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THE FIGHT AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR

THE INTERNAL CRISIS OF THE U.S.

INTERNATIONAL ASPECTS OF THE U.S. CRISIS

PRINCIPLES OF COMMUNIST ORGANIZATION

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Chapter 2

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THE FIGHT AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR -

I - PRESENT WORLD SITUATION

The armed struggle in Spain between the masses and among the imperialist powers; and the military conquest of China by Japanese imperialism; together with Hitler's victories in Austria and the Balkans represent three dangerous situations which can at any time result in an open armed conflict between the imperialist powers for the fourth redivision of the earth. The first world war was also inaugurated by similar armed struggles which acted as prelude points of advantage before the final calss set off the whole powder keg of world capitalism.

Although the danger points are in Asia and Europe, despite the fact that many Latin American countries are temporarily asserting themselves against American Imperialism, the nation that is exerting the greatest economic pressure upon decay capitalism and the country that is preparing for war with the greatest military budget is the United States. At the same time its economic and geographic position enables the United States to carry on its war preparations under the cloak of "peace," "security," and "protection."

II - CAUSE OF IMPERIALIST WARS

Imperialist wars in the decay stage of capitalism are inevitable. Nothing can prevent them - nothing under capitalism - except the proletarian revolution. The accumulation of capital, finance capital, means of production and commodities, has reached the point where productive forces cannot find markets for further accumulation and "normal" capitalist production and distribution. Momentary "solutions" for the individual capitalist nations, in order to save private property within the country, makes necessary their increased struggle against the exploitation of the proletariat and other oppressed masses, their moves to swallow up the weaker puppet nations, and their drive against the colonial and semi-colonial masses.

III - FASCISM

This brings forward under capitalism as its most acute form of decay and economic weakness, where the proletariat has not been successful in solving the problems of society, Fascism. This is the "organized" restriction of production and attempts to save capitalism by dictatorial state intervention in the economic laws of accumulation.

IV - THE BASIC ANTAGONISMS

The contradictions within capitalism create its economic difficulties and carry with them the political antagonisms - (1) of the struggle of exploiter and exploited (the antagonisms between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie), and (2) the struggle among the ex-

plotters for a share of the shrinking markets for their expanding productive forces (the antagonism among the imperialists).

V - THE IMPERIALIST RIVALRY

The struggle among the six leading imperialist nations - United States and Great Britain; Germany, France and Italy; and Japan with the Soviet Union as a special force - constitutes the most complicated political-military antagonism flowing from the contradiction of the capitalist mode of production so far confronted by the world.

The United States is the only imperialist power located in the Americas, and Japan the only imperialist power located in Asia, and Great Britain, Germany, France and Italy are all at each other's elbows in Europe. This of itself contributed much toward the relation of the imperialists to each other in their struggle for new conquests. The unique geographic position of the United States and Japan have enabled both to make rapid strides forward at the expense of the other imperialists and the weaker nations.

VI - RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN EUROPE

All of the imperialists, no matter where they are located geographically and no matter what their relative economic status is, are aiming at the conquest of Asia - primarily China and the Soviet Union - as their final goal.

The Japanese invasion today is a preliminary step toward the consolidation of her position in Asia against the "outside white imperialist" invaders, and as a step toward war on the Soviet Union.

American Imperialism's internal steps of economic reorganization, war preparations, and her naval and Pacific military measures are preliminary steps toward the conquest of Asia. All of the most influential American statesmen realize that the key to American Imperialism's needs in the end lies toward the east, in Asia.

Likewise the moves of the moves of the Four Imperialist Powers in Europe are attempts to get their house (Europe) in order as steps toward Asia. Germany with her Balkan and Ukraine needs; Great Britain and France with their Mediterranean needs - in competition with Italy's needs both in the Balkans and the mediterranean. The Soviet Union's position between Japan and Germany forces her to prepare on these two fronts at the same time to the fullest degree. But under Stalinism this takes the form of mere defense.

VII - THE LEAGUE AND THE FOUR POWERS

Hitler's march forward in Europe and the Balkans forces England to a greater extent than ever before to place in the background the League of Nations and bring forward an attempt to establish a Four Power Pact under her hegemony. A move in this direction is her only

empt to break Italy from the Rome-Berlin axis. Not that she desires a repudiation of the pact. No, - she desires to use, to extend the Rome-Berlin axis to a London-Berlin-Paris-Rome axis under her domination. The Rome-Berlin axis was used by the "have-nots" to blackmail the "haves", especially England; and was a reply to the Franco-Soviet Pact and the Peoples Front policy. At the same time it must be kept in mind that the Franco-Soviet Pact, which was a feeble attempt to keep Fascism at bay, could succeed in obtaining a bloc of imperialist nations against Germany only if France and the Soviet Union could keep England in line. In this respect the Franco-Soviet Pact also had its elements of blackmail against England.

VIII - THE EUROPEAN STAGES SINCE THE WORLD WAR

The struggle of the four European powers is the most complicated. In their attempt to obtain order in Europe, so they can "organize the world" - order at the expense and subordination of the three imperialist powers, in Europe, especially France and Italy - the Four Powers now face a new realignment of forces. This has been caused by the development of Germany to a new position in the world arena which has brought to naught the League of Nations, and Franco-Soviet Pact, and the Peoples Front policy.

To obtain a focus of this new situation let us briefly list the stages after the imperialist war: 1) The period from the beginning of the World War to the Russian Revolution and the Versailles Treaty. 2) From 1917 to the defeat of the German Revolution of 1923 and the Dawes Plan with American Imperialism and its Dollars beating back the revolution and smashing England's grip. 3) From the 1923 period to the defeat of the Chinese Revolution (also the British General Strike), the 1929 world wide crisis, and the anti-proletarian policies of the Comintern. 4) From the 1929 period to the 1933 defeat of the proletariat in Germany and Hitler's seizure of power. (5) From 1933 to the present period - which now shapes up as a new realignment - final preparations for the new imperialist war.

We will use as a starting point for the analysis of the antagonisms, the developments in Germany.

IX - GERMANY

The first attempt of Germany to organize Europe as a step toward organizing the world was a direct challenge to British domination. These were the two leaders of the imperialist blocs in the first world war - even though the imperialists in America and the imperialists in Asia were able to doublecross all of them and gain the most.

The second attempt of Germany to organize Europe finds an entirely different international relationship. On the one hand American Imperialism as the leading power, on the other hand the Soviet Union instead of backward Czarist Russia. British world domination is being weakened every day by the pressure of the United States, Japan.

Germany and Italy. These four countries with the latter three in the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo axis are making headway at England's expense. And again the giant of the west plays a lone hand, utilizing the frictions on both sides for its own ends.

In the first world war Germany only faced one real power in the struggle for world domination - England. In the present preparation for the redivision of the earth, Germany faces three important rivals who are also preparing for world dominations: U.S., Japan and England.

Underlying all of this there remain the forces that inevitably bring to the surface the EXTENSION OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION in spite of the role of Stalinism and the Soviet Union in the world arena.

In the first stage of Germany's struggle to break out of the Versailles Treaty she was forced to struggle with one of the three main contenders against the others. In this period she joined with the needs of America in Europe against England and through the Dewey and Young plans made headway against the extension of October and against the British-dominated League of Nations.

Up to the Fascists' seizure of power, Germany had been dominated by American Imperialism. At the same time she carried on "secret" relations with the Soviet Union with the full knowledge and approval of American Imperialism. But with the strength poured in by the American Dollar the Versailles shackles were smashed, and with it Germany liberated itself from the Young Plan slavery.

At this juncture Germany changed its "allies" and replaced America with England. England became the silent partner for German expansion after 1933. England was forced into this position by its own Empire's weakness. America by no means let loose of its hold. American Imperialism will sooner or later again replace England, and has, while England played the new role, continued to use Germany AGAINST ENGLAND. But Germany's new position enabled her to be more independent in relation to American Imperialism.

After Germany had consolidated her new Fascist regime internally she drove out to weaken the French hegemony in the Balkans, and with the Austrian seizure has made great strides southward for iron, coal, lumber, cotton, and above all oil and wheat, as well as other raw materials. Her steps now, to succeed, must carry her further into the Balkans and toward the Ukraine.

England's attempt to get a bloc of European powers, both against American Imperialism and the Proletarian Revolution, to say nothing about saving the Empire, has forced her, against her "will" to allow Germany and Japan to grow. The Tory is forced to make concessions to Germany, Japan and Italy in its struggle against the U.S. But at the same time the United States has been utilizing Germany and Italy against England, thereby giving these countries (including Japan)

advantages. In other words, the success of Germany, Japan and Italy has been carried out primarily at the expense of the Anglo-American world wide antagonisms. In turn, the gains of these imperialists intensify in the long run the Anglo-American antagonism.

British imperialism has no choice now in the struggle to retain her world position against a new redivision of the earth by the have-nots and the pressure of America. It can only attempt to obtain a balance of power, not only in the Four Power antagonisms of European imperialism but also in the larger German-Japanese-British relations.

The most important weapon held by American Imperialism against the other contenders for empire is its rich financial position, its credit position, its productive forces and "isolation" by two oceans. With this economic weapon it hovers over every conference held, and like an eagle takes its prey at the right moment. The day will soon be here when America will again use the American Dollar in Germany as it did once before, which means using the Dollar against the European imperialists.

In the past, using Germany as the foot-hold, a struggle was waged in Europe by the American Dollar against Communism in England; but with Hitler's seizure of power (on the basis of the long work of the American Dollar and the false policies of Stalinism and Social Democracy) both Communism and the American Dollar lost. Today, Germany exploits the Anglo-American antagonism, momentarily utilizing England, but tomorrow the United States has the greatest possibility of gaining Germany's aid against England.

X - THE IMPERIALIST BLOCS

We are familiar with the imperialist blocs in the first world war & the post-war period. They were riddled with contradictions just as the new blocs are - the Franco-Soviet Pact, the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo Pact, the attempted Four Power Pact, etc. Within each country, as well as between these imperialist countries there is a struggle, not only over internal policies, but also over international policies and to determine which imperialist shall be used as the most favorable allies (the ones that can do the least harm). They cannot trust allies any more than they can enemies. The differences between allies and enemies of an imperialist nation is a question of economic and military necessity and has nothing to do with the "moral" question of good and bad.

Most politically-minded people are familiar with the difference in Japanese imperialism (Army versus Navy policy) over China, Russia and England. And the pro-Soviet group in Germany and the pro-German group in Russia. Likewise the Morgan-Rockefeller clash in relation to British Imperialism, and Germany, etc.

The most favorable variant of imperialist blocs for Germany although on the surface it looks like the most remote, would be a bloc

of Germany, United States and Russia. If on the other hand, Germany would agree with England against America and others, this would carry with it a war against the Soviet Union. A bloc with the United States against England would most likely mean Russia as an ally of Germany and the United States.

It is not theoretically excluded that Fascist countries and the degenerated Soviet State under Stalinism will be allies in the next imperialist war. There is no principle gulf between Stalinism and the Hitler Government any more than there is a principle gulf between the Roosevelt (or Landon) Government and Hitler. The most suitable, but not most likely, variant is the further development of Russia to the right and a "new Germany, some form of non-Nazi Germany (momentarily leaving out the question of a proletarian revolution). This would be ideal for the needs of American Imperialism - dominating the United States-Germany-Soviet Union bloc (with Russia as the tail). The basic antagonism between the proletariat and world capitalism will do more to prevent the accomplishment of this variant than any other factor.

Nevertheless, the imperialists are considering such a variant. The United States is forced to cooperate with Germany, on the one hand against England, and on the other hand with Russia against Japan. She tries to push Russia to the right and Germany to the left, and at the same time she tries not to antagonize these two "allies".

Before Fascism came to power, the United States, although working with both Germany and Russia, carried on more successful moves through Germany. But with the victory of Fascism, America and Russia drew nearer, especially after the Japanese colonial expansion. But as a long range perspective, with the Soviet Union under Stalinism moving to the right, and Germany strengthened, bringing in the possibility of more moderate (democratic) means of holding in check the classes and carrying out her policies, this variant will become more realistic.

XII - STALINISM AND THE BASIC ANTAGONISMS

A workers State under the leadership of Marxists, as of the days of Lenin, represented the vanguard force for the proletariat and oppressed masses in all the countries in their struggle against capitalism and for its overthrow. But with the degeneration of the Soviet Union, with the advent of the revisionist Stalinists, with the Soviet Union on the brink of capitalist restoration, and the Communist International nothing but a social-patriotic, reformist force like the Second International, it no longer represents this vanguard force. On the contrary, the Stalinists through the Soviet foreign policy and through the Comintern represent agents of the capitalists on a world scale. (The concrete aspects of this Stalinist policy have been dealt with in other articles and documents of the Organization.)

XIII - WARS AND REVOLUTIONS IN THE PERIOD OF DECAY

When the most violent economic crises of capitalism broke out in 1929 the mechanical materialists and the ultra-lefts presented the thesis that it was the "last" crisis of capitalism, that the automatic breakdown of capitalism brought with it a condition that would "automatically" lead to proletarian victory (Theory of Spontaneity). This analysis did not take into account all of the factors and the relation between the objective factors which create a revolutionary situation and the role of the vanguard and the proletariat in transforming this situation into a successful revolution. Above all they did not understand the relation of the cyclical crisis to the period of decay capitalism - the ebbs and flows within the PERIOD OF DECAY - which has altered the fundamental aspects of capitalist accumulation and the productive cycle.

Now the non-dialecticians have transferred this error from the economic realm to the political realm and confuse wars and revolutions with the PERIOD OF WARS AND REVOLUTIONS. The period of decay, and the period of wars and revolutions are merely the economic and political terms, two sides of one question, to define the last stage of capitalism, the stage of finance capital, of imperialism. Some of the ultra-lefts state that the imperialist war has already broken out among the imperialist powers and that we are in the imperialist war at present. This is the same kind of confusion they spread about economic crisis. The ultra-lefts prove they do not understand the basic relation between the cyclical crisis and the period of decay capitalism; and wars and revolutions and the period of wars and revolutions.

XIV - THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

Where Fascism confronts a revolutionary situation and is overthrown, the illusions of the masses and the exploiters' needs will canalize the revolutionary energies in the framework of bourgeois democracy. They will rally under the slogan of democracy versus Fascism. In this struggle the Marxists will face a period of bourgeois democracy in the first stage of the overthrow, similar in form to the stage of bourgeois democracy confronted in a backward country when Czarism was overthrown before the October Revolution.

To advocate this bourgeois democracy in a backward country (provisional government) in place of Lenin's policy of the Social Revolution and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat would be betrayal - not only in backward Russia but above all in advanced Germany after Hitler. And to confuse the slogan for a Constituent Assembly in backward countries - as an auxiliary measure within the framework of the struggles for the social revolution - with such a slogan for advanced capitalist countries where Fascism is overthrown, is to confuse similar FORMS with opposite CONTENTS. The economic conditions in backward countries, and the class relations (majority of peasants and oppressed nationalities) carries with it the need of transitional measures, to coordinate the rule of the proletarian minority with the

peasant majority. But in the decay of capitalism, in its highly developed links, where all have lived through these "democratic forms of the capitalist dictatorship, where the majority are workers, and where the class relations are entirely different, the calling for the Constituent Assembly, the Weimar Constitution, etc can only result in leading the proletariat back to the re-establishment of the exploiters' rule and its private property over another defeated revolution.

We reject the transitional slogan of Constituent Assembly for advanced capitalist countries, where Fascism or some other form of dictatorship is overthrown. We present slogans for DEMOCRATIC DEMANDS of the proletariat and other classes on the economic field within the framework of the struggle for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat which will insure WORKERS DEMOCRACY - a greater democracy than capitalism could even begin to dispense.

XV - AUSTRIA, CZECHO-SLOVAKIA, AND THE WORKING CLASS

The Hitler seizure of Austria, after months and years of preparations, after mobilizing tremendous ARMED MIGHT, and then striking at a critical moment when the other imperialists could not move fast, reveals again the bankruptcy of the Second and Third Internationals. Their program as a whole, and especially the latest Peoples Front phase of this policy, which in reality helped pave the way for Hitler, again brings to the fore what the workers should have done under this condition.

We reject the Stalinist-Socialist position of supporting the Austrian bourgeois forces against the German Fascists (of subordinating the proletariat to the bourgeoisie "fighting" Hitler). We demand at all times the independent class action of the proletariat, which is only possible on the basis of the political and organizational independence of the revolutionary Marxian organization. Parallel action with a section of the exploiters fighting Hitler, and the utilization of the friction in the exploiters' camp has nothing in common with the Peoples Front policy - rather it is the opposite in content - if the class and party maintain their complete independence.

In the fight to keep out Hitler ~~Köhl~~workers must put up their own resistance and establish Societs. Only the workers power, over the heads of the Austrian bourgeois government, could have carried on an effective fight. Only on this basis can the fire be directed against the invading Fascists.

But if in this struggle France and England or another power would "come to the aid" of Austria (or Czecho-Slovakia), and declare war on Germany, the workers caught in this trap would have to change their line to meet the new situation. Under this condition they would carry out the line of revolutionary defeatism. A war of national independence against imperialism, and a small country caught in an imperialist war, are different, but the complicated relation

of one to the other, or the transformation of one kind of struggle into the other must be analysed and always kept within the action of our class independence.

In both cases, where Hitler invades Austria, and next, when other imperialists declare war on Germany, the proletarians of Austria DO NOT SUPPORT THEIR BOURGEOIS STATE, DO NOT GIVE AID TO IT. But in the first case of Fascism smashing a weaker nation there were excellent chances to exploit the friction between the invading Fascist exploiters, and carry on parallel action against Hitler. But in the second case of France and England, or both, joining against Germany, a new situation has developed, and imperialist war which calls for revolutionary defeatism in Austria as well as in Germany and France, etc. Again we must stress the coordinating slogan for the complex European struggle - The Soviet United States of Europe.

NOTE: 1) See FIGHTING WORKER for Workers Position on War.
2) The position of Japan and Italy, and France and the Soviet Union will be dealt with in other articles.

THE THEORY OF MARXISM

In this period of impending war and sharpening class conflict, the revisionists try to retain their hold on the workingclass by revolutionary-sounding phrases. The workingclass needs an organ devoted to the theory of Marxism which will point the way thru this confusion by its analysis of workingclass problems.

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THE INTERNAL CRISIS OF U.S. IMPERIALISM

1 - The crisis in American capitalism, like all crises under capitalism, is the result of a clotting of the productive forces in the U.S. in relation to the world market. Having long ago outgrown its nationalist boundaries the contradiction between an ever more rationalized production and an ever decreasing market is putting American industry and finance at a standstill, while a long process of readjustment takes place within the economic structure in the U.S.

2 - The present readjustment, unlike those in most other cyclical crises, especially in the last century, serves a two-fold purpose: First, to reorganize production on a lower gear, eliminating large sections of the bourgeoisie and middle class, and shifting a greater load of the burden - inflation, lower wages, indirect taxes, unemployment, etc. - onto the working class. Second, to prepare American economy for the inevitable Imperialist War, in which the U.S. will make its bid to "conquer the world" for American Imperialism.

WAR OR REVOLUTION

3 - Floundering in decay, American Imperialism is faced with the prospect in the near future of choosing - like all capitalist powers - between a war of conquest, or confrontation with social revolution. The re-adjustment during the present crisis, therefore, behind the smokescreens put forth by the Roosevelt administration, has as one of its primary objectives the reshuffling of class relationships so that the establishment of "civil peace" will be a comparatively simple matter.

4 - The present crisis is a crisis in decay capitalism. In the period of progressive capitalism, the forces of production were liberated to the point where each new crisis was overcome with a wave of industrial expansion larger than the one before. In the present period the possibility for industrial expansion has been almost entirely eliminated. The artificially-stimulated prosperity of 1935-37 was created without a single expansion of the forces of production.

Formerly 3 factors contributed to raising capitalism from depression to periods of prosperity: (1) the "big-fish-eat-little-fish" fight among the bourgeoisie itself, a struggle in which greater monopolies were established and a greater concentration of capital developed; (2) the utilization of new productive forces to create new industries; and (3) the exploitation of new colonial markets. The two last factors are entirely absent in the present cyclical crisis. There are no new industries of importance (such as radio, electric, auto, formerly), although the new technical knowledge - as in the past - is capable of giving rise to a dozen new industries (television for example).

Unable to find a market for or profits in new industries capital-

ism acts as a fetter to the productive forces. The amount of factory building during the '35-'37 prosperity period never even reached the low point of the last business cycle. Department store sales although they consumed a greater percentage of the sales than previously still were full $\frac{1}{2}$ less than in the last peak of prosperity. The export of goods was much below - usually less than one-half the amount of exports in the previous business cycle of capitalism. The third factor listed above - the exploitation of new markets - was completely absent in the "recovery" of 1935-37, and vanishes even more today, with the conquest of Ethiopia, China, Austria, etc. by other imperialist powers, and the increased penetration of other imperialists into American dominated markets.

U. S. CAPITALISM IN DECAY

5 - What has been happening in the U.S. since 1929 is a phenomenon which American Imperialism, hurtled by a favorable position in the last war to the most powerful economic power in the world - has long postponed, and finally confronts, just as European imperialism confronted it twenty and thirty years ago. Not only has the relative rate of profit in relation fixed capital (machinery, buildings, etc.) fallen, but the absolute amount of profit - in dollars and cents has likewise - for the first time - fallen below the level of the last cycle of capitalism. The bourgeoisie itself reflects this phenomenon on the stock exchange. World monopolies like nickel and aluminum, stocks like U.S. Steel, Anaconda Copper, etc., sold at the peak of '35-'37 prosperity at a price sometimes only $\frac{1}{2}$ or $\frac{1}{5}$ or less that of the 1929 period. In other words the profit potentialities of the key industries and firms - firms which have grown comparatively stronger in the last decade - are much smaller than previously. Furthermore, the increased outlay for taxes, the need for pump-priming, relief, and armament expenditures - the cost of part of which the bourgeoisie must pay for - has dug much deeper into the bourgeois bank account than any time in American history. The revenue collections in 1937 were almost twice as large as in 1929: even the 1935 and 1936 revenue collections were from $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$ of a billion dollars more than 1929. The 1937 figures top any year since the war.

"ORGANIZED CAPITALISM"

6 - Faced with this situation American Imperialism must increasingly resort to greater state intervention into all spheres of life, and primarily industry and finance, in order to save its hulk. The stage we are entering is the stage of "organized" capitalism, the final result of which is the more completely "organized" capitalism of fascism. Unlike the planned economy of a Workers State, however, the planned economy of capitalism is an economy of scarcity, of discovering the most suitable means to limit instead of increase production in general. In agriculture the Roosevelt plan is to limit crop acreage by AAA, etc. In industry the "organized" production consists of keeping prices up for the monopolies, and in one form or another driving the lesser industrialists from the scene through

this "governmental control". In the sphere of banking there is an increasing merger of government and private banks, a closer coordination - with the aim of centralizing credit and investment. The logical and desired result of all this is the pinching of the middle class and weaker bourgeois elements and the reorganization of production on a lower level.

7 - With the increase narrowing of the market the competitive struggle of the various capitalist and groups of capitalist, both in the economic and political fields, becomes sharper. Governmental intervention in business besides playing the major role of shifting the burden of the crisis onto the workers and middle class, also serves the secondary purpose of consolidating the bourgeois group or groups closer to the administration as against those furthest away - primarily the Rockefeller group as against the Morgan-Dupont group - and finding for them the best method of getting out from under the crisis. The howl of certain bourgeois elements against the court packing, the reorganisation bills of the capitalist-puppet Roosevelt, is not a difference over principle (democracy versus bureaucracy, etc.) - but a difference over who shall wield the new power and in whose interests it shall be wielded.

STRUGGLES AMONGST THE CAPITALISTS

8 - The squeezing of the bourgeoisie in the economic field manifests itself in the political field in all the ruptures and schism first between the two warring camps of capitalism, the working class and the capitalist class, second between the various capitalists themselves, and third even within the ranks of each capitalist grouping. Inside the Democratic Party the struggle between the New Dealers and anti-New Dealers has become sharpened. But even within the New Dealers there have been serious ruptures: between Lehman and Roosevelt over the court bill, taxes, etc. In the Republican camp the same struggle is evident: Landon vs. Hoover; the Farm Republicans vs. the City Republicans (the New Hampshire governor, for instance, threatens to move to a "third" party if a "progressive" policy toward the farmer and worker is not adopted), etc. Even the Labor Party camp of capitalism - the Lewis camp - is not free from breaks and ruptures. Dubinsky and Martin are definitely fighting Lewis and others, and cementing support for their struggle with the AF of L (Frey, Tobin, etc.). The Stalinist and Lovestoneites are at loggerheads within the Labor Party movement, etc. The Trotskyites offer a different concept of the Labor Party from the rest.

WAR PREPARATIONS

9- The most prominent sphere of capitalist readjustment is in the War Preparations. Behind the scenes the economic plans for war have long been prepared with the individual capitalists. Blue prints for

converting "peace" factories into war factories have long been distributed. Plans for taking over certain industries - railroads for instance - are perfected. But the frenzied preparations of U.S. capitalism for war today are primarily in the social sphere: the movement to conscript both physically and mentally the American working class behind war. With the aid of the reformist Workers Alliance the unemployed movement is being castrated and brought into support of the Roosevelt re-organisation programs, his war preparations. The CIO and AFL, together with the reformist Labor Party and the Stalinists, Socialist and centrists, are deluding the working class into pipe-dreams about "collective security", man-made depressions, fights against the 60 families, etc. Such delusions pave the way for May Bills, etc. The Youth is being marshalled into CCC camps, in preparation for the army, into ROTC's, etc. With the aid of the pro-Roosevelt American Students Union, jingoism and patriotism are sweeping the most important section of the working class during war, the youth. The very propaganda of capitalism is becoming more open. "We must arm for peace", Secretary Hull states. The jingo references to the "bad" nations of Europe, the war-like fascists, etc., are merely smokescreens behind which American imperialism plans to build its military force still stronger. The actual military expenditures are the greatest in history, and the propaganda for a "Navy Second to None" has given way to the propaganda for the "Biggest Navy in the World."

DEMOCRACY AND FASCISM

11 - The connection between bourgeois democracy and fascism as two, different forms of capitalist rule is especially visible on the economic sphere, where the pump-priming of Rooseveltian democracy blends into governmental control and ownership of industry and finance and into fascism. On the social sphere although less visible the conscription bills, the arbitration measures, the forced mediation, the introduction of CCC camps, etc. are a chain of the same links of which fascism is made. The attempts by the reformists and the centrists (including such "left" centrists as the Trotskyites) to show an intrinsic distinction between bourgeois democracy and fascism are mere lies and fakery.

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PRINCIPLES OF COMMUNIST ORGANIZATION

DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM A POLITICAL PRINCIPLE

1. The Revolutionary Marxian Organization is:
 - a. Based on a Program of Marxism
 - b. International in Character
 - c. Politically and Organizationally Independent
 - d. Democratic Centralist in Structure

For Marxists, the above whole or any of its parts is a principled-question; each is interrelated with the other. The Marxian program is obviously the **WHOLE** from which the other **PARTS** flow and is consequently the **DECISIVE** aspect of the question of the Revolutionary Marxist Organization.

2. Democratic Centralism is not an organizational aspect of the question, but a **POLITICAL** principle of the first water. Those who make of it an organizational fetish, or attempt to utilize it as a vehicle for unlimited debate don't understand the question as a living instrument in the hands of the proletarian vanguard. Only a Marxist leadership operating on a Marxist line can maintain Democratic Centralism. For Marxists Democratic Centralism is essential in order that petty-bourgeois, opportunist, and ultra-left influences do not prevail both in the ideological and organizational spheres.

3. For revisionists, Democratic Centralism becomes an obstacle in their historic task of tying the workers' organization to the bourgeoisie. The way out of this obstacle is two-fold: the demand for "freedom" of criticism and unlimited discussion debates; and outright bureaucracy. Usually revisionism resorts to a little of both Democratic Centralism, in the last analysis, is abrogated only as the result of revisionism and false programmatic positions; in other words, revision in the **PARTS** are the result of revisions of the **WHOLE**, no matter which side of the revision comes to the surface first.

DEMOCRACY IN DISCUSSION, DISCIPLINE IN ACTION

4. A sound Marxian organization and its leadership utilizes Democratic Centralism, through a proper combination and coordination of its two component aspects (democracy and centralization), to make its program a living reality. A virile Communist organization must be built on the basis of iron discipline. It must permit the greatest possible democracy in the development of its political line. Once, however, the majority decision is adopted, then it is incumbent upon every individual to carry out in **ACTION** the will of the majority. An organization of revolutionists, unlike a debating society, must insist that all abide by the decisions reached. The individual and the individual point of view become submerged, and the united organization stands before the proletariat and the class enemy. Through the proper channels, and by disciplinary action if necessary

the will of the majority must be enforced upon those who refuse to abide by and carry out the decisions adopted. The power of conviction is more desirable; discipline is invoked only as a last resort.

5. The democratic procedure flows from a centralized structure of elected committees in a graduated order. Between meetings of the body under which it serves, each committee has the power to act, in its respective jurisdiction, on questions of policy and tactics. The whole structure of Democratic Centralism becomes a basis for the training of professional revolutionists and the development of the rank and file workers.

UNITY AND EFFICIENCY IN THE CLASS STRUGGLE

6. Revolutionary discipline, a vital factor of the Marxian organization, flowing from the Democratic Centralist structure and related to the general program, provides for unity and efficiency in the class struggle; and establishes a minimum of activity for the individual according to his ability and the need of the organization. Proletarian responsibility of the individual to the organization in this way, replaces petty-bourgeois "anarchism". The relationship of the leaders to the rank and file and of both to the organization can be generally summed up by the formula: full democracy in the election of committees and the deliberations on political questions, plus iron "barracks" discipline in action. Internally, members of higher bodies are responsible before their respective highest body and to the organization in general, always defending the positions of the higher bodies in the lower bodies.

MAY DAY MANIFESTO -

This year the "official" May Day parades and demonstrations are for war and for capitalism. The labor fakers have succeeded in organizing the workers for the boss-class.

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OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS LEAGUE

D I A L E C T I C A L M A T E R I A L I S MCHAPTER TWOTHE DIALECTIC IN SOCIETY

We have shown in the study of nature that the process by which all of its material combinations develop proceeds dialectically. Is this also true in social development? Although materials under consideration are of a more complex nature in social development than in inorganic and organic evolution the same dialectical process can be found. As Marx and Engels correctly stated in the Communist Manifesto, "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles." (5) This class struggle under social systems of the exploitation of man by man is merely the expression of the contradictions and antagonistic forces making up this society.

The dialectical process in social development has been analyzed and its "laws" defined, as Historical Materialism. Or one could say that Historical Materialism is the application of the dialectical materialist method of reasoning to social development. The latter is merely the reflection of the former, the process of social development.

MATERIALIST CONCEPT OF HISTORY

"The materialist conception of history starts from the proposition that production of the means to support human life, and next to production, the exchange of things produced, is the basis of all social structure; that in every society that has appeared in history, the manner in which wealth is distributed and society divided into classes or orders is dependent on what is produced, how it is produced and how the products are exchanged. From this point of view the final causes of all social changes and political revolutions are to be sought not in the philosophy, but in the economics of each particular epoch. The growing perception that existing social institutions are unreasonable and unjust, that reason has become unreasonable and right wrong, is only proof that in the modes of production and exchange changes have silently taken place, with which the social order, adapted to earlier economic conditions, is no longer in keeping. From this it also follows that the means of getting rid of the incongruities that have been brought to light, must also be present, in a more or less developed condition, within the changed modes of production themselves. These means are not to be invented by deduction from fundamental principles, but are to be discovered in the stubborn facts of the existing system of production." (6)

ECONOMIC DETERMINISM

Historical Materialism must not be confused with the theory presented under the name of Economic Determinism. The warped concept of historical materialism presents economic factors as the only factors, ignoring other factors and in no way presents the proper inner-relation of the economic base and its super-structure in analysis.

Historical Materialism presents the mode of production as the determining factor of the development and decay of that social system. But Historical Materialism, unlike economic determinism takes into proper consideration the other inner-dependent forces such as environment, super-structure and the role of man, the human factor.

Whereas the Economic Determinist position is in reality mechanical materialism, the Historical Materialist concept is dialectical materialism. For example, in the decay stage of capitalism, who can deny the importance of the capitalist state (a part of the super-structure) in relation to the capitalist mode of production, when considering the question of the transformation of capitalism to socialism? Who does not understand the role of a revolutionary political party, its program and its leadership in relation to the question of overthrow? Historical Materialism presents all of these factors in their proper relationship, while the ultra-lefts, the anarchists, and the reformists etc., who in one form or the other reject Historical Materialism (Dialectical Materialism) are unable to present a scientific program and carry through correct action.

A rough line of demarcation can be drawn between these material factors and the mode of production presented in its true light as the determining factor by the following: That the mode of production in relation to the social development and decay, in its historical aspects is the determining factor for the super-structure and the acts of man. The most important aspects of the super-structure are the State, Education, Law Ideology, Art, Science, Philosophy, Custom, Political Parties, etc. But at each given moment, or at certain stages of the process the inter-play of other material factors and forces play momentarily the most important role, within that given FRAMEWORK already defined by the mode of production. This alters such important factors as the time element, forms, making patterns of uneven and combined development, bringing prosperity on the one hand and social revolution on the other hand at the most peculiar junctures and parts of the world capitalist chain, etc.

ROLE OF MAN

The Great Man Theory that great men arrive and remould society to their own liking, that great men are the determining factor in social development, that great men make history, etc. is the idealist concept applied to the sphere of social development. Man plays an important role in social development. Marxists have said more than once, that man does not make history out of the whole cloth, that Marxists not only explain the world, they REMAKE THE WORLD. But this role of man and great men, Historical Materialism does not deny; on the contrary it places in its proper historical setting in relation to the other factors and above all to the mode of production.

Historical Materialism deals with the entire span of social development of mankind even though in the main it has been applied far more extensively to the system of capitalism. Here too, if there is such a thing as a dialectical process we must present the contradictory forces, the process of development and the main outlines of the social cycle, as have been presented in the field of nature. To begin with, let us present the entire cycle of social development and with

in this frame-work and background explore in great detail one of its systems -- capitalism.

PRIMITIVE COMMUNISM

In the evolutionary development of the animal "kingdom", and especially the animal known as man, we can find the first forms of society in the gens and clans, where primitive man banded together and started the struggle against nature on an entirely new plane of action. This dividing line began the separation of man from the rest of the animals and was marked by mans' actions to produce his own means of subsistence. It was the first struggle of man to conquer nature, rather than to allow nature to set the pace for man as it does with the other species.

This early period, which lasted for a period of tens of thousands of years with its peculiar economic and social development, recorded in considerable research material, can be presented as a period of PRIMITIVE COMMUNISM.

Through social development of mans' slow victory over nature the first stage gave way to what is called the lower stage of barbarism and then to the higher stage of barbarism.

CIVILIZATION

This gave way to the monopoly of land and the use of man by man as slaves. A new stage of social development had been reached. It represented the systems of Chattel Slavery, Feudalism and Capitalism. These were the three systems that are now known as Civilization and can be presented as the period of mans' development of the exploitation of man by man.

Today we have reached the first stage of transition to another social system, it will be represented by the three main stages of Transition Economy, Socialism and Scientific Communism, and will again replace the main struggle of the exploitation of man by man with the struggle of man against nature. This will be the negation of the negation and a "return to the first stage", on a higher plane.

THE SOCIAL CYCLE

The social cycle, as a dialectical process of the Seed, Plant, Seed; or the Egg, Fish, Egg etc., represents the following:

Primitive Communism	Man vs. nature	Condition
Civilization	Man vs. man (include former)	Negation
Scientific Communism	Man vs. nature	Negation of the negation.

DIALECTIC PROCESS OF CAPITALISM

The birth, growth and decay of capitalism presents this dialectic process: -

"The capitalist method of production and method of appropriation, that is to say capitalistic private property, is the first negation of the individual private property founded on labor of individuals; the negations of the capitalistic production will be self-produced with the necessity of a natural process." (7) The negation of the negation takes place when the expropriators are expropriated. The "individual private property" is restored on a higher scale as social property, which lays the base for the elimination of the exploitation of man by man.

The three stages of capitalism can be classified as the stage of manufacturing, of Industrial Capitalism and Financial Capitalism or Imperialism. The manufacturing stage was at the same time the birth stage of capitalism. This was the period that the capitalist mode of production was replacing the handicraft production of the individual workshop and when the bourgeois revolutions were laying low the Feudal barons. Likewise, the stage of Imperialism is at the same time the stage of decay capitalism, and is represented primarily by the struggle between capitalism and the proletarian revolution, by the struggle which will lead to the victorious proletarian revolutions in the decisive sections of the earth, and then the gradual transformation of the whole under a socialist mode of production.

Later, we will present this dialectical process of capitalism with all of its contradictions and negations of development.

INTERNATIONAL ASPECTS OF AMERICAN IMPERIALISMGROWTH OF U.S. IMPERIALISM

The world imperialist realignments, on the basis of the defeats and quiescence of the working class, are rapidly shaping up to the second world war, upon which American Imperialism is counting to produce the solution to her needs. The last war crushed Germany and pushed to the top the young giant of the west, to challenge in his turn the mighty British empire. The intervening 20 years have seen the United States consolidate its position and reach out to a colossal extent.

The great size of the U.S., her wealth of resources, her giant productive plants, enormous capital reserves, trained working class, and on top of all this her geographical "isolation" with an ocean between her and any serious rival, all combined to produce the most powerful single country economically and financially of the whole world.

This period has seen the U.S. driving forward to dominate world finance. Two-thirds of her exports consist of manufactured goods, her exports have increased by 50% since the pre-war period, and her investments and holdings have risen from 2½ to 12½ billions of dollars. Wall Street has become the world's banker. Trade connections have penetrated to almost every point on the globe. It can be truly said the American empire is a world empire.

Precisely for this reason, the developments, contradictions, weaknesses in any important country inevitably find their reflection upon American Imperialism. Similarly, America finds herself directly interested in suppressing and crushing the uprisings and struggles of the oppressed masses for liberation and freedom.

But while America has achieved this mighty economic supremacy, she confronts as an ever-present threat the empire of her great rival, Great Britain, whose long years of world supremacy have given her a dominant political position on the world arena.

DRIVING FORCE FOR WAR

In order to maintain her position, that is, in order to consolidate herself and extend her holdings, because under capitalism there is only either expansion or decline, America's imperious need is to achieve a political supremacy commensurate with her economic superiority. This is dictated to her by her very economic might. Just as Japan faces the need of "organizing" Asia, as Germany is striving to "organize" Europe, so to the U.S. must "organize" her base. But her base is the world! Despite all her talk of "peace", of "isolation", America must have more colonies, more possessions, more bases from which to operate and to assert her commanding position. But with

such a perspective American Imperialism must run into a head-on collision with the other imperialists of the globe, and especially with Great Britain.

It is these factors which make the U.S. the greatest single driving force for war, in actual fact and in spite of her official propaganda.

THE STRUGGLE FOR ASIA

Viewed from the situation which America has already achieved, her most urgent need is a deeper penetration into Asia. Asia presents to the devouring maw of world imperialism an enormous field for capital investments and development, an almost untapped source of raw materials, of staples such as rubber, tin, sulphur, manganese, coal, iron, oil, etc., a potential market of vast possibilities, and a source of cheap labor power that can be exploited to the utmost. But the opportunity to exploit these possibilities demands that the U.S. secure a base on this continent - colonies. This must mean a struggle for China, for India, for the Dutch East Indies, etc. Japan's invasion of China is thus a direct blow to the aims of American Imperialism.

The struggle for China can be taken as representative of the struggle for Asia as a whole. Economic aspects are very revealing. In the years from 1913 to 1933 Japan increased her investments in China from $\frac{1}{4}$ Billion dollars to 2 billions, Britain from $\frac{1}{4}$ Billion to 1 billion, and the U.S. from 50 million to $\frac{1}{4}$ billion. But this is not the whole story. In approximately the same period Japan who in 1913 supplied 20% of China's imports, remained almost stationary and even declined slightly, Britain dropped from 56 % to supplying only 20 %, while the U.S. jumped from 6% to supplying 20%! Another instance of American advance is the rapid growth of the sales of airplane equipment to China, increasing from 40 % in 1929 of all of China's aircraft to supplying a full 70 % in 1937. Again, Wall Street's credit fund to exchange Chinese silver for gold, and enable China to purchase war equipment represents a powerful argument in America's hands.

Not England but the United States with her tremendous economic strength is Japan's greatest potential competitor. That America realizes this no less fully than Japan is shown by her undercover moves to throw aid to China, her playing up of Chinese propaganda as against Japanese, Roosevelt's drive for a 1 million dollar fund for the Chinese Red Cross, and unlike Spain, his complete shelving of the neutrality laws which, if invoked in this case, would operate to the benefit of Japan.

JAPAN, U.S., ENGLAND

In the three-cornered struggle between the U.S., Great Britain and Japan, Japanese Imperialism being the weakest, and driven on by her own explosive internal contradiction, has been forced to make the open moves and resort to actual military invasion to achieve her ends. But these moves have been cleverly calculated on the world rivalry

of Britain and America, and the inability of these 2 to present a united front even to so dangerous a common enemy as Japan. Japan has struck at the interests first of one and then of the other. In 1931 her Manchurian expedition called forth the immediate and loud protests of the U. S. whose interests were most directly involved, while Britain sat back and winked an eye. In the present war, when Japan occupied Shanghai, it was Britain who sought action, and the U. S. who did not move.

An important aspect of the present war in China is the fact that the mere occupation of territory will force Japan into a new and greater contradiction. To exploit this new field tremendous sums of capital will be required. Italy is confronting this problem today in Ethiopia. It is a factor that figures largely in Britain's calculations regarding Franco. Japan too, will be forced to come to Wall Street and London for funds and thus give these powers a leverage over the destinies of China.

The conflict of the powers over Asia is expressed politically in the policy of Japan of "Asia for the Asiatics" vs. the old "open door" policy of the U.S. who as a relatively new though powerful competitor on the field demands for herself equal rights for the penetration of Asia, in effect dominant rights, because of U.S. economic superiority.

"FIRST LINE OF DEFENSE" IN PACIFIC

Bound up with the struggle for Asia, and in the long run a key to the question of dominance, is the struggle for the Pacific Ocean. American Imperialism has laid down for herself the perspective of making the Caribbean an "American Mediterranean". In this, the few islands and bases America already has, serve only to accentuate her need for more.

The tiny islands of Midway and Wake, Canton, etc., hitherto seemingly valueless, have acquired extreme importance as air bases connecting the U.S. and South America with Asia. Recent inspired statements in the press are raising the question of postponing Philippine Independence. These trial balloons by the administration, covered as statements by Philippine "leaders", have thus far met an unfavorable response. In any case, it is assured that the Philippines with their strategic position and their conscript army built up by American Imperialism will be the front line of American operations in the Pacific.

The military-political strategy of the U.S. lays down as the "first line of defense" of the U. S. in the Pacific a line from Alaska to the Aleutian Islands to the Philippines on the one side, back from the Philippines to Guam to Samoa to the southernmost tip of South America on the other side. The base of the triangle thus formed is the coast line reaching from Alaska straight down to the tip end of S. America. The apex of this enormous triangle embodying most of the Pacific is pointed directly at Japan and Asia. American naval manuev-

ers, officially being held around the Hawaiians, are reported now to have reached as far as the Truk group of Islands under Japanese mandate, almost to the Philippines themselves, despite official denials of this rumor, the Navy Department announces the scene of 1938 maneuvers will be extended to include the Samoan, Wake and Midway Islands.

A line of defense so far out in the Pacific, its spearhead actually in the Philippines, can have only one aim - offense. The billion and one quarter being spent for re-armaments, the naval race of the world powers in which the U.S. is taking the lead - all indicate America's line of march. The general policy of American Imperialism in relation to the Far East was well stated by Secretary Hull in his speech recently. He made 4 points: the U.S. is "arming for peace"; America will defend its Far Eastern rights: it will make no alliances; but it will conduct parallel action.

LATIN AMERICA

Not only does the U.S. have her problems and difficulties in Asia, but also at home, on her own back doorstep, she has found herself coming up against a stiffer and stiffer competition. Since the war, America has undoubtedly made giant advances and holds the most dominant single position in Latin America. In 1937 the U. S. supplied 35% of all the world imports to Latin America, as compared to 24% in 1913. Britain in the same period dropped from 25 % in 1913 to 16% in 1937. But the 1929 crisis brought in its train a negative effect upon American fortunes. In the main the U.S. has made little headway in the last few years in lining up the Latin American countries for the coming war. The competition of Britain, Germany and Japan has been keen.

Germany through her trade agreements with Brazil and purchases of Brazilian coffee and cotton was exerting a more definite influence upon Brazilian financial economic and political life. To wedge Germany out, Wall st. made Brazil a 60 million dollar loan and signed a trade pact with her. Thus the National City Bank reconsolidated its hold.

On the other hand, Roosevelt's Latin American trip last fall aiming to consummate a Pan - American military bloc fell short of its mark with the balking of Argentina at the instigation of Great Britain.

The expropriation of the British and American oil companies by the Cardenas regime in Mexico presents a complicated pattern, with many of the facts and details not yet known. The expropriation affects Sinclair Oil, Standar Oil, and the British Royal Dutch Shell. Behind this act of Cardenas is the unrest and ferment of the masses. Cardenas has succeeded for the time at least, in heading off independent working class action by the Mexican masses against their imperialist oppressors. But this was not the only factor determining this move. There is also the struggle between Cardenas and Calles.

behind whom stand the Rockefeller and Morgan groups of American imperialists. And of course, there is the standing struggle between America and Britain in Mexico.

The Roosevelt Administration in retaliation against the expropriation has cut off its purchase of some 5 million dollars of silver per month from Mexico, thus throwing off balance the whole of Mexico an currency with a disastrous effect upon living standards. etc., which in turn will react heavily against the Cardenas regime. Wall Street's monthly payment of 5 million dollars amounting almost to a subsidy, has served to avert a possible revolutionary situation from developing, as well as giving the U.S. a virtual stranglehold on Mexico.

It is not at all excluded that the expropriation which seemingly is directed against British and American companies alike, will end up to the advantage of the U.S. This sort of scheme has been witnessed before in the Latin American countries. In this eventuality, some arrangement will be found in regard to the silver purchase.

The expropriation gives to the working class of Mexico an excellent opportunity, to advance further on its own independent class lines, and begin to fight for nationalization of industries under workers control of production as a transition step in the struggle for power. To take advantage of Cardena's act, and turn it to the interests of the working class is a necessary and a correct step. But to support Cardena's capitalist government because of this expropriation would result in a political suicide tomorrow when this puppet of American Imperialism reveals his hand, and the working class realizes it has been led into a trap.

THE U.S. AND EUROPE

The desperate and audacious moves by Germany have again altered the map of Europe. Germany was built up and financed by Uncle Sam after the war and the revolutionary upsurge, partly with the aim of creating in the middle of Europe a counterbalance to the weight of Great Britain, and partly because without the funds and aid poured in by the Dawes and Young plans German economy could not have withstood the impact of the proletarian offensive. Hitler's coming to power saw Germany turn from the U.S. to a more independent policy, directed at utilizing the friction and antagonism between Britain and the U.S. German headway, just like the Italian, has been made at Britain's expense in the main.

America's intervention and penetration in Europe has been mainly through the dollar. By means of loans and trade agreements the U.S. has sought to draw into her orbit Germany, Italy, Russia, etc. who would in turn drag along the lesser middle-European countries, thus forming an overpowering bloc directed at Great Britain. Repeatedly, the U.S. has winked an eye and even extended aid (supplying oil to Italy during the Ethiopian invasion, for example) whenever she could indirectly utilize these countries to deliver a blow at England.

Thus far the U.S. has managed successfully to disrupt every attempt by Great Britain to form a European bloc against her, but on the other side, has been unable to achieve her own aims either. The U.S. did not join the Non-Intervention Committee on Spain, preferring to work from the outside; but anxiously sent Davis and played a prominent role in the Brussell's conference under Japan's threat to her Asiatic interests. America accomplished nothing positive at the Brussels conference, but she was able to prevent the formation of a possible bloc under England's hegemony which might later be used against her.

Hitler's absorption of Austria will probably intensify the right shift throughout Europe, and also in France. If France can be prevailed upon to drop completely the already practically defunct Franco-Soviet Pact, this will facilitate further the British efforts to incorporate the Rome-Berlin axis into a 4 - power bloc of Britain, France, Italy, and Germany. The huge U.S. naval building program, and her extended naval maneuvers, are a silent demonstration of strength on the part of the colossus of the west, serving as a deterrent and threat against the formation of such a bloc. Undoubtedly American Imperialism is busy behind the scenes maneuvering to forestall such a bloc.

THE SOVIET UNION

As the most powerful imperialist country in the world, one of America's basic aims has always been the destruction of the Soviet Union (Dictatorship of the Proletariat). The most capitulatory policies and action of Stalinism will never succeed in setting at ease the justified fears of the world bourgeoisie, so long as even one pillar of the Workers State remains standing. Nevertheless, the U.S. has not balked and has even undoubtedly calculated upon a possible alignment and utilization of Stalinism in another war. The concessions which the U.S. would exact from Stalinism in such an alignment - possibly the abolition of the monopoly of foreign trade, the flooding of the Soviet Countryside and cities with cheap American goods, etc. - could undermine completely the already tottering structure of the proletarian dictatorship. If such an alliance were formed, we would witness a tremendous wave of chauvinism and social-patriotism in the U.S.A., set into motion by Stalinism. It will be the task of the revolutionary elements to stand firm against this treachery, and to continue the struggle for the safeguarding and extension of the interests of the proletariat and of the Soviet Union, by a policy of revolutionary defeatism in the U.S. and conditional defense to the Soviet Union.

UNITED STATES--GREAT BRITAIN STRUGGLE

That the struggle between England and America, the two rival titans of the imperialist world, is deep-rooted and world-wide and leading to another world slaughter, does not exclude temporary and even more extended joint action and working together in various fields where their interests run parallel. Their recent trade agreement, their parallel maneuvers at Singapore, are cases in point. It is such ac-

tions as these which have given rise to the talk of a "London-Washington axis". But such superficial analyses fail completely to take into account the deep-rooted underlying antagonisms between the two powers. Oftentimes, their joint action assumes the character of 2 enemies, each afraid to step forward alone lest he be knifed in the back by his ally. Nevertheless, it is not excluded that world developments may take the form of a war of extermination against the Soviet Union, with the U.S. utilizing the struggle and stepping in at the moment most advantageous to her on the side of the "allies".

In either case, whether the war takes the form of a direct open clash between Britain and U.S. Imperialism, or a different form as suggested above, it will still be the scene of the struggle between U.S. and Great Britain, in which one will gain at the expense of the other. We are, of course, omitting for the purpose of discussion the question of a proletarian insurrection, which can tear to shreds the entire pattern.

CONTRADICTIONS LEAD TO OVERTHROW

The official propaganda of the government on the "peaceful" aims of the U.S. cannot conceal the fact that willy-nilly the NEEDS AND INTERESTS of American Imperialism are driving her towards war. The lack of colonies must be satisfied. The penetration of Asia must be accomplished. The economic supremacy of America must have its corresponding world political hegemony. Nevertheless, "democratic" America is economically powerful enough to sit back and pull the strings, and have the lesser nations make the first moves and do the "small" fighting. But these "policemen" could not act without the tacit consent of the U.S.A.

We have only presented part of the problem and have arbitrarily omitted in the main the relation of American Imperialism to the proletariat and the oppressed masses under its domination. But this factor, of the most decisive character, runs through the entire pattern of the empire of American Imperialism. The further it extends its base and its holdings, the more it encompasses, the greater and deeper become the contradictions interwoven into its structure. American Imperialism is sitting on a volcano. A struggle of the oppressed masses in far off Asia has its repercussions over the world. A clash in Latin America may spread with a lightning-like rapidity throughout the whole continent. Just where the spark will be struck no-one can say. But the revolutionary movement must build its forces, prepare its cadres, carry on its activities in the class, lay the basis for the moment when the spark is struck, in order to be able to fan it into a mighty flame that will destroy the very foundations of Imperialism, and liberate mankind from its shackles.

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