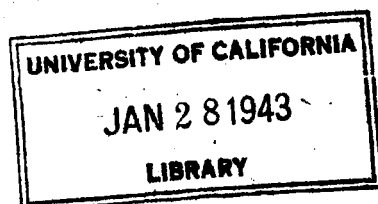


MILITARISM
Under
American Imperialism



10 Cents

Revolutionary Workers League of the U. S.

MILITARISM AND AMERICAN IMPERIALISM

This pamphlet is based upon Marxian material dealing with Militarism. Part of the theoretical material was obtained from the thesis on this question adopted at the foundation convention of the Revolutionary Workers League of United States, and material of the Young Workers League. Written in the fall of 1940 the pamphlet brings up today our position on the question of Militarism in the United States.

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THE NATURE OF MILITARISM

Militarism means more than merely the exploiters' armed force. It is the product of a certain stage of development of the capitalist state when the economic contradictions reach an acute stage and the antagonism between its productive forces and markets cannot be reconciled in the normal way. To the degree that this process continues negatively, the military arm of the exploiters' state must more and more engulf the population in its power. This militarism is used to prevent internal class explosions and is for external conquest on the basis of imperialist needs.

In the main it is a product of the large capitalist nations; but any small capitalist nation caught in the same orbit will witness the development of militarism as a national policy--such as for example the countries of the Balkans.

Militarism signifies a stage in the capitalist nation when the military arm, in its proportional might in relation to the other institutions of the exploiters' superstructure, stands out for its predominance, and often takes on the aspect of an institution "above" society.

Militarism does not merely mean the armed forces of the exploiters' state. All exploiters' states have armed forces to defend the rule of the masters. But even such a powerful country as the United States was not classified as a nation that had succumbed to militarism up until the present period. In fact, it was argued by the non-Marxists that Militarism would not develop in the United States.

MILITARISM IN THE U.S.

In the early period of American imperialism, militarism was unheard of; yet the United States' exploiters maintained sufficient armed forces to keep control of society. Today with the decay of capitalist America, militarism threatens to engulf all aspects of social and individual life.

In a capitalist country where militarism has not yet obtained its hold, the life of the individual can proceed as a "free unit", as the "rugged individual"; but under capitalist militarism the individual is regimented, and is subordinated to the needs of the army.

To summarize, then: Militarism is a product of an exploiters' society; the needs of a minority to hold in subjection the majority when the decay of a nation drives it into military battles, class wars and wars of conquest.

In the transition toward a stateless society, in the period of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, the base and cause for militarism is eliminated and to the degree of development toward socialism the very base of coercion further undermines the need of the states' armed forces.

In a country of Transition Economy in decline; such as the Soviet Union; the negative forms of military control will develop to the degree of disintegration of the Workers State. Such is the case today under Stalinism. But this negative military development is no more "militarism" than the latest seizures of new territories, is "Red Imperialism". The forms are alike, but the material base, the axis is different. We not only fight Militarism and its economic base - capitalism. We also fight the warping of the Red Army, the whole military structure of Stalinism which is negating the economic base.

MILITARISM AND AMERICAN IMPERIALISM

To many people America's preparation of the greatest military machine in history comes either as a surprise, or an inevitable result of "Nazi aggression". Nothing is farther from the truth.

The present military preparations of American Imperialism (conscription, 14 billion war budget, world's largest navy, etc.) do not arise out of the clear sky, nor are they caused by the immediate developments of the imperialist war. These militaristic developments are the LOGICAL EXTENSION of a process that has been in action for many years. The specific mass military developments today are, as we shall show in detail, the logical result of a general, well-organized, carefully-prepared plan.

Here is what we said over four years ago: "Militarism has slowly developed, until now it looks up as a powerful factor in the American state structure, yet this development has taken place without full recognition because it has taken on special forms, unlike those developed in the classical militarism of Europe.

"American Imperialism is unable to extend its position and carry out its policy of 'organizing the world' without the extension of militarism to giant proportions."

It is precisely this "extension of militarism to giant proportions" that is being carried out today. And for the reason, as stated when, "to carry out the policy of 'organizing the world'."---The American Imperialist giant, faced with the contradictions of the decaying capitalist system must move to strengthen and extend its present world economic strength by greater political control; it must assume decisive hegemony on a world scale IF it is to survive as a capitalist exploiter state. That is what the present military moves of the American bourgeoisie mean. The talk about "defense against aggression" is much twaddle to cover this elementary fact.

We shall analyze in detail the "special forms" of American Militarism and trace their development to their present "giant proportions" in order to show that it is for the purpose of such world organization, and that alone, that the American bourgeoisie now moves to COMPLETE MILITARIZATION OF THE ENTIRE LIFE OF THE NATION.

Such complete militarization is far more drastic than in 1917-1918 primarily because the decay of American Imperialism, and the fact that its aims of world conquest are more pronounced. In the previous war, only a minority of the population was directly affected. In the present military structure for the present imperialist war all the people will be subordinated to militarism, will be directly caught in the war moves of American Imperialism.

THE MILITARY FORCES OF THE U.S. BOSSES

In the past the American Imperialists have maintained only a very small standing army, and they have tried to claim that this shows they had no imperialist intentions. Exactly the opposite is true, as the present developments indicate. Their entire structure was a skeleton structure for a giant military machine.

Here is the way it worked: "The military forces of the United States have a special organizational structure to fit the needs of the peculiar development of the United States. Besides the Army, Navy, and air-corps, the Government has the Marines as the sea army, especially constructed for colonial and overseas wars. Besides this regular force, they have a special bourgeois militia, formerly the home guard, organized by the states, now organized as a national guard (prior to the recent bill - ed.) which give the state a sufficient latitude for self-expression, but at the same time keeps the Guard under the control of the national government.

"The National Guard has been the main force for strikebreaking activity and although a hatred of, and opposition to the bourgeois militia has developed in the working class and the trade union movement, the same groups are supporters of the regular armed forces of American Imperialism. This division between the use of the National Guard for special purposes and the regular army, has served as a 'fire door' and has checked the fires of working class-hatred from spreading to a general opposition to militarism as a whole.

"A whole series of other military forms, concealed and open, are used as feeders for the program of the militarization of the American workers. The Boy Scouts, R.O.T.C., summer training camps (C.M. T.C.), C.C.C. camps, and other forms are used, and are slowly penetrating every avenue of public life with the spirit of militarism."

Further reasons for these "special forms" were given in the Youth document: "The imperialist nations of Continental Europe are all directly bounded by powerful rival imperialists. In the event of war, which may begin without being declared, these nations will immediately be called upon to throw large standing armies into the field of battle. The U.S. on the other hand is separated from its powerful rivals by thousands of miles of ocean. The U.S. is bounded on the north by Canada which is under the domination of American bank capital and in any event is no military threat. On the south is Mexico, which is in

all respects a semi-colony of American Imperialism. For these reasons the U.S. can afford to manoeuvre in a manner impossible to other imperialist nations. At the same time, this lack of direct colonial empire which on the one hand eliminates the need for armies of colonial occupation, is also a grave defect in U.S. Imperialism, which it must eventually remedy. The countries of South and Central America are almost all virtual colonies, but here again the U.S. Imperialists have an advantage over their rivals. The colonial powers of Europe must have large armies of occupation in their colonies. The U.S. can depend more on the power of the dollar and its agents in the colonial countries.

"Far from adopting a non-imperialist policy, therefore, the American bourgeoisie are following a very wise imperialist policy. If it is not necessary to keep a large standing army, then (a) it is unwise to assume the responsibility and expense of feeding and caring for millions of young men under arms; (b) the bluff of "peace-policy" can be kept up longer; (c) why put millions of young workers having intimate relations with striking workers under arms unnecessarily?

"In form, therefore, the American bourgeoisie has the smallest military force among the imperialist nations. Essentially, however, the U.S. has the largest military apparatus in the world."

This was written in 1935.

It is obvious from the above that the new military measures are a part of a well-prepared plan and strategy of American Imperialism. Now that the Second Imperialist World War is entering its second year, with the victories of Germany in Europe and the decline of the British Empire, American Imperialism must begin at once to develop its military machine for the military control of the entire Western Hemisphere, for decisive military struggle with the European-controlling Germany, as the prelude to decisive struggle for control of Asia. The bourgeoisie now proceeds to put flesh on the skeleton structure of the military machine.

Let us take up one by one the "special forms" of "putting meat on the skeleton" and trace their development.

1 - CONSCRIPTION AND THE ARMY

The Conscription Bill is a major step on the road of COMPLETE REGIMENTATION AND MILITARIZATION of the entire people and their activities; it will mean the beginnings of an open military dictatorship over the workers and oppressed masses.

The Administration says this is necessary owing to Hitler's victories and the need "for defense". This is a brazen lie. The plans for conscription were drafted long ago; M Day plans were completed in 1931, as a matter of fact. Conscription is nothing "new",

but it is the EXTENSION of militarism by the American boss class.

Conscription flows logically from the "special aspects" of the previous military structure. This is the way we analyzed it three years ago:

"Military equipment needs man-power to handle it. The key to this apparent contradiction is indicated in the statement in the report of the Secretary of War to the President of the United States (the great "peace-lover", Roosevelt) for 1935; 'Soldiers without officers are more useless than officers without soldiers, for trained officers can take men off the streets and make soldiers of them, while soldiers without officers are little better than a mob. The success of an army depends on having an adequate number of trained officers.'

"The standing army has at present (1937) 12,068 officers to 445,826 enlisted men. This makes it one officer to every 12 enlisted men. This set-up is tremendously top-heavy with officers. The U.S. Army is a skeleton army of imperialist aggression. When the time comes, these officers will take the workers from factory and street and make soldiers of them overnight."

Now, "the time has come". And the Roosevelt Administration, capably serving the interests of the American Imperialists, is engaged in conscripting the best man-power of the nation to build a tremendous standing army of millions. It is a plan that was worked out years ago and is now being put into practice in order to develop an army of OFFENSE throughout the world, not a "defender" of the Continental United States, as is claimed by Messrs. Roosevelt, Wilkie & Co.

3 - THE LARGEST NAVY IN THE WORLD

The development of capitalism meant the development of the world market. By land and by sea the world was covered with trade routes by which commodities might be transported, and the capitalist economy developed. Militarism, and especially its marine aspects, bears a close connection to this process. By reason of its control of the seas after the defeat of Spain, England was in a position where her capitalist structure could be developed to a leading world position. The rise of the British Navy which "ruled the waves" was merely the sea-power militarism expression of the might of the British capitalist economy.

Today, after twenty years of the fiercest rivalry and competition between Britain and the U.S., the former finds herself in the paradox of the rising might of German Imperialism which by force of arms threatens its very existence. A German victory would mean the displacement of the Anglo-American inner-imperialist antagonism, with Germany assuming the role of contender for world domination with the United States. This has not yet occurred, but it is in the process of occurring.

In relation to sea-power, this means that the American Navy must be developed to a clear position of world supremacy if it is to be able to become the heir of the British Empire and further, to assume complete world dominance. The American Imperialists have been aware of this for years, and they have been developing a Navy which even today is "second to none", including Britain's. Indeed, the combined naval forces of Germany, Italy and Japan are NOT adequate to contend with America's sea-power.

But this does not prevent the American Imperialists from "discovering" that they have only a "one-ocean" navy; this is the usual scare propaganda to deceive the people into support of the tremendous 8 billion dollar appropriation for more naval power - the "greatest navy in the world". In reality, even if the British Navy falls, (despite the agreement of the Empire that it will not surrender it), the American Navy could still "defend" the Continent against attack. But the real reason for building a "two-ocean" navy is to be able to simultaneously carry on OFFENSIVE naval struggle in both oceans, if necessary, in order to try to dominate Asia, Africa, as well as complete control of North and South America, no matter if all the other powers are opposed to it. This is the real purpose and aim of the naval plans. Far from "defense" of the Hemisphere, it is for the deadliest imperialist offense to try to bring the vast colonial world into the orbit of American exploitation. To have world hegemony, American imperialism must have a navy capable of dominating the seas against the combined navies of all other powers. Uncle Sam thus drops his former slogan of a "navy second to none", in favor of the more aggressive policy, - "The Largest Navy in the World".

Of special importance in this connection is the recently concluded agreement with Britain whereby the U.S. obtains the right to manouver in the Singapore area. The Singapore fortifications of Britain are the Gibraltar of the East. These gains by American Imperialism give it big entre to Asia just as the Panama Canal gave the first big opening to control of South America.

3 - THE DRIVE FOR WORLD AIR SUPREMACY

The experiences of the Hitler blitzkriegs have shown the effectiveness of air warfare as a dominant factor of military offense. American Imperialism announces its determination to build 50,000 planes (divided between the Army and Navy divisions of the air forces) which will give it the mightiest air force in the world. It has the greatest productive plant and technique and resources to attain this. Again, we hear only of the necessity of "defense". But it is yet to be shown even from a military point of view, that the bombing of this Continent is feasible from air bases in Europe. Even if this were so, the reverse holds equally true. And the announced preference by Secretaries Stimson and Knox for hundreds of the so-called "flying fortresses", capable of 3,000 mile non-stop flights with tons of bombs, again shows that American Imperialism is preparing not for defense, but for

determined OFFENSIVE air warfare on a world scale.

4 - THE MARINES -- SCOURGE OF COLONIAL PEOPLES

The infantry force of the Navy, the well-trained, finely equipped Marine Corps has been used with deadly effectiveness by American Imperialism to crush colonial revolts and secure its imperialist policies throughout the globe.

Especially has this been true in relation to South America (Cuba, Mexico, Nicaragua, San Domingo, etc.) in the past. And while the present Administration has used, and is increasing its use, of the power of the dollar (with its Export-Import loans, etc.) as the first weapon to extend control, it is certain that the Marines will again be called upon when necessary to secure and maintain American investments, and to increase them. That is why the present plans for military offensive will see an increase in the numerical and military effectiveness of this force, which will undoubtedly be used time and time again in the future to drown in blood the struggles of the exploited colonial peoples for liberation. Throughout the years the Marines have always symbolized the aggressive imperialist aims of American Imperialism and the present developments certainly give added confirmation to the fact that this will be even more true in the future. The big stick is bound to follow the "good neighbor".

5 - THE NATIONAL GUARD -- "PRE-CONSCRIPTION" CONSCRIPTION

So determined was the Administration to immediately carry through its giant military plans that it divided the bills so that opposition would be separated. The calling up of the National Guard into active military service is the first step of conscription before actual conscription is inaugurated. This act has significance in a number of ways:

First, from a military view, it increases the armed forces to the point where, according to reliable bourgeois military observers, it is almost adequate for "defense". But this is only the first step for conscription to build an army of 3 million men - (again proof that it will be for OFFENSE).

Second, now that the National Guard is being called into active service, new forms of military forces will have to be developed against the working class. Already the American Legion and other such boss class groups are busily at work on plans to mobilize "home guards", (and a bill for this is before Congress) etc. - boss controlled military forces that can be used to crush all militant working class and radical activity, and of course, can be supplemented by the regular armed forces if necessary.

Third, the incorporation of the Guard into the federal army, thus completely eliminating their control by the states, is a further

indication of the "Europeanization" of American society in the military sphere; in this instance, a step to destroy the cumbersome and contradictory multi-state divisions of authority, and centralize the military forces under national capitalist control.

Fourth, the calling up of the Guards will result in the development of many more officers (both from the Guards and Reserve Army Officers who have sometimes manned them in the past) who will, in turn, be used to train the raw recruits of the draft.

5 - "THE FEEDERS" OF THE WAR MACHINE

As pointed out in the previous document, the bosses have carefully developed secondary forces of militarism, both by developing ideological "patriotism" and preparing for actual military service. The Boy Scouts, where a boy joins at the age of 12, and is pumped full of patriotic ideology and taught to respect discipline, is such a "feeder" for the war machine.

The R.O.T.C. in the high schools and colleges has been a very important method of providing military training to millions of youths, and especially for developing reserve officers who will be able to train the raw conscripts.

Similarly, the C.M.T.C. has served to draw other youths into summer training, who will likewise be better cannon-fodder for the conscript army.

C.C.C. PART OF WAR MACHINE

Of even greater importance now is the Civilian Conservation Corps for unemployed youths. When this was first established, many bourgeois "liberals" praised Roosevelt to the skies for his "humanitarianism". But now it becomes evident, as we pointed out then, that this was part and parcel of the war preparations.

An Associated Press despatch amply proves this: "Although the Civilian Conservation Corps is not a military organization, Director James J. McIntee declared today that it has proved to be an excellent training ground for young men reaching military age."

The whole purpose of the C.C.C. has been to take unemployed youths in the process of becoming demoralized and entering the lumpen-proletariat, which would be costly from the point of view of crime, and other youth who would have become radicalized because of their conditions under capitalist decay, and "build them up", instill them with discipline, so that they will be better potential soldiers. - Just as Germany has done through her youth organizations.

McIntee's report is also significant in that it states that 70% of all enrollees were sub-standard in weight and had to be fed well in

order to get up to normal weight. Here is ample proof of the rottenness of the "American way" where the majority of unemployed youth are suffering from malnutrition. So Roosevelt feeds them, but only to make them better cannon fodder, since a great percentage of physical rejections from the army are because of malnutrition.

He feeds them to prepare them for the army. A great number of C.C.C. boys will be drafted. Others, doped by military training, and now being fed with propaganda lectures and movies, etc., are enlisting; later the entire C.C.C. will be incorporated en masse into the army.

"RELIEF" PROGRAM FOR WAR PURPOSES

Likewise the W.P.A. and N.Y.A. programs were originally designed as a part of the war machine, and only now is this fact becoming apparent, although the Marxists pointed it out years ago. Harrington, the head of the W.P.A. has issued a report bragging about the contributions of the W.P.A. for over five years in "defence", building air-ports, arsenals, etc., and he promises to increase this work.

And he immediately starts to make good his promise by establishing "National Defense" projects to train workers for skilled and semi-skilled jobs in industry. If workers in factories are drafted, these men will take their place. If these W.P.A. workers are drafted, their vocational training will be of use in the mechanized forces of the army.

In relation to those workers on relief, although the semi-starvation food budget has injured their health to the point where many will not be accepted in the army, it is evident that soon eligible workers on relief will be told to "join the army--or stars".

Moreover the present food stamp plan, while seemingly separated from militarism, in reality, is a part and parcel of the military regime; for it forces all workers on relief to buy at certain stores with script. It is another form of regimentation of this section of society; it is a forerunner of the German and British ration cards, in the near future for the whole population.

What is true of W.P.A. is equally true of N.Y.A., where "vocational training" projects are but a step to the army.

MILITARISM AND YOUTH

The prongs of militarism affect the youth probably more than any other strata of the working class. Millions of American youth have for years felt the ravages of capitalist decay: over three million of them unemployed, another half million each year graduating from school and not finding jobs, others working for an average weekly wage of \$12-14, with no prospect of advancement, part of the unemployed

coralled into the W.P.A., C.C.C., N.Y.A., etc. which, as has been explained, are part of the war machine.

Hundreds of thousands of these youth will be conscripted for the battlefield, others will be subjected to forced labor under military control in industry and agriculture. No possibility for a normal life, for the economic and social facilities to get married, "settle down" and be a useful force in society is open to these youth under capitalism today. Only military service in army and factory faces them. Instead of offering jobs and security, decay capitalism can only offer a gun and death to the locked-out generation.

These youth must be won to a revolutionary struggle for their needs. By propaganda and action the revolutionary Marxists must expose and combat the influences of capitalist decay and militarism over the young workers and win them to battle for the workers society.

THE NEGROES AND MILITARISM

The Negro masses, constituting about one-tenth of the national population, face the most vicious double exploitation - first as workers, and second the vicious Jim Crow oppression (open and brutal in the South, "concealed" but just as deadly in the North).

Many Negroes were fooled in the last war by the bosses' promise of equality "after" the "war for democracy". They served in the army and found the same Jim Crow restrictions, were given the dirtiest work, (hard labor, servant work, etc.) and often were the first to be sacrificed on the battlefield when the arm-chair generals had to accomplish a "maneuver". Then, when the survivors returned home, they found the same Jim Crow oppression. Indeed, they were "ordered" to take off their uniforms: there were many instances where angry mobs forcibly stripped Negro soldiers of their uniforms insisting that they once more accept their Jim Crow status.

The depression has severely hit the Negro masses, who are the first to be fired, the last to be rehired, who face relief and W.P.A. discrimination, live in destitution, misery, disease and starvation.

And for all its talk, the Administration has done practically nothing to remedy these conditions; and now, along comes the capitalist regime with more promises, this time with the same old talk about "equality" in the army. This is the answer of the bosses to the vicious double exploitation of Negro workers - not a word, not an action to end the misery, hunger, discrimination, terror - but only the promise that since the Negroes are 1/10 of the population, then 1/10 of the conscript army will be Negroes! "Equality" indeed! The Negroes will be given equal opportunity to die on the battlefield for the profit system that doubly oppresses them! And even this disgraceful offer is further muddied by the fact that the same Jim Crow division will still be maintained in the Army, that Negro regiments will be

segregated, that as in the last war, the Negroes will do the dirtiest work and often be the first to be slaughtered.

The double exploitation of the Negroes is thus heightened and intensified by militarism. The Negro masses must be given guidance in the struggle to end these conditions, to fight against militarism; they must not be allowed to be deceived again about "equality". Unity of black and white workers is essential in the struggle against militarism; the Negroes must be won as workers to revolutionary struggle especially as it affects the militarism structure, and take their place in the vanguard of the revolutionary battles of the working class.

THE POLICE - ANOTHER ARM OF THE BOSS STATE

While the Roosevelt government serves the capitalists in preparing their military machine for offense, it does not neglect other sections of the capitalist state, including "special bodies of armed men", the police forces. Just as the Federal Government now takes over the state Guards, so for years they have been endeavoring to develop a federal police force, and they now increase this activity. The "G-men", (Federal Bureau of Investigation) which was so glorified as an "anti-crime" agency, now shows its true colors by organizing special classes for local and state police forces to train them to combat "fifth columnists", in reality, all forms of militant and revolutionary working class activity.

The government calls for, and is preparing, special legislation to supplement the existing anti-working class laws, to combat all forms of militant and revolutionary activity that might endanger the military preparations of the imperialists. - This is going on despite campaign promises to maintain labor's "freedom".

In the course of the next period this will mean the complete crushing of the democratic rights of the working class, including all its gains, the right to strike, 40-hour week, wage standards, etc. All in the name of "defense", but in reality for offensive struggle of the American bosses.

It must be pointed out that these police forces differ from a conscripted army in that they are professional and permanent agencies of the bosses against the workers; they will always serve the reactionary interests of the capitalists. The major parts of the conscripted army, composed of workers, will be won over to revolutionary struggle; but the police will always have to be fought, (although with a favorable relationship of forces in a revolutionary period, the workers may be able to neutralize sections of them). In the meantime, they constitute a vicious agency of the boss state to crush all workers' rights and eliminate opposition to the war of imperialist offense.

THE MILITARY MEASURES PROVE IT IS FOR OFFENSE

We have already pointed out the political-economic reasons why American Imperialism must wage an aggressive struggle for control of the entire world. We have also indicated above that these various measures are for offense. In reality, from a revolutionary point of view, it makes no difference whether an imperialist power is fighting on its own soil or on that of its opposing robber: it is still a war for profits, for the redivision of the world, for increased exploitation of the workers and intensified oppression of the colonial masses, for the maintenance of the rotten profit system at the expense of the exploited toilers no matter in what land they might be.

But in the case of American Imperialism, separated by two oceans from its contending bandits, it can be clearly demonstrated that its military preparations are not for "defense" of its continental territory, but even from their own military preparations, it can be shown that it is for OFFENSE on a world scale.

A number of competent military observers, all of whom are "good patriots" have made this clear. We here present only one typical commentator, Boake Carter, who is one of the most reactionary bourgeois journalists and commentators.

PROOF FROM BOSS CLASS AUTHORITIES

He summarizes in his column of August 5th, 1940, a lengthy "plan of defense" of Hanson Baldwin, New York Times military expert. Baldwin points out that Germany, the leading air power, has only 4,000 to 8,000 active combat planes. He declares that a force of 10,000 planes "plus a 25% reserve" (these gentlemen don't want to take any chances for the bosses) would be more than adequate. "But the administration is demanding 50,000 planes" says Carter. He has to admit that this is far too many for "defense" and obviously can only be for offense.

Moreover he points out that "ex-Secretary of War Woodring, was forced out because he believed in a Hemisphere defense, but not a United States military establishment for the waging of war in Asia or Europe"!!! Roosevelt, in other words, fired his War Secretary because he wouldn't agree to prepare for waging war in Europe or Asia! And he brings in Knox who proceeds to build thousands of "heavy patrol bombers" capable of flying thousands of miles.

Moreover, Carter summarizes the question of defense, and he says: "So long as the United States controls the ocean approaches, the United States army would see little action, although successful defense requires an army."

He goes on to demonstrate Baldwin's observations that "The difficulty of transporting an army across the sea - seven and one-half

tons of shipping per man - and of supplying an overseas army of 50,000 men - thirteen tons of shipping per man per month - is staggering." and how! This means that if Hitler tried to invade the United States, as the Administration claims he will do, for a little army of 50,000 men - less than 5% of the troops he used to conquer France - it would require 650,000 tons of sea-transport, and this force would have to fight the American Navy which is today stronger than the combined navies of Hitler and his allies; and then these 50,000 men would face an army of 3,000,000 Americans!!!

Such an hypothesis is untenable; even considering that Hitler might be able to expand his forces. For the United States is not preparing on Hitler's present strength; the imperialists are planning a war machine on the assumption that German Imperialism will control the economic and military resources of Europe. On this basis, American Imperialism is preparing to go the "victor" one better by building an offensive military machine capable of aggressive action no matter how much Hitler expands.

Further evidence of this can be found in the agreement with Britain for naval bases in the Caribbean and Latin American area, as well as the important Singapore base; the plans for joint military action with Canada; the strengthening of the fortifications of the Aleutian Islands off the Alaskan-Siberia coast which is only a few miles from Asia. (It can hardly be expected that Hitler will "invade" through here, but the fortifications show that aggression into Asia IS possible). Many more facts can be added to prove these points.

Here is proof, indeed, that such military measures that Roosevelt is preparing (as outlined above) are NOT, and CANNOT be, for "defense", but are for brutal, bloody military aggression for the plunder and robbery of its imperialist rivals and the oppression and exploitation of the workers and toiling colonial masses of the world.

All workers and oppressed must resist with their greatest determination these war plans of the bosses and their administration and must work to turn the imperialist war into civil war, to destroy these profiteers and plunderers and their military machine and state.

MILITARISM IN ALL PHASES OF LIFE

In the mad scrambles for empire in the past, only a select section of the population was involved. The vast sections of the oppressed under Chattel Slave and Feudal society were outside the orbit of militarism; their youth were neither drafted nor permitted into the armed forces. Even under capitalism, up until the present period of Imperialism (dating from the turn of the century) mercenary and volunteer armies carried on the battle.

In the first world war, conscript armies played the major role in battle, but the civilian population was regimented but little, until

almost the end of the war. Now with the intensified decay of world capitalism, regimentation is becoming complete - militarism stretches its hand into the remotest sector of activity, into business, home life, the factory, the family, the consumer, etc. In a tragico-literal sense the "private lives of all citizens are cancelled". The bourgeois state governs not only what to eat, where to go, but even where and how to sleep, where and how to work, the wages of labor, what prices are to be paid for commodities, etc.

It would be a mistake, however, to conclude from this that government intervention in all spheres of life on this unprecedented militaristic scale is "impartial". On the contrary, government intervention is dual: it strives to protect and shelter industry and finance by increasing subsidies, "organizing" the process of "big fish eat little fish" - of greater monopolies, and cushioning the shocks of war; and, on the other hand, it interferes in the lives of the proletariat to make cannon-fodder out of it and place on its backs the costs of war and subsidization.

Far from unifying the nation, militarism increases the cleavage of the interests of the two contending classes.

MILITARISM AND CAPITALIST PROFITS

Many people may think that the expenditure of over 14 billions of dollars for war materials may mean an end to the economic crisis, higher wages, etc. Exactly the opposite is true as the last war proved. The present war, occurring twenty years after the last, is decisive expression of the insolvability of the contradictions of capitalism. In those countries where there was accelerated expansion of the capital goods industries (for example, steel) because of the last war and post war developments, the economic effects of the crisis were most pronounced. This expansion of the forces of production increased the gap between the concentration of capital and the failure to develop new sources for the investment of capital. Hence the capitalist necessity for the new struggle to redivide the world and the decreased profit mass.

The crisis which now causes the war arose precisely from the previous war (and its causes) in which the process of the concentration of capital without its simultaneous growth only increased these contradictions - no outlet for this capital could be found. The present war orders - a subsidy to industry and finance - will serve as a stimulus to the system in an immediate sense, but to the degree that new productive forces are called into play, to that degree the already intolerable contradictions, strained by the last war, will grow immeasurably greater. Thus in the process of blood and plunder, the very destructive nature of this whole act will serve to increase the contradictions. No economic solution for capitalism is possible as a result of the war.

While no solution is possible, it must be pointed out that, within this framework of decay, American Imperialism is relatively the strongest and most powerful of the imperialist bandits. This is of great importance in relation to militarism, for in the long run, it is not the size or nature of the army that counts, but the economic base upon which the army rests. Because of its strength, the American bourgeoisie can build a powerful army and be in a relatively more favorable position to wage offensive war for control of the world.

The bourgeoisie will attempt to make all they can out of the war, even though this war materially destroys over 25% of the national income. The 14 billion dollars that are being expended will serve as a powerful shot in the arm for American capitalism; just like a shot of morphine; but the after affects will bring it to the point of death.

GOVERNMENT SUBSIDIZATION FOR BIGGER PROFITS

To offset the cost of expansion of war industry facilities and to cushion the shock after war, the Roosevelt government provides extra means of profit. We deal here with only three of the methods used:

First, the so-called amortization program. This is a two-fold government policy whereby: (1) The Government itself will build certain plants and, while retaining nominal ownership, lease them RENT FREE to the large capitalists, for production of war materials. Such is Roosevelt's plan, for instance, in relation to airplane expansion; and already the federal government is building seven 30-35 million dollar munitions plants for DuPont. This means double profit for the profit-mongers: the Government pays for building these plants, and then DuPont and others will manufacture war material which will be sold to this same government at a profit. "Conscription of industry" under capitalism means government coordination of industry AT A PRICE - giant subsidies.

Secondly, the government has made provisions for plant expansion whereby the cost of such expansion by capitalist outfits is deductible from taxable profits up to 20%, which is just another form of capital subsidization by the Government.

Thirdly, this government subsidization goes primarily to the biggest capitalist monopolies; hence it accelerates the economic process of "big fish eat little fish", of the larger finance capital units swallowing up ever more of the smaller outfits, concentrating capital in fewer and fewer hands.

BLOODY IMPERIALIST AGRESSION ON A WORLD SCALE; MILITARY DICTATORSHIP AT HOME:

Let us now briefly deal with the internal militarist policies of the American Imperialists. Not only will there be conscription for war; there will also be CONSCRIPTION for industry. Indeed many mil-

licens of men AND women who will not be involved in military service will be under military rule in the factories with wages, hours, and conditions rigidly controlled by the capitalist state and army.

Here is what Mr. Cherne, well-known bourgeois authority on M-Day, has to say: "...as the war develops, increasing controls over labor will certainly be exercised....a national war effort will in all likelihood call for a surrender of some privileges which you now enjoy under the Wages and Hour Law and the Walsh-Healy Public Contracts ActIt seems, almost certain, therefore, that overtime provisions in the Federal laws will not be able to withstand the pressure of a war-time effort....It is certain that women and children will be used to fill whatever gaps occur. The various state and Federal laws that now prevent the employment of children between the ages of 14 and 18 will have to be suspended. Women will be allowed (!) to work longer hours than they are today, while children will be permitted (!) to work in industries from which they are now barred....Wages will certainly riseBUT remember that in the last war the cost of living rose even more rapidly than wages."

This is clear enough. REAL wages will drop, the right to strike and organize will be restricted, the 40-hour week will disappear, the government will force you to work where they want you, otherwise you will be "inducted into the armed forces", or maybe punished for "treason", as was the case in "democratic" France. In short, all the gains of the American working class won through bitter struggle over a hundred years of battle, will be swept away by the "democratic" government!

This will be a clear-out open military dictatorship of the American capitalists functioning through their state and armed forces. And, as usual, they will call it "democracy".

But workers must recognize its REAL dictatorial nature, and the REAL imperialist nature of the war, and must organize to fight the war plans, to turn the imperialist war into civil war.

HOW TO FIGHT AGAINST MILITARISM

The fight against militarism is an integral part of the fight against capitalism. It must be co-ordinated with the struggle for the overthrow of the capitalist system and the establishment of a Workers Council Government with its own Workers Army. At every stage of this struggle, the revolutionary Marxists present a program of action that helps to lead to the goal; at every stage we fight the bosses' state and military apparatus, and counterpose the appropriate forms of workers struggle in defense of their democratic rights.

This struggle in its main aspects was well summarized in the previous League document:

"The working class must expose and fight against all forms of militarism. In brief this means:

"1. Educate the masses to the real role of militarism and the state.

"2. Create opposition to all forms of bourgeois militarism.

"3. Present those slogans that lead to action for the demoralization of the military forces and the exploiters' state.

"In order to carry this out the revolutionary vanguard must:

"a. Struggle against the use of the educational system for militarism. This calls for opposition to compulsory military training and for the abolition of the R.O.T.C.

"b. Fight against the use of unemployed appropriations for military purposes.

"c. Expose and oppose all forms of military appropriations.

"d. Fight against all forms of the bourgeois militarization of youth, boy scouts, C.C.C. camps, R.O.T.C., etc., etc.

"e. We are opposed to the (voluntary) joining of the military forces. The question of working in the army, and calling for the joining of the military forces, or of taking a "neutral" position on this question, are two different aspects of the problem.

"f. We are opposed to the draft for war periods. (And all the more opposed to the present draft when war has not yet been started by the American bosses.) We fight against the draft up to the point of conscription, pointing out that, even if we do not prevent it, we will greatly weaken the drive to militarize the workers for the war and help the anti-militarist forces. After the draft takes place, we are opposed to Conscientious Objection ("C.O.s"), and to individual and anarchist actions against it. This is a form of petty-bourgeois liberalism. After the draft takes place, we change our tactics. We do not hurry to join the colors, but if it cannot be avoided, we work within the army for our class position. This merely means that we extend our class struggle activity to the war front.

"g. We are opposed to the slogan of 'Draft Labor and Capital'. This is the best means of organizing the war on a really efficient basis for the capitalist class as a whole. Capital will continue, under this slogan, as private property and the economic relations will remain for the creation of surplus value for the CAPITALIST (and the exploitation of the workers).

"In our opposition to militarism, it is incorrect to take the position that the soldier is a person to shun and hate. We must regard soldiers as misguided workers. The tactics to be used against detachments that are used as strikebreakers will vary according to local conditions.

"Above all, the question of militarism affects the youth of the population, and must be made a special fighting issue of the revolutionary youth organization. This by no means implies that the revo-

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lutionary party turns this work (exclusively) over to the youth. The party must lead the struggle against militarism. The adult workers, and especially the women, can be drawn into a genuine struggle against militarism, every available force can be involved in this struggle against imperialist war and for the class war."

THE TRAP OF "TRADE UNION CONTROL"

Just as we reject pacifism, we must also oppose other concepts which, despite their seeming "radicalness" are equally deadly snares for the workers. Among these is the idea that militarism can be effectively combatted by calling for "universal, compulsory military training of the working masses, but under the control of the trade unions". Let the government "provide the funds, facilities and technical instructions, but let the workers' own organizations be in charge of the training camps."

The strategy which we propose in the struggle against militarism aims at smashing militarism by smashing capitalism. But this idea of the boss government training the union members would result in side-tracking the real anti-militarist struggle and enabling the bosses to retain control.

This has been amply proved by many unfortunate defeats of the workers. The latest example is the Spanish Civil War where the workers submitted to control of their armed forces and their arms by the capitalist state. The result was the smashing of the revolutionary initiative and struggle of the workers, and the reconsolidation of the boss class armed forces that finally led to the defeat of the Revolution. There the workers in a revolution had their own armed forces destroyed and had a new FORM of the same old capitalist army rebuilt. Here, where we do not yet have a revolutionary situation and our own armed workers forces, this kind of proposal would head off effective work just as it is beginning.

Moreover, with the present class collaborationist character of the trade union leadership such a proposal would easily enable the bosses to retain control. Men like Lewis, Green, Hillman, Brophy, Tobin, etc. who have endorsed American militarism and are supporting the capitalist war plans, would be more than glad, if necessary, to further serve the bosses by bringing their trade union following into military camps run by the same officers as under the present plan.

"Military training under trade union control" in reality means military training under the control of the labor-AGENTS of the bosses - behind whom the bosses and their military staff stands.

To "counterpose" this proposal to the present boss class plans can only serve to confuse and disorient workers from a real anti-militarist struggle. Such a real struggle we propose with the following methods and aims:

THE ARMED FORCES OF THE WORKERS

These aims are clear enough. In opposition to boss class militarism we summarize these aims by counterposing the propaganda slogan of arming the people. This propaganda slogan of today will tomorrow in the pre-revolutionary and revolutionary periods be transformed into action through the process of sections of the boss army coming over to the workers' struggle, through the building of armed workers' militias, etc. (the dual power armed forces of the revolutionary workers). The slogan for the arming of the people is advanced now to point the way to this goal and prepare for the disintegration of the boss state and armed forces.

Such armed forces of the workers would be organized on the broadest democratic base under councils of workers and soldiers. These forces would be transformed into the workers' army against the standing boss class army and police force. The struggle for Workers' Councils is a struggle against the capitalist armed forces and is a step on the road towards the organization of a Workers' Red Army. The development of these forces will facilitate the building of such a Workers Army after power is seized.

As the previous document states:

"We are against militarism, and we are for the abolition of the armed forces of the exploiters, forces that are recruited from workers and farmers, controlled by officers of the exploiters, elevated above the working class as an instrument of suppression, and used against contending (imperialist) exploiters and the exploited masses. In place of the (boss class) army, we call for the arming of the people, both men and women. As Lenin said: 'Make every soldier a citizen and every citizen a soldier.'

"The calling for the arming of the people is not only a slogan for use in those countries where the bourgeois democratic phase of the revolution has not yet taken place, but also in the leading imperialist powers as a means of demoralization of the state and its armed force. The fact that you cannot utilize this slogan under capitalism in the struggle against militarism is not grounds for its rejection. For this is a slogan of action in a period of revolution.

"It is well known that the exploiters, even down to the small middle class, as well as the lumpenproletarian scum that defend the capitalist robbers, can obtain arms at all times, and the passing out of arms to this element (by the bosses) depends upon the state of 'insurrection' in sections, or in the country as a whole.

"On this basis, it is foolish to say that to call for the arming of the people means to arm the reactionaries and fascists as well as the workers. Under capitalism these elements can obtain arms whenever they need them. Only the workers and other layers of the exploited are deprived of this condition, training with arms. To call for

the arming of the people is to give the exploited, who are in the majority, an equal opportunity to defend themselves against any and all invaders of their 'human right' to live as humans.

"The Peoples' Army would be organized on the broadest democratic basis, including a period of military training, leave from work with pay for all, elected officers, etc. This army would take the place of both the standing army and the police force. The struggle for the Peoples' Army is a struggle against the capitalist armed forces. This struggle in no way conflicts with the organization of a Red Army as organized by Lenin and Trotsky and now usurped by Stalinism. In the transition period, the Red Army will adapt itself to the needs of the workers as the army of the world proletariat, regardless of the nation that it represents. Only when the soviets become the world state can the broad principles of 'every soldier a citizen, every citizen a soldier' be fully realized."

ARMING OF THE PEOPLE

Specifically, today, we call for ARMED WORKERS DEFENSE CORPS to defend the democratic rights of the workers and their hard-won gains against the attacks of the boss state which is heading for open military dictatorship to crush all these rights. The armed workers defense corps should be built wherever possible by all the workers in every mine, mill and factory, irrespective of whether there is a union or not, whether it is A.F.L. or O.I.O. Tomorrow, when the workers move toward revolution, the slogan of the arming of the entire people will take on greater flesh and blood as these defense corps are broadened and transformed into the ARMED WORKERS MILITIAS of the oppressed, as the military arm of their WORKERS COUNCILS. When the revolutionary seizure of power is achieved, the WORKERS COUNCIL GOVERNMENT will give full expression to the arming of the entire oppressed masses and build a WORKERS ARMY not above or apart from the masses but an integral part of it to defend the new social order against the counter-revolution of the exploiters.

This, in the framework of the line of revolutionary defeatism, is the general strategy in the struggle against militarism and the capitalist system which leads to the seizure of power. But at the present moment, the main struggle must be concentrated against exposing the military forces, fighting conscription, and raising the slogan of the arming of the people, with concrete work for the armed workers defense corps.

WORK IN THE BOSS ARMY

Now that conscription is passed it is false (as we stated in the former document) to avoid it on the grounds of "conscientious objections". Workers are not against ALL wars; they are for their OWN class war against the capitalist system. They are against the IMPERIALIST wars for profit of the capitalist class, but they must struggle

against this war even in the boss army. Workers should be in no hurry to get conscripted but when the boss state inaugurates it, they should register, although they should take advantage of all prescribed possibilities of exemption (dependents, health, etc.); then if drafted for service, they must work within the boss army for their class struggle position. This means, as the P.C. document summarizes:

"A fight must be made for the democratic rights of the armed forces: the rights to be a full citizen, to vote, to belong to unions, to fight for better conditions, wages, reading matter, etc. The democratization of the boss army as a means to demoralize the armed force, (democratic) election of officers, etc. is not only a tactic to be employed in the period of the revolution; but it must also be applied at all times, according to the prevailing conditions."

CLASS DIVISION IN THE BOSS ARMY

The struggle for the democratization of the boss army is of special importance as a means of emphasizing the class division of society, which also prevails in the armed forces of the bosses. The same boss-worker antagonism exists in the army. (1) The worker-private is under the strictest supervision and must carry out all orders of the boss-officers and their military discipline, without questioning the policies of the officers. (2) This worker-private vs. boss-officer division obtains even in the social habits where no mixing of officers and privates is permitted. (3) The appointment of officers from the top, most of whom are bourgeois, who have the power of discipline is strongly undemocratic and illustrates the undemocratic nature of the entire society. The struggle for the democratic election of officers from the ranks is part and parcel of the struggle for workers democratic rights against the bosses and their armed forces. (4) The pay differences again illustrate the class division, just as in industry. A private gets \$30 a month (according to the new law). Before it was \$21. But a general draws \$666 a month. (5) The same Jim Crow practices of the separation and abuse of Negroes exists as in capitalist society.

"The work in the boss army during the war is carried on within the framework of turning the imperialist war into civil war by working for the defeat of 'our' imperialist power. In this stage the tactics to democratize the boss army, (as explained above) becomes of more than propaganda value. All tactics for the demoralization of the armed forces of the imperialist government must be co-ordinated for our general aim (i.e., civil war)":

In other words, democratization of the army cannot be fully realized within the framework of the boss army; rather, the work for democratization is a part of the process of the disintegration of the capitalist state and its armed forces, whereby those sections of the army that strive for democratization, etc., become transformed into part of the military forces of the revolutionary workers and their Councils.

INCREASE IN CLASS DIVISIONS

Class divisions will increase as the war proceeds, both in society as a whole where the military dictatorship and the crushing of the living standards of the workers will lay the basis for revolt, and in the army where the above listed class divisions will grow as the horrors of war and its real profit reason become clearer to all workers. In this connection, the increased mechanization of the army increases the class divisions, as Karl Liebknecht, the great anti-militarist leader of the workers in the last world war, pointed out many years ago.

The capitalists face a contradiction between the slavish discipline and destruction of initiative which they have to develop in the army and the increased necessity for greater intelligence of the soldiers in the operation of highly mechanized equipment. The more initiative and intelligence required for mechanized warfare, the less slavish discipline can be maintained, and the sooner the soldiers use their intelligence in their own class interests.

THE U.S. ARMY AND THE COLONIAL COUNTRIES

To the degree that American Imperialism endeavors to "organize the world" to that degree its armed forces must increasingly be used to beat down colonial revolts. The former League document presents our opposition to this:

"If the United States uses its armed forces against any of the colonial or semi-colonial countries, the workers of the United States must do everything possible to assist the colonial peoples against American Imperialism. We must demand the immediate withdrawal of the armed forces. We must demand the right of self-determination of these countries from American Imperialism, and of their separation. (i.e., we agitate for their right of self-determination, up to and including the right of separation; in these oppressed lands, however, the workers must strive for solidarity with the workers of the United States, and for fraternization with the workers of the military machine).

"In the colonies, the army must be propagandized to refuse to shoot colonial masses and when the situation develops, their aid to the colonial peoples will stimulate the struggle of these workers and peasants against Imperialism."

THE ARMY AS A STRIKE-BREAKING FORCE

The National Guard and army will undoubtedly be used to try to break strikes during the coming period as in the past. On occasions the government will try to make it appear that they are going to help the strikers; but the result will always be as in the Pennsylvania steel strike in 1938, the Minnesota truck strikes, etc., that the troops will be used against the workers.

The revolutionists then must point out the similarity of interests of the worker in the army (and national guard), with the worker in the factory; that they must both unite to defeat the main enemy. Such elementary cooperation will be a long step towards cementing joint workers and soldiers councils during and preceding the period of dual power.

WORK FOR THE DEFEAT OF "OUR OWN" BOSS CLASS,
ITS STATE AND ARMED FORCES

In time of imperialist war as in time of "peace" the interests of the workers and oppressed masses of the world are served only by the unceasing and intransigent class struggle for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of Workers Council Government based on Workers Control of Production for Use. This means that in the period of the imperialist war the class struggle must be concretized to the conditions of the war. Just as in "peace" we work for civil war and revolution, so in war we work to turn the imperialist war into civil war. We have outlined above strategical and tactical aspects of this work.

But the underlying strategy is the revolutionary work that leads to the defeat of "our own" imperialists, their state and armed forces. Because we want the overthrow of our own bosses, we welcome any situation that facilitates that overthrow. In the period of the imperialist war, the military defeats and reverses of "our" bosses serves to weaken their military and social apparatus, to sow confusion in their ranks, to increase the opposition and discontentment of the masses. For these reasons, we wish for such military defeats; and we therefore work for them.

MAIN ASPECTS OF REVOLUTIONARY DEFEATISM

There are three main elements involved in the strategy of revolutionary defeatism:

1 - We not only wish for the defeat, but we WORK FOR THE DEFEAT of our own boss class. We do not wait till there are millions who are so engaged; but we point the way from the beginning and, no matter how few the forces, we work for such defeat and the victory of the workers.

2 - We are for the defeat of the bosses, their government AND their armed forces. We are not merely for a change of government of one group of bosses by another; (even if the other is called a "labor" government): we want to smash the boss state and to do this we have to oppose and work for the defeat of their armed forces.

3 - We are for such a policy even if it means the temporary "victory" of the "enemy" imperialists. We are not interested in the

victory of one gang of imperialists bandits over another — that is the way the bosses pose the issue --- but we want the defeat of ALL the imperialists. Hence the workers on both sides of the trenches must work for the defeat of "their own" boss class. This international solidarity of the workers is the only way to end the imperialist war. It will lead NOT to the victory of one or the other imperialists, but to the smashing of all of them and the victory of the world working class.

THE POSITION OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONTACT COMMISSION

The INTERNATIONAL CONTACT COMMISSION FOR THE COMMUNIST (4th) INTERNATIONAL of which the Revolutionary Workers League, U.S. is the American section, has precisely summarized this question:

"The AIM of revolutionary defeatism, therefore, is so to carry on and extend the class struggle, so to weaken the bourgeoisie, so to destroy its domination over the workers, so to increase the rebelliousness of the workers and direct it into ever greater revolutionary class actions (which in turn cause greater reverses and defeats) that the mass of workers will be mobilized for revolution, for civil war.

"This policy must be carried out even if it means the temporary 'victory' of the 'enemy' imperialists. No one can guarantee that the revolutionary defeatist actions will lead to a successful civil war. On the other hand, the military reverses caused by such actions will necessarily lead to the military gains of the 'enemy'. But every such 'gain' of the 'enemy' imperialist means a greater loss of faith by the workers in 'their own' bourgeoisie, greater resentment, etc., and lays the base to transform these conditions and attitudes into positive revolutionary actions.

"The DECISIVE point, however, is that the strategy of revolutionary defeatism must be carried on by the revolutionists in ALL the imperialist countries and armies. It is not a question of the victory of one gang of imperialist robbers over another --- that is the axis on which the imperialists wage the war --- it is a question of the VICTORY OF THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION over imperialism. And this can be accomplished, as explained above, by the military actions in ALL the warring camps for the military defeats of ALL the imperialists as the MEANS AND METHOD to convert the imperialist war into civil war. This is no longer an 'abstract theory' as it was when Lenin developed it in 1914-1915, but it is a theoretical strategy that has stood the test of application in the last imperialist war, and was given corroboration by history in the October and other revolutions."

Such revolutionary defeatist activity has nothing in common with acts of individual sabotage, blowing up bridges, buildings, collaboration with enemy spies, etc. Such revolutionary defeatist activities are merely a different form of the same class struggle activity, of co-ordinated MASS work, in defense of workers interests and rights.

It includes: fraternization with the workers on the other side of the trenches; propaganda and activity to expose and oppose the BOSS nature of the war and army; strikes, refusal to ship munitions, work for the democratization of the army, etc.

Such activity is difficult and hazardous, but it is the ONLY WAY to carry out the struggle against the war, militarism and its roots, capitalism.

In the coming period the bourgeoisie will try to make it appear that militant workers are fighting against the interests of the American people. One of the methods already used is to label the militants as "fifth-columnists".

The facts, however, are that only those who are fighting for proletarian revolution and workers rights really represent the interests of the American people. The so-called "democrats" and liberals will gladly hand the nation over to the Fascist enemy rather than see the workers maintain and extend their rights and living standards. It is they who are paving the way for Fascism (both internal and if necessary, as in the case of France, external). The "fifth-column" and other such lies must be turned back on the bourgeois "democratic" hypocrites.

Activity against militarism will be declared "illegal" and "treasonable". This is because the bosses' dictatorship makes the laws. The bosses OUTLAW the workers democratic rights. The struggle to maintain and extend these rights in the period of the war will, therefore, take on "illegal" forms because that is the only channel through which this fight for the democratic rights and interests of the vast majority of the exploited can be carried on.

NO MATTER WHERE THE IMPERIALIST BATTLE RAGES,
THE MAIN ENEMY IS AT HOME!

The desire to fight fascism is an honest and natural one on the part of all workers. But many workers, even class conscious ones who generally recognize the need for the overthrow of capitalism, are capitulating to the boss class propaganda of support of capitalist "democracy". The reformist and centrist political organizations are moving with great speed in thinking up arguments to support the bosses in this dastardly campaign. "We must fight fascism" is interpreted by them to mean, we must stop Hitler. On the contrary, however, this in no way means that we must cease our class struggle activity against the MAIN ENEMY HERE AT HOME. We cannot stop Hitler by supporting the boss class "democracy". Even if Hitler attacks the U.S., we must not "defend" the existing capitalist rule; this is the surest way to help Fascism win, here and in Europe.

THE LESSON OF FRANCE

France is the clearest example of this. There the bosses

elled for national unity; they smashed the strikes of the workers in the name of "democracy"; they established 60-70 hour week, and cut pay in the name of "defense". They persecuted revolutionists and militants in the name of "liberty". The politicians and generals ordered the workers to give "their all" in the "fight against Fascism".

But these same generals and politicians -- the stooges of the French bosses -- sold out to Hitler under the threat of the workers' taking power and waging a real, workers defense. One day General Weygand ordered the workers "not to yield an inch"; a week later he ordered surrender to Hitler.

France is the lesson of how "democratic" boss class rule PAVES THE WAY FOR FASCISM.

And don't forget that Hitler was invading French territory. But one can easily see that it makes little difference to the bosses that they are "defending" their own land; they capitulated to Hitler because they fear the workers more than they do Hitler, and they use Hitler's methods against the workers.

Workers here must learn this lesson. No matter on what territory the war is being fought, it is still an imperialist war. No matter whether American troops are being used in Japan, South America, or Europe, no matter whether German troops even come over here (which is far from likely) it remains a war for profit, for redivision of the world between two blocs of imperialist powers.

CLASS UNITY AGAINST NATIONAL UNITY

The French bosses preferred victory of Hitler to the victory of the workers, preferred fascism to the proletarian revolution. The bosses preferred to sell out to Hitler and put in the near-fascist Petain regime rather than be defeated by the workers.

This is the lesson we must learn. CLASS AGAINST CLASS! TURN THE BOSSES WAR INTO A WAR AGAINST THE BOSSES!

The support of capitalist "democracy" will pave the way for the victory of Fascism as it did in France. ONLY THE SUPPORT OF THE INTERNATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY POLICY OF REVOLUTIONARY DEFEATISM CAN SMASH FASCISM BY SMASHING CAPITALISM.

PROGRAM OF INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY

In the above pages we have given a brief analysis of American militarism and its war plans and counter-posed a revolutionary program to achieve workers' victory. This is a program of international solidarity that has been tried and tested in the last war. Its application meant the end of the past war. It is the only way to stop this war, and to complete the job begun then, of overthrowing the capitalist

system and its wars, dictatorship, misery and exploitation; and establishing the rule of the majority: the Workers Council Government based on Workers Control of Production for Use.

The Revolutionary Workers League, U.S., is solidly united with its comrades of the Leninist League of Scotland, the Red Front of Greater Germany, and many other groups close to the International Contact Commission, all of whom carry on the struggle against the opposing imperialists. Join with us to fight:

AGAINST BOSS WAR - - FOR CIVIL WAR!

AGAINST THE REPUBLICAN-DEMOCRATIC WAR PLANS!

FOR THE DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS OF THE WORKING CLASS - AGAINST THE ATTACKS OF THE BOSS CLASS STATE!

FOR FRATERNIZATION WITH THE WORKERS ON THE OTHER SIDES OF THE TRENCHES!

FOR TURNING THE IMPERIALIST WAR INTO CIVIL WAR!

FOR A WORKERS COUNCIL GOVERNMENT BASED ON WORKERS CONTROL OF PRODUCTION FOR USE!

FOR THE DEFENSE OF THE SOVIET UNION AGAINST IMPERIALISM AND ITS STALINIST AND OTHER AGENTS!

FOR THE INTERNATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY SOLIDARITY OF THE WORKERS AND OPPRESSED MASSES!

FOR THE NEW COMMUNIST (4th) INTERNATIONAL!

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