

FOR A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY, FOR SOVIETS,
and for INDEPENDENT MILITIAS IN CHINA!!
AGAINST THE "CHINESE PATRIOTISM" OF TROTSKY-CANNON!!!

The undeclared war of Japanese Imperialism against semi-colonial China is an uncontrollable eruption compelled by the needs of Japanese imperialism and by the near-explosive pressure of the social revolution in Japan. This violent outburst, like the war in Spain, is only ~~xx~~ one of the outbreaks preliminary to the bursting of the whole molten mountain of capitalist conflicts into a second world imperialist war. But these imperialist volcanoes stem from a far mightier mother-fire that makes up the whole core of the capitalist earth. The raging fire of the class struggle will explode under their feet and blow the imperialists and their wars off the face of the earth.

While the army of Japanese imperialism is straining to slam the "Open Door" in the face of the imperialist world, the two rival imperialist giants of the post-war era stand opposed to each other, maneuvering for position in preparation for the coming war. Britain has tremendous investments at present in China, but expansion in China is a chief objective of U.S. capitalism's drive to war. How direct is America's interest in China can be judged by the fact that while she found it more advantageous to exert her influence from without upon the "Non-Intervention Committee" on Spain, the invasion of China saw American imperialism participating in the Brussels Conference on the Far-Eastern conflict. And America's boasted "neutrality" laws which if enforced would operate primarily to Japanese advantage, have been shelved.

Britain has been seriously occupied with the crisis in Spain and the Mediterranean, and neither Britain nor the USA has completed the line-up of its allies for the impending war. While French imperialism is lined up with Great Britain, the other nations of Europe, especially Germany, play an "independent" role, and are "Bargaining for terms" with Britain and the USA. So Nippon, forced on by its internal crisis, successfully exploits the preoccupations and antipathies in the camps of its rivals, and grimly drives its juggernaut deeper into China. But the threat of possible proletarian uprisings, and the US-British antagonism, is so great that despite Japan's assault upon the vital interests of both titans, the Brussels conference failed miserably to organize any decisive joint action. From another angle, American imperialism was victorious in a negative way in disrupting Britain's accompanying strategy of using the Conference to line up the the European countries against the USA.

Marxists support the struggles of the colonial and semi-colonial masses against their imperialist and "home" exploiters. Every struggle of these masses for liberation is a blow at the very base of world imperialism. In this period of the decay of capitalism as a world economy, such struggles, although starting out as struggles for national independence, for self determination, for land, merge inevitably into the struggle for the social revolution and the overthrow of capitalism. The struggles of the colonial masses are inextricably linked up with those of the proletariat in the more advanced capitalist countries.

Japanese imperialism makes a far more formidable bulwark against the social revolution than does the semi-colonial Chinese bourgeoisie in itself. The Proletariat and peasantry in China and Japan must unite against Japanese imperialism. In the struggle for the expulsions of the imperialists from China the social revolution in China and Japan will be unleashed, and a stupendous blow be delivered against world capitalist slavery.

A real struggle to the end for national liberation, for the solution of the tasks of the bourgeois "democratic" revolutions, is no longer possible for the native colonial bourgeoisie. These "comprador" bourgeoisies are tied up with powerful outside imperialist interests. They have come too late on the scene and are too weak to play an independent role. Where the colonial bourgeoisie "leads" a struggle against an imperialist power, it is in the interests of some other power or powers. Even this it can do only within the limits of keeping the downtrodden masses from rising in their might and sweeping on to a more fundamental struggle. By itself the Chinese owning class is too weak either to oust imperialism, or to suppress the social revolution. Not only is Chiang afraid to summon the masses to help fight imperialism, but he will be compelled to summon imperialism to help fight the masses.

Chiang "fights" against the Japanese robbers solely in order to protect the Chinese (behind them the American and British) robbers in their exploitation of the masses. It is the masses of China who have put up what resistance there has been to Japanese encroachment. The Comprador bourgeoisie of China seeks, not further to arouse this struggle of the masses, but to stifle it. Revolutionists must call for the struggle against the Japanese imperialists and also against the Chinese bourgeoisie, but must use different strategies in the struggle against these enemies. We must "march separately and strike together" with Chiang Kai Shek against Japanese imperialism. We fight on an independent class line in a technical-military alliance with Chiang, but we give this "butcher" who showed his colors (and that of the entire native Chinese bourgeoisie) in 1927, no political "or" material support. Even without the overthrow of Chiang Kai Shek, Japanese imperialism could be ousted by British or American imperialism in an open imperialist war. This could not be anything else than the second world imperialist war, in which revolutionists ~~xxxxxx~~ would apply the policy of revolutionary defeatism. But for the workers and peasants of China to oust Japanese imperialism, it will be necessary in the course of this struggle, to overthrow Chiang Kai Shek. This will mean the proletarian revolution.

Why are the workers and peasants so weak in organization? Because those who assumed to lead them, betrayed them. The Stalinist bureaucracy, holding the reins of the Workers' State, has been the most powerful agency of betrayal. It is viciously opposed to proletarian class struggle and revolution in any part of the world. To preserve itself and defend its positions in the Soviet Union, it depends not on the masses but on the bourgeoisie. It united with one bloc of imperialists against another. At present it is aligned with the "democratic, peace-loving," imperialist nations against the "fascist aggressor" imperialist nations.

In accordance with its alignment against the masses and with its fear of Japans threat to its privileged interests, the Stalinist bureaucracy has liquidated the Chinese peasant soviets and placed their red army under Chiang Kai Shek's command! Canute-wise, it has "forbidden" all class struggle on the part of the exploited masses. But the floods of the permanent revolution will one day crush the life out of the Stalinist bureaucracy. Meanwhile, the present weakness of the worker-peasant movement must be traced largely to the frightful series of betrayals within the Soviet Union and internationally since 1923 by Stalinism.

The Second International too, though far less powerful, is no less reactionary. In each country it continues its support to the needs and interests of its "own" imperialist power. It is to the eternal shame of Trotsky-Cannon that the W.P. liquidated into this camp of social-patriotism, thus assuming responsibility for its betrayals of our class.

And what about Trotsky? In his "Problems of the Chinese Revolution" (pages 19-20), Trotsky records his unprincipled bloc with Zinoviev in 1925-27, and his failure to fight openly against the CP of China joining the Juo Min Tang. But 1927 was but a step to the betrayal of 1937. Today Trotsky no longer lays primary emphasis on the need for a revolutionary party in China! (Search his articles for even the bare mention of this need!) Today neither Trotsky nor the Appeal misleadership has even mentioned the need, let alone the indispensibility, of soviets and independent militias in China! Without this line, Trotsky's "total independence" from Chiang Kai Shek will be the independence of the heads of the masses from their bodies.

But the renegacy of Trotsky-Cannon-Shachtman does not stop with "mere omissions." They openly call upon the working class movement "in the entire world" to support the army of "the people of China" - the people's army of Chiang Kai Shek! (Trotsky, Soc. Appeal, Oct. 16). They declare that "fighting under the orders of Chiang Kai Shek, since unfortunately (!) it is he who has command in the war for independence, to prepare politically (as distinguished from the "military struggle" - don't worry, comrade Ghendi) the overthrow of Chiang Kai Shek.... That is the only revolutionary policy." (Trotsky, Internal Bulletin #1, pp 54-55). The only revolutionary policy! Trotsky's "only" policy excludes the line for the revolutionary party, the soviets, the independent militias, the independent struggle against Japanese imperialism, and therefore all possibility of defeating imperialism or overthrowing Chiang Kai Shek.

To make his betrayal clear to even the most reluctant, Trotsky shamelessly decrees that "Chinese patriotism is legitimate and progressive" (id, p. 53). Trotsky equates the capitalist ideology of Chinese bourgeois nationalism with the struggle of the masses to oust the imperialist exploiters! We must try to utilize this nationalist patriotism which runs parallel for a time with the social revolution, but to capitulate to the nationalist patriotism of Chiang Kai Shek as Trotsky does is to betray the masses!

Against the "Chinese patriotism" of Trotsky-Cannon-Shachtman, the Stalinern, and the Social Democracy, the Marxist Policy Committee counterposes the line of international class struggle!

Against their "People's Army" slogans, we raise the slogans of class war:
 Drive all the imperialists out of China!
 For workers and peasants militias independent of Chiang Kai Shek, coordinated as a Red Army that can wage a REAL war against the Japanese invaders and all imperialisms!
 No confidence in the Chinese bourgeoisie! No support of the State Army and Chiang Kai Shek!
 For Soviets in the army, industry and agriculture of China!

Japanese workers, peasants, soldiers:
 Turn the war against your own exploiting class!
 Your main enemy is your own bourgeoisie!
 Fight for land to the peasants! For the social revolution! For the overthrow of Japanese capitalism and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in alliance with the peasantry!

Workers of the world:
 For international class solidarity with the oppressed Chinese masses struggling against imperialism!
 Strike all orders and shipments for or from Japan!
 For the right of self-determination for the peoples of China!
 For the Federated Soviet Republics of China!

For a revolutionary 4th Internationalist Party in China, Japan, the USSR, the USA, and throughout the world!

Comrades of the Appeal:
 Break with social-patriotism!!!
 Fight for a Marxist policy!!!!
 Join the Marxist Policy Committee!!!