

## V. CONTRADICTIONS IN WASHINGTON'S IMPERIALIST FOREIGN POLICY

WHAT is the fateful inner compulsion which drives imperialist statesmen along upon self-defeating and catastrophic paths?

The answer is that they hold fast to aims which are contradictory, which are mutually exclusive, but neither of which they, as imperialists, can abandon. Their policy always contains contradictory elements. They suffer from inner contradictions.

The outstanding example in all history of this characteristic feature of imperialism was the notorious Chamberlain policy of the British ruling class with its culmination at Munich and its collapse in September, 1939, the policy of "appeasement" which blew up in the hands of its makers.

But the same sort of contradictions exist and operate in every imperialist policy, whatever its name or form. They exist and operate in Roosevelt's current policies in foreign affairs.

It is the purpose of this article to examine these inner contradictions as they work out in life in some of the current applications of Washington's foreign policy. The existence of these contradictions is the conclusive evidence that United States participation in the war is for imperialistic aims.

### AMERICA'S SELF-DEFEATING POLICY TOWARD CHINA

A few days ago the *New York Herald Tribune* carried a dispatch from its Far Eastern correspondent, Edgar Snow, describing certain inner developments within the Chinese republic which threatened its unity and raised the danger of its collapse and capit-

ulation to the Japanese invaders. This was so disturbing to U. S. official circles that in order to reassure them the Chinese Consul in New York, after cabling his Government, addressed all New York newspapers with a letter denying there exists any rift in the unity of the Chinese people.

This incident seems to show that U. S. imperialists desire the unity of the Chinese republic, at least in so far as this is necessary for it to continue resistance to the Japanese invasion. But at the same time, it is a known and established fact that Washington encourages, stimulates, and strengthens the "anti-Communist" influences in the Chinese republic, whose activities had given rise to the dangers reported by Snow. Washington desires, at one and the same time, the annihilation of the Chinese Communists and the unity of the Chinese people against the Japanese invaders.

These two aims are contradictory; they cancel out each other. Chinese resistance to the invasion *began* with the re-establishment of the united front between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party. It will collapse, so far as the Chungking Government is concerned, if and when that united front is broken. The Chinese Communist Party has made the most costly sacrifices to maintain that united front; but within the Kuomintang all those who take their policy from U. S. and British influences *are agreed with those who wish capitulation to Japan* that the united front should be broken up. Washington's anti-Communist policy within the U. S. is carried over into its Chinese policy, and it weakens, undermines and defeats the aim to sustain the resistance of the Chinese Republic.

Edgar Snow's dispatch revealed these facts clearly to the careful reader. He warned of the danger of a rift and civil war, and at the same time he revealed that this danger arose *after* the United States had granted a loan to Chungking, and *as a result* of this fact.

For years the Soviet Union has been giving Chungking large loans and military supplies, compared with which all other outside help, including American, has been small, only a fraction of the Soviet aid. The Chinese republic has existed on Soviet help. Yet when the U. S. grants a loan to China, a first condition it lays down,

frankly acknowledged in the press, is to alienate China from its relations with the Soviet Union. Thus the hostility of Washington against the Soviet Union, which has reached a point of hysteria during the past year, leads to the canceling out of any efforts to sustain the resistance of China to invasion.

Thus does imperialist policy always stultify and destroy every aim which, on its face, seems worthy and meritorious. Practically all Americans want their government to help China, but when such help is granted it is always given that imperialistic twist which transforms it into its opposite.

#### THE PROBLEM OF THE SPANISH REFUGEES

There are one hundred and fifty thousand Spanish republican refugees from Franco—puppet of Hitler and Mussolini—in French concentration camps. These Spanish refugees are of deep concern to the peoples of Latin America, so much so that the Mexican Government under Cardenas, now confirmed under Camacho, opened its doors for them, and negotiated an agreement with France for their exit to come to Mexico and other Latin American countries. These facts would seem to demand from Washington some interest in the fate of the refugees, even if Washington is not moved by any humanitarian interest, even if it disregards the broad sympathy for them in the U. S., even if nothing moved it but the single selfish motive of cultivating the good will of Latin American democracy as against the Latin American reactionary circles who sympathize with Franco, Hitler and Mussolini.

But what has happened? Washington has not only refused to take a single step in behalf of the Spanish republicans, but it has obstructed and discouraged private efforts in their behalf. All those organizations, ostensibly supporting the Spanish refugees but politically affiliated to the Roosevelt Administration, have consistently done everything in their power to divert and sterilize the mass support. They repudiated the plans of the international conference in Mexico; they split the united American committee in their efforts to protect the reactionary French government from protest demon-

strations against surrender of refugees to Franco; they adopted the principle: "Better that ten 'worthy' refugees be denied asylum, rather than risk that one 'hidden Communist' should be allowed to receive help."

Finally, Mrs. Roosevelt herself took the public lead in an action, described by her own supporters in *The Nation* as a "depth bomb," designed to "sink" the Rescue Ship Mission. The capitalist press took up the campaign, denouncing the Rescue Ship Mission as a "Communist plot," in the same terms Hitler and Mussolini used against the Spanish republic. When the universally venerated Helen Keller, chairman of the Rescue Ship Mission, refused to surrender to this shameful campaign, this great humanitarian—who is entirely non-political—was denounced in the public press as an "old-time agent of the Communists" in the same columns that demand outlawry and imprisonment for Communists.

What is the meaning of this public rage against the only serious effort to save the Spanish refugees? It has deep roots in Washington's foreign policy. It is the companion-piece to the hundred-million dollar loan to Franco, the fascist dictator; to curry favor with this creature of Hitler, Washington is prepared to give a slap in the face to Latin American democracy, to give joy to every fascist in the world, to affront every honest friend of the Spanish refugees in the United States.

Washington denounces "the dictators" and arms gigantically for war to "restore liberty to the entire world"; but at the same time, for the sake of slimy intrigues with bloody Franco, it indulges in these cynical crimes against the Spanish refugees. Is it any wonder that such a foreign policy proceeds from failure, to defeat, to disaster?

#### WASHINGTON TRIES TO "BLOW UP" THE CHILEAN POPULAR FRONT

After a long sojourn in Washington, the "Socialist" leader SENOR Schnake returned to Chile just in time to throw a political "bomb" bearing the label "Made in the U.S.A." He demanded the dissolution of the Popular Front, that combination of the Radical, Social-

ist, and Communist parties which put the present government in power, and rescued Chile from the black reactionaries and civil war. That this effort is not successful is no fault of either SENOR Schnake or the Roosevelt Administration, but is the achievement of the stern solidarity and common sense of the Chilean masses.

But consider the political significance of this disruptive effort! The United States supposedly wants stability within Chile, and the ability in that country to resist any hostile penetration. The Popular Front has given Chile such a government for the first time in years; but because it resists not only the Nazis, but also demands that the United States shall fully respect its sovereignty, Washington is exerting its full influence to break up the Popular Front, an aim which is fully shared with the circles influenced by the Nazis. Both imperialist camps are violating Chilean independence, and that they may more thoroughly come to grips with each other both want to destroy the Government which places Chilean interests above both German and United States imperialist ambitions.

But Washington and SENOR Schnake are playing a very dangerous game. It is full of the same sort of inner contradictions that brought Chamberlain and Britain to grief in Europe. It will blow up in their hands, as did Chamberlain's policy, to the harm of the Chilean and the American people alike. It is a typical example of imperialist policy.

#### TURNING BRAZIL INTO A POWDER MAGAZINE OF WAR

Brazil furnishes another example of the explosive and catastrophic contradictions inherent in Washington's imperialist policy.

President Vargas has been a special protégé of Roosevelt. Washington encouraged and supported his bloody suppression of the great democratic mass movement, headed by the great Luis Carlos Prestes, condemned to thirty-six years' imprisonment for fighting for democracy in his country.

But Roosevelt, having helped Vargas establish and maintain his power against the masses, thereby made Vargas dependent upon the army, the landlords and the worst political reactionaries in

Brazil. And now, since Britain has been strangling Brazil with her blockade, and tries, together with Washington, to force Brazil into the war against Germany, the pro-German elements which dominate the army have countered with the demand for war against Great Britain. The Brazilian Government, having suppressed the mass movement which alone could have established a regime that, by keeping Brazil independent and neutral, would have kept the warring camps out of Brazil, now becomes a collection of foreign agents, in process of splitting apart and throwing the country into civil war to decide whether Brazil shall side with Germany or with the Anglo-American camp.

When the imperialist war enters the Americas in its aspect of military belligerency, it will in all likelihood enter through the door of Brazil, and in the form of a civil war there. This may happen in the not distant future. And when it does occur, the responsibility will rest with equal weight upon the Anglo-American imperialists and the German Nazi imperialists. For both were agreed upon the destruction of the native Brazilian democratic mass movement led by Prestes, both blessed the fantastic prison sentence to this great leader, both denied Brazil the right to independence and neutrality, and now both demand that Brazil become another pawn in the imperialist war. Their combined efforts threaten to bring upon Brazil the catastrophic role of the American "Norway."

The four examples, cited above, of the practical significance and the inner contradictions of U. S. foreign policy as applied to current problems serve to fill in the picture of just what it is that is meant when we say this war is an imperialist war, that its idealistic justifications are pure demagoguery, that Washington is fully as imperialistic as Germany or Britain, and that this whole course is leading the United States to all the horrors and disasters that now afflict Europe.

It also shows concretely what we mean when we say that the inner contradictions of imperialism, which is capitalism in its stage

of monopoly dominance, bring the nations into a blind alley of frustration, defeat and destruction.

It reveals, finally, in a concrete way, how imperialist policy at last creates the force which will destroy the whole system which breeds it by revealing its true criminal face to the masses of the people. It is these masses, disillusioned with the bankrupt ruling classes and their system, which will rally behind the working class for an end to the war and the class system which breeds war, and for a new system of society without oppression of man by man, of nation by nation, and, therefore, without war.

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