civil war, which has now been in progress for nearly two years, has underscored once more with the blood of scores of thousands of workers, the lesson that all workers must learn in order to wage a victorious struggle against Fascism and against war.

These lessons can be simply summarized: the struggle against Fascism is inseparable from the struggle against capitalism. The bourgeois Loyalist regime, propped up by the Communist Party, by the anarchist leaders, and the Socialists, checked the elementary upsurge of the workers and peasants against the capitalists and landlords in the early months of the war. The masses knew who stood behind Franco and tried to strike out in their own interests.

Masses Checked

Disoriented and misled by their own parties, the masses were gradually regimented into complete subordination to the bourgeois regime. The armed workers' militia were disbanded and absorbed into the re-created Republican army. The factories and railways seized by the workers were taken back. The land was held sacrosanct for the landlords.

The masses were asked to continue the fight against Franco in return for vague promises of reforms "in the future."

The inevitable result ensued. Vast energies of the masses, unloosed like a great flood when Franco rebelled in July, 1936, were gradually dammed. Those who resisted this course were shot down—like the Barcelona workers during the May Days of 1937—and imprisoned. The jails of the Loyalist government were filled with militant anti-Fascist workers whose only crime was their determination to lead the workers along a revolutionary path. For this they were called "Trotskyist Fascist spies" and subjected to the most relentless persecution.

Avoided Radical Steps

Zealous only in safeguarding the private property of the Spanish bourgeoisie and in heeding the injunctions of its masters in Moscow, Paris, and London, the Loyalist regime stopped short of every measure which could have ensured its great advantage over the Fascist rebels.

It kept the peasants from seizing the land that had been taken from them by the Church and the big bourgeoisie. It thereby lost its key ally in the war. The peasants, behind Franco's lines and behind the Loyalist lines, remained passive.

Imperialist Interests In China Are At Root Of Coming Clashes

China is today the field of intense imperialist rivalries. The Japanese aggression against China aims to subject the Chinese people and to make further gains at the expense of Great Britain and the United States. It is also a preparatory move for war by Japan against the Soviet Union in the east.

The stakes in China are great. Covering an area of 4,300,000 square miles with a population of 450 millions, China is rich in mineral resources—gold, silver, copper, manganese, coal, salt, oil, etc.—an immense market for trade and capital investment.

An examination of the changes in foreign investments from 1914 to 1931 (the last year for which figures are available) eloquently explains the struggle among the robber powers. (C. F. Remer, "Foreign Investments in China").

Percentage of Foreign Capital Investments		
	1914	1931
Great Britain	37.7	26.7
Japan	13.6	35.1
Russia	16.7	8.4
United States	3.1	6.1
Germany	16.4	2.7
France	10.7	5.9

against the fraudulent notion that American imperialism will fight to "save" China from the clutches of Japan. American imperialism will fight in its own interests and those interests are not ours. We can help our Chinese brothers and ourselves only by presenting a solid bulwark against the unremitting struggle against capitalism to the victory that will really end all wars by removing the cause of war, the capitalist system itself.

This alone, without counting the material aid that poured in from Fascist Germany and Italy, provided Franco with an immense advantage.

Sapped Initiative

The regime progressively sapped the radical initiative of the workers' organizations and by every means, cajolery, deception, and outright repressive force, prevented them from proceeding along the revolutionary road.

Most elementary of all, the Loyalist government refused to announce the unconditional liberation of Morocco from Spanish rule. Such a step—which would have cost the government nothing, since it had lost Spanish Morocco—would have immediately made Franco's base too hot to hold him in the first months of the conflict and would have deprived him of the solid Moorish support upon which he has leaned so heavily.

But this move was ruled out by Paris and London and the world was treated to the spectacle of the Moors, who fought so bravely for their freedom a decade ago, fighting docilely in the ranks of Spanish Fascist reaction against the Republican regime.

Imperialist Cynicism

The cynical manner in which the British and French governments made the Spanish "Republican" regime a pawn in their own inter-imperialist game of rivalries should explode once and for all for every thoughtful worker the fiction that these "democratic" governments are interested in defending "democracy" as such. England is today negotiating a deal with Italy which would ensure the maintenance of some kind of totalitarian regime in Spain. France, tied to England's tail, stands by and looks on.

This country, with its "liberal" Roosevelt administration, has from the beginning prevented arms from going to Spain and done nothing to prevent Franco from being liberally supplied.

"Democracy" Smokescreen

The capitalist powers are not interested in "democracy" except as a smokescreen to deceive the workers and lead them all the more easily to slaughter in behalf of boss profits, trade and investments. That is one prime lesson the Spanish war must teach all of us.

The Stalin government in Moscow also made Spain its pawn in its attempt to win an alliance with England and France—and to that end it transplanted to Spain all the machinery and methods of the G.P.U. to suppress, kill,

and slander the Spanish revolutionists. Here again the "realistic" policy of Stalin has met with a crushing defeat. He succeeded in crushing the Spanish revolution—or at least has succeeded until now—but the Soviet Union is more dangerously isolated than ever and the solidarity of the international working class has been broken.

All is not yet lost in Spain for the working class! The Spanish workers and their class brothers all over the world can and must find the path to real emancipation, to the victory over Fascism and imperialism through the workers' revolution, the abolition of capitalist private property and the forward march toward Socialism.

COMINTERN PREPARED TO SUPPORT IMPERIALIST WAR

A "democratic front for peace!"—this is the latest answer of the Stalinists in this country to the steadily advancing menace of a new world war.

Without benefit of formal funeral obsequies, the slogan of the "People's Front," cornerstone of Stalinist policy for the past several years, is being allowed to slip into oblivion. The draft resolutions for the coming convention of the Communist Party, now being published in the Daily Worker, are all built upon the "Democratic Front," which like the "People's Front" before it, is declared to be the supreme need of the hour for the fight against fascism and war.

It is as if the slogan of the "People's Front" had never existed!

Facilitate Support of War

Why the switch? While in the light of Hitler's European conquests and the advance of fascism in Spain, People's Frontism has been exposed as an utterly worthless and treacherous solvent of the problems which these happenings pose before the working class—thus necessitating for the Stalinists a revision of their basic slogan—the real significance of the shift is the desire of the Stalinists to become a more effective social-patriotic agency for corraling the working class into support of the "democratic" capitalist states in the coming imperialist war, in line with Stalin's foreign policy.

The "People's Front" has been represented by its sponsors to be a union of tendencies within the working class movement with the broad strata of the petty bourgeoisie. What the Stalinists now desire is to extend this union, insofar as that is possible, to the "democratic" ranks of the big bourgeoisie itself. For the purpose of this aim, even the slogan of the "People's Front" is too "left," too "sectarian," too suggestive of class.

To Serve As Loyal Aids

In putting forward the slogan of the "Democratic Front" in face of the rapidly-approaching war, the Stalinists are preparing to submerge themselves in the ranks of the party of Roosevelt or its "left wing," the more ef-

They Wanted A Better Life



Victims of Franco's Bombers

fectively to fill their role as the most loyal servants of the imperialist bourgeoisie, the leading standard-bearers of bloody capitalism in the era of its horrible bankruptcy—in the era when it can submit the pressing social problems of its own creation only to the arbitrament of mass slaughter of the peoples.

This, and this alone, is the meaning of the "Democratic Front" slogan. It represents, not a change of line, but a deepening of the reactionary, anti-working-class course upon which the Communist Parties were launched by the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International, a fresh move in the direction of hitching the working class to the chariot of the imperialist war-makers.

Role of Comintern

The Communist International and its sections are today the most vociferous and aggressive social-patriotic force within the world labor movement. Born out of the struggle against the last World War, and opposition to the social-patriotic supporters of the war in the ranks of the Social-Democracy, the Communist parties today are putting to shame all the older social-patriotic traitors to the working class.

In the name of the defense of "democracy" against Fascism, the hirelings of the Stalin regime are doing all in their power to curb and destroy the independent working class movement against Fascism, war and capitalism. No longer do they recognize that modern society is divided into exploiting and exploited classes; who are in irreconcilable conflict; no longer do they teach that the present "democratic" imperialist states are instruments of oppression used by the ruling class against the workers; no longer do they tell the working class in each capitalist country that its main enemy is at home, that the bosses and their governments must be opposed in peacetime and wartime.

"Class Harmony"

Instead, they preach and practice unity, harmony, collaboration with the class enemy against

Defense of Soviet Union Rests on Working Class

The Criminal Policies of Stalin Have Isolated The U.S.S.R.; Workers Will Aid It Only By Resisting Imperialist War Plans

Today, unswervingly as in the past, the partisans of the Fourth International stand for the defense of the Soviet Union.

We are the only real defenders of the Soviet Union. Our position has had and can have nothing in common with the boasts and avowals of the self-styled "Friends of the Soviet Union." For they are only the hirelings, if not the hirelings, of the degenerated Stalin clique. They have always rallied to the defense of Stalin's treacheries and crimes; they have applauded and supported every blow dealt by Stalin to the October revolution and the world working class movement for emancipation; they will desert the Soviet Union at the first sign of danger and doubtless will use as a pretext the very monstrosities which they are now so cynically defending.

Malignant Growth

Unlike all those who identify Stalinism, which is the product of degeneration and not of revolution, with the first workers' state that grew out of the conquests of October, we have been for years waging a relentless struggle against Stalinism. It is a malignant growth on the living organism of the Soviet Union. It is devouring the Soviet Union. The first condition for the defense of the Soviet Union is the political defeat and liquidation of Stalinism.

Stalin's rule spells only ruin. Every day, almost every hour he deals terrible blows to the conquests of October, sapping the life-blood of the revolution. Under his leadership the Soviet Union has been isolated as never before on the international arena. It was Stalin's policies that ravaged the ranks of the real and only allies of the Soviet Union. The international working class is either being ground under the heels of Fascism, whose victory Stalin prepared, or being shackled and demoralized by the betrayals and bankruptcy of the policies of People's Frontism.

Stalin staked everything on imperialist allies in the "democratic" camp and has thus made it possible for the imperialist bandits to attempt a temporary reconciliation at the expense of the Soviet workers. Hitler and his hordes are ready to leap at the Soviet Union.

Stalin's home policies have proved equally false and disastrous. He has decimated the ranks of the Red Army, the Navy and the Air Force. Soviet economic life is in the throes of a grave crisis. The defense of the Soviet Union therefore demands not a mitigation but on the contrary a sharpening of the struggle against Stalinism.

An Old Trick

It goes without saying that any opposition to Stalinism is interpreted by the regime as hostility to the Soviet Union. It is an old trick. Reactionary trade union bureaucrats have always leveled against all progressives who oppose them the charge that they seek to wreck the union, are really bosses' agents, etc. etc.

From the very outset of his struggle to rule or ruin, Stalin has spread the slander that the revolutionary Marxists are against the defense of the Soviet Union, in favor of imperialist intervention etc. etc. The monstrous Moscow frame-ups were in part staged to "substantiate" this vile lie which Stalin and his hench-

men have been spreading for years.

We remain defenders of the Soviet Union because we remain true to our principles.

Stalinism has introduced degeneration into the very pores of the Soviet social fabric; it has undermined the foundations of the October revolution but has not yet toppled them. The fundamental conquests of the revolution still stand.

Despite the fact that Stalin has in every way facilitated the work of the counter-revolution, despite the fact that through his Constitution he has supplied the legal channel for the restoration of capitalism, despite all of the crimes of Stalinism, the private ownership of the means of production has not been re-established, the monopoly of foreign trade has not been broken, the basis for planned economy still remains.

Struggle Will Decide

Within the country, and internationally, Stalinism has been instrumental in shifting the relationship of forces to the grave disadvantage of the working class. But the class enemy has yet to gain the decisive positions. The fate of the Soviet Union can and will be decided only in the course of actual struggle.

The victory of October was made possible only because the international working class came to the aid of the Russian workers, despite all those "Socialists" who refused to take sides in that struggle, despite all those who counseled "neutrality" and resorted to the subterfuge that there was "nothing" to struggle for.

With the aid of the international vanguard the Soviet Union was able to emerge from the destruction of the imperialist war, the years of civil war, and imperialist blockade, and the years of post-war readjustment.

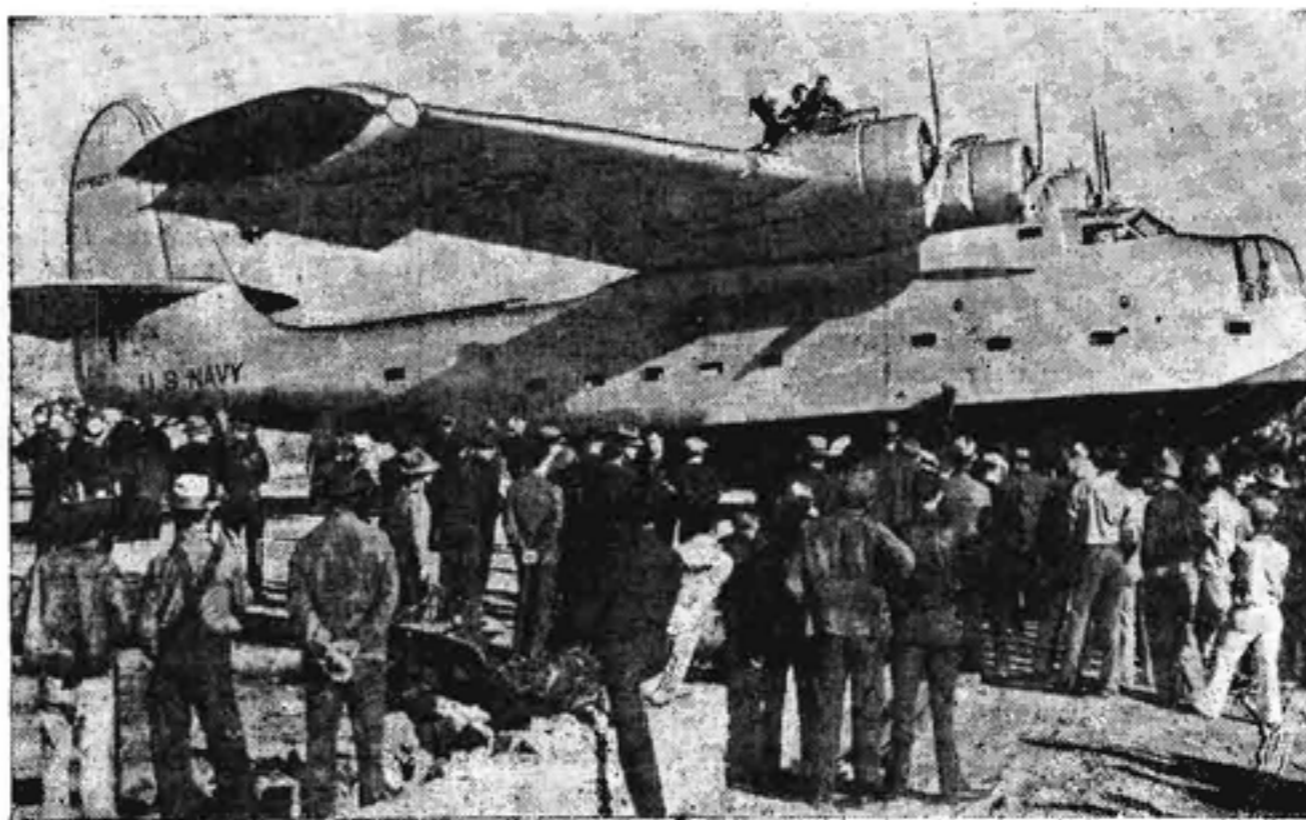
So great a power was lodged in this titanic social force, that the workers' state has been able to withstand more than twenty years of isolation, more than a decade and a half of Stalinism! Even under Stalinism, and despite Stalinism, even though at great sacrifice, the Russian masses were able to make gigantic strides forward, and to pull the former feudal empire of the Czars into the ranks of the advanced nations.

Who Will Conquer

These achievements were made possible by the great revolutionary traditions and the creative energies of the Russian proletariat. These are living forces which Stalin may weaken but cannot destroy no matter how many trials he stages, regardless of the repressions he may unleash.

Who will vanquish whom? This issue will be decided only in an open struggle. Just as we decisively opposed those who together with Stalin boasted of the "irrevocable" victory of the workers in Russia, so today we refuse to "concede" their irrevocable defeat. The outcome will be decided in struggle. And in this struggle, as in 1917, the international vanguard will take its position shoulder to shoulder with the resurgent Russian revolution in the fight to retain and extend the conquest of October—despite Stalinism, against Stalinism, against capitalist restoration in Russia, against capitalist rule elsewhere in the world.

DOVE OF PEACE, ROOSEVELT STYLE



One of the U. S. Army's new "flying fortresses" which recently made a "goodwill" flight to South America.

The Idea of "National Defense"

"The defense of the national state, first of all in Balkanized Europe—the cradle of the national state—is in the full sense of the word a reactionary task. The national state with its borders, passports, monetary system, customs and the army for the protection of customs has become a frightful impediment to the economic and cultural development of humanity. Not the defense of the national state is the task of the proletarian, but its complete and final liquidation...."

"The working class is not indifferent to its nation. On the contrary, just because history places the fate of the nation into its hands, the working class refuses to entrust the work of national freedom and independence to imperialism which 'saves' the nation only to subject it on the morrow to new mortal dangers for the sake of the interests of an insignificant minority of exploiters... A new war would carve Europe anew in accordance with the war map and not in correspondence to the boundaries of nations. The task of complete national determination and peaceful cooperation of all peoples of Europe can be solved only on the basis of the economic unification of Europe, purged of bourgeois rule. The slogan of the United States of Europe is a slogan not only for the salvation of the Balkan and Danubian peoples but for the salvation of the peoples of Germany and France as well." ("War and the Fourth International")