

**MILITARISM**

**and**

**YOUTH**

**under**

**American Imperialism**

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# MILITARISM IN THE UNITED STATES

## MILITARISM AS A MODERN DEVELOPMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

Militarism, the full-grown armed force of the capitalist state, developed and blossomed in Europe where the contradictions of the productive forces and national boundaries reached an acute form long before they did in the United States. The U.S. was held up as an exception to this rule, as a country where Militarism could not take root. But historical development has thrown this theory in the waste basket as it has thrown the theory that there were no classes in USA.

Militarism has slowly developed, until now it looms 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.

## SPECIAL ASPECTS OF THE MILITARY FORCES OF THE UNITED STATES

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-Corp, the government has the Marines as a 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, which gives the states a sufficient latitude for self expression, but at the same time keeps it under the control of the national government.

The national guard has been the main force used for strike-breaking 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 guards for special purposes and the regular army has served as a "fire door" and has choked 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, CCC camps, and other forms are used, and are slowly penetrating every avenue of public life with the spirit of militarism.

Where formerly the lumpen-proletariat made up the main reserve of the regular armed force, today on the heels of the crisis and mass unemployment, the armed forces are selecting recruits from only those who have had a high-school education.

## MILITARY APPROPRIATIONS AND THE MILITARY FORCES

All forms of military appropriations of the capitalist state must be exposed and fought against as part of the general struggle against Militarism. The open as well as the masked forms of military

A revolutionary organization that does not take this phase of the anti-war work seriously will not be worthy of its name.

## THE FIGHT AGAINST ALL FORMS OF MILITARISM

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 these slogans that lead to action for the demoralization of the military force and the exploiters' state.

In order to carry this out the revolutionary vanguard must:

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

2. Fight against the use of unemployed appropriations for military purposes.

3. Expose and oppose all forms of military appropriations.

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

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

6. We are opposed to the draft for war periods. We fight against the draft up to the period 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-military forces. After the draft takes place, we are opposed to Conscientious Objection (CO's) and to individual and anarchist actions against it. This is a 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.

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

In our opposition to Militarism, it is false to take the position that the soldier is a person to shun and hate. We must consider soldiers as misguided workers. The tactics to be used against those detachments that are used as strike-breakers 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 revolutionary party turns this work 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 and thereby involve every force available in this struggle against imperialist wars and for the class war.

The bourgeois sport structure of the U.S. has reached the highest form within the capitalist system as an instrument for ideological propaganda to control the working class. In this respect, it has its val-

ue as a preliminary structure and ideological factor for the militarization of the American youth.

## WORK IN THE ARMY

The struggle against Militarism and the capitalist system must be carried on in the army. 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 army as a means to demoralize the armed force, election of officers, etc. is not only a tactic to be employed in the period of revolution: but must also be employed at all times according to the conditions prevailing. This has nothing in common with the Stalinist slogan of asking the French Government to drive the Fascists out of the army.

### Work In The Army In Periods Of War.

The work in the army during the war is carried on within the framework of turning the imperialist war into a civil war by working for the defeat of our imperialist power. In this stage the tactics to democratize the army becomes more than of propaganda value. All tactics for the demoralization of the armed forces of the imperialist government must be co-ordinated for our general aim.

Class division will increase as the war proceeds. The revolutionists, in organizing their cells in the armed forces, will co-ordinate this activity with the revolutionary party's struggle for the overthrow of the capitalist class. Declaration of war carries with it the active illegal work of the party, which should be prepared long in advance.

## CARRYING THE CLASS STRUGGLE INTO THE ARMY

The special structure of the American military forces enable them to keep down to the minimum the class antagonisms in society from breaking out in the army. In times of peace, even though the task is difficult, the revolutionists must do all possible to obtain a foothold and carry the class struggle within the army.

In times of war, the skeleton army of the capitalists, which is trained and mechanized, takes on the meat of the working-class youth for gun fodder and thereby opens the door to an increase in class division and class struggle in the armed force.

## THE POLICE FORCE

The distinction between the military and the police force of the nation is essential to enable us to carry our propaganda. To win the army is essential for successful revolution, on the other hand, the police force, in the min, will be a bulwark of reaction. The selection of the police arm is carried on upon a different basis than recruiting of the army, especially in the war period.

The police arm is divided into the city police, County Sheriffs division, State police, Department of Justice, private police forces of the capitalists, etc. and now they plan to expand the national military force under the G men.

In period of revolutionary struggles, the propaganda to neutralize large sections of the police, to disintegrate the forces of the exploiters must be carried on.

## THE USE OF THE MILITIA IN STRIKES

The National Guards has been used as a regular strikebreaking instrument throughout the United States by the capitalists and their state. Our fight against this must be carried on to rouse the whole population against this form of militarism, but at the same time, the workers must carry on activity within the ranks of the National Guards.

Appeals from the strikes and the trade unionists, led by the revolutionary party, to refuse to fight against the strikes, to refuse to be strikebreakers must be made. The struggle against the National Guard in strikes can only be led by the revolutionary party. To turn the leadership of this struggle over to auxiliary organizations will lead to defeat.

The attempt to use the Militia (Olsen, Minneapolis; LaFollette, Wis., etc.) by the Farmer-Labor Parties, etc., for the strikers and against the bosses is an illusion of first magnitude. Such a line only means the use of the Militia in the name of the workers for the bosses.

The workers must counterpose to this demand their demand in strikes for the right to assemble, speak, distribute their press, picket, and the right to organize their own defence squads against the bosses' thugs. At no time can the strikers call for the Militia against the bosses. This is capitulation to the bosses.

## PACIFISM

Pacifism, which claims to lead the fight against war and militarism, is the surest road in preparing the way for militarism and war. Revolutionists are against all imperialist wars and for the class war. Revolutionists are for wars of colonial liberation, for civil war, and for the overthrow of capitalism.

Pacifism demands class peace within the framework of the capitalist system, where the exploiting minority are on top of the exploited majority. Against class peace, the revolutionists call for class war.

Militarism cannot be fought unless the fight against pacifism is carried on at the same time.

## THE 2nd and 3rd INTERNATIONAL PARTIES IN THE UNITED STATES

A position of revisionism in the state makes it impossible to fight for a revolutionary position against militarism and war. However, a formally correct position on the state and a false position on militarism and war will likewise lead to defeat.

A proper struggle against militarism is impossible if the parties position on the question of war is false. With a social-patriotic position the parties of the second and third Internationals are incapable of carrying on an effective struggle against war, against militarism, and for the winning of the army to the working-class.

The Stalin-Laval Communique, which lays down a completely false position on this question, is also supported by the socialists. The position of the socialists and the stalinists in France to disarm the Fascists and workers: the complete lack of struggle in behalf of the colonial peoples, exploited by their own imperialists, the support

of the League of Nations and sanctions-- the social-patriotic positions, to say nothing of the other false positions on war, means that the struggle against war and fascism will have to be carried on with out and against the parties of the second and third internationals. The position of the Militants and so called left Socialists in no better, even though it is covered up with Zam's Centrists formulas.

#### THE USSR AND THE USA AS ALLIES IN THE NEXT WAR

The position of the Marxists on the question of war and defeatism is not changed one iota if the USA fights in a war on the side of or against the Soviet Union. Our main task and line of march remains the same: to turn the imperialist war into a civil war--the workers must work for the defeat of its own imperialist power. The seizure of power by the workers in the US will establish a REAL ally. The difference is in, 1-tactics 2-our position after we take power. If the US is fighting on the same side as the Soviet Union and the United States is shipping supplies to the Soviet Union, and we are sure of the destination of such shipments, we would not call a strike and prevent this aid; but this in no way signifies that we consider America's role and the war progressive.

When the workers defeat their imperialists in the United States, and a war is raging against the Soviet Union, the victorious workers republic would continue the war, not as an ally of the other imperialists; but as one worker's republic coming to the defence of another. The war would be continued to defend the Soviet Union and for the further extension of the October Revolution.

#### THE US ARMY AND THE COLONIAL COUNTRIES

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 all 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 separation of these countries from American Imperialism and of their self-determination.

In the colonies, the army must be propogandized to refuse to fight; and when the situation develops, the mutiny of the troops and their aid to the colonial peoples will stimulate the workers' and peasants' struggle against Imperialism.

#### COMPULSORY MILITARY TRAINING

Compulsory military training in times of war is the natural outgrowth of the development of militarism and the extension of economic war to the military sphere. In times of peace, the capitalists organize and train these forces and officer divisions that can become the skeleton structure of a mass army of millions; The officers corps, the National Guards, the state police, etc., all constitute part of this general structure for a rapid mobilization and training of rooki

At present, a new phase of the militarization is taking place. That is the compulsory military training which is invading the educational structure of America. The use of the educational system for compulsory training is proceeding rapidly. Now American Imperialism

has established compulsory training in the Philippine Islands, where a conscript army will be the first line trench and first outpost of American Imperialism against Japanese Imperialism. This was carried through under the cloak of Philippine "Independence" in ten years, with full military rights reserved for American Imperialism. The "Independent" government of the island put through compulsory military training and imported McArthur of the USA Army to take charge. This steady invasion of militarism in special American forms with "fire doors" between the military divisions will steadily continue.

## FOR THE INDEPENDENT WORKING CLASS MILITARY TRAINING

The Marxists are against the bourgeois militarism; but are for the military training of the working class for their own class interests. This does not mean that we advocate the joining of the army to obtain military training. The party selects those whom it desires to join. In the first stage, the military training of the workers will take on the form of sport organizations, of committees of defence, of workers guard groups, of fighting detachments, and of teaching and training for the military aspects of strikes. The INDEPENDENCE of the working class military training is an essential part of the general program of the workers' struggle against militarism as a special condition in developed and decaying capitalism.

We fight for Peoples' Army as a means of demoralizing the bourgeois armed forces. We fight for independent working-class military training with arms as an embryo structure for our Red Army. To try to combine the two structures in fact or name in so-called Workers' Militia is to merge both phases of this work against Imperialism. The slogan of a Peoples' Army may be used in our general propaganda; but the agitation for the Peoples' Army will find response in the working-class only in times of a Pre-revolutionary situation.

## THE STATE

The state is an instrument of suppression used by the ruling exploiting class to subject and exploit the contending class in society. Every state is a dictatorship, no matter what form it may take, from bourgeois democracy to fascism. In this stage of history, it must either be a dictatorship of the capitalists, or a dictatorship of the proletariat. At the same time, every state has its elements and degree of democracy.

Capitalism is a dictatorship over the workers and oppressed colonial masses and is a democracy for the capitalists. The workers dictatorship will be a dictatorship over the exploiters and will be a democracy for the workers and exploited masses.

That group and class which controls the means of production, which controls the means by which labor must produce and obtain its living, is the force that has the economic power to control the state. The state becomes the instrument of suppression in the hands of the ruling class that controls the means of production. In this relationship, the Armed Might of the state is the decisive factor, by which a small handful of exploiters control and subject the overwhelming majority of workers and oppressed rural masses.

The armed forces of the state become a decisive question at every stage of the class struggle between the workers and capitalists.



## FOR THE ABOLITION OF THE ARMY: FOR THE ARMING OF THE PEOPLE

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 exploiters and the exploited. In place of the army, we call for the arming of the people, both men and women. 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 to use in these countries where the bourgeois democratic phase of the revolutions has not 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 realize this slogan under capitalism in the struggle against militarism, is not grounds for its rejection. 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 scum that defends the capitalist robbers, can obtain arms at all times, and the passing out of arms to this element depends upon the state of "insurrection" in the 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 they 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 force. 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 the slogan "every soldier a citizen, every citizen a soldier" be fully realized.

### THE STRUGGLE FOR THE ARMY

The struggle to win the army is a key question in the struggle for power. In colonial countries, the struggle for the army to a great extent depends upon a correct position by the revolutionary Party on the agrarian and National questions.

The winning of the army to the proletarian cause presupposes the ability of the proletariat to lead and fight for power.

The arming of the proletariat by any and every means is a necessary prerequisite for the struggle for power. The proletariat must disarm the reactionary bands and take these weapons for themselves.

In the revolutionary period the independent working-class military training will become the skeleton structure around which a Red



Army can be built up: and its development through the revolution to the siezure of power and the establishment of a workers' government will enable the Red Army to truly become the army of the world proletariat.

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This document is a reprint of the position of the P.C. of the Revolutionary Workers League of U.S., adopted Jan.16th, 1936.

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## YOUTH AND MILITARISM

1. Throughout the world, the imperialist nations are busily preparing for the next imperialist war. At the same time the bourgeoisie are everywhere preparing for the suppression of proletarian uprisings. For both reasons, most nations have put millions of men, mainly youth, under arms, have raised the conscription time, have built tremendous military air forces.
2. The U.S. imperialists have, however, made a pretense of not being imperialistic. Unlike the imperialists of continental Europe, they have not put over universal conscription. The standing army will be, according to war department reports, only 14,000 officers and 165,000 enlisted men. Furthermore, the military air force is smaller than that of Italy or France. Does this not prove that the U.S. government has no aggressive intentions and its army is a nominal one for defense purposes only?
3. This problem is solved by American bourgeois theoreticians by labelling the American government as non-imperialist. The true solution, however, lies elsewhere. 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 water. 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.
4. 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?
5. 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. Technically the U.S. military machine is by no means behind the rest of the world, neither in type nor in degree. Its navy is second to none. No army has achieved the degree of mechanization

prevalent in the U.S. army. The powerful auto industry has made possible a motorized army, more mobile than any other. In addition, the technical superiority of American industry insures a speedy production of the latest developments in military technique. No nation has basic large-scale industry as convertible as adaptable to changing needs as U.S. industry. During the auto strike, National Cash Register Company began to produce autos. During war, it can produce munitions just as fast. Stewart-Warners' radio concern and other firms are prepared to manufacture munitions at a twelve-hour notice. Auto manufacturers and agricultural machinery firms can change their dies overnight and produce tanks, armored cars, etc. The U.S. has a smaller military air force than other imperialist nations but has the largest number of commercial aircraft in the world. The U.S. rules the airways of the world - its airplanes are of a better make. These commercial aircraft can easily be turned into fighters. Aircraft production capacity is greater in the U.S. than anywhere else. The large areas in the U.S. make possible more air fields. As a result, the U.S. is the dominant force in the air. The U.S. has the equipment, actually and potentially, for an army the largest in the world. That is to say nothing of the navy, which, as indicated above, is second to none, and which, if the plans of U.S. imperialism are carried out, will be soon the largest in the world. For a large continental nation, a large navy is not by any stretch of the imagination for defense purposes. The U.S. navy with its marine corps as a supplement is used to police the colonial domains of the U.S. and even is quartered in Chinese waters. The next war will probably have the east as its main battle-field. If, as General MacArthur says, the Philippines will be our first line of "defense", a powerful navy from this base will be of great service to attack the British and Japanese colonial domains and strategic positions.

6. But 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 for 1935: "Soldiers without officers are more useless than officers without soldiers, for trained officers can take men off the street and make soldiers of them, while soldiers without officers are little better than a mob. The success of an army depends upon having an adequate number of trained officers". The standing army has at present 12,068 officers to 145,826 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. Thus, the problem of the U.S. militarists is not to hold a large standing army, but to organize a large corps of officers.

7. The extremely large amount of officers at present in the standing army is not all. The U.S. imperialists look to the youth to augment that force to full capacity. Military schools are being encouraged. The War Department plans to increase the outlay for CMTE which now provides annual training for 30,000 youth to provide for 50,000 youth. West Point will increase its annual enrollment from 1,374 to 1,960. The privates of the standing army themselves are so trained as to become non-coms in case of war necessity.

8. But that is not all. Student youth are looked to as the major source for the war-time officers' corps. The report of the War Department states: "In addition to the officers of the regular army and the National Guard, any major mobilization will require the employment of large numbers of reserve officers. At the close of the World War many emergency officers accepted commissions in the reserve corps and constituted an invaluable asset to national defense. With the passing of time many of these officers for many reasons became less available and in the future we will have to place a greater reliance on young officers without combat experience. Our principal source of these officers is the Reserve Officers Training Corps in our schools and colleges." Therefore the R.O.T.C. cannot be considered as a mere appendage to the army. The ROTC, CMTC, CCC, etc. are essential parts of the armed forces. The bourgeoisie base their plan for an officers' corps mainly on the students. Students, mainly from the petty bourgeoisie are most susceptible to nationalist and anti-labor propaganda. The bourgeoisie fills them with this propaganda and teaches them the rudiments of officering and draws a number of them in the officers' reserves. On June 30, 1936, there were 115,169 in the officers' reserves, 15,519 active 20,00 of these are put on active duty for two weeks every year in the regular army.

9. But some provision has to be made to lay the base for any army rank and file, to which can be added in case of emergency the raw and untrained bulk of privates. The "best" elements for such a base come from demoralizable unemployed youth, susceptible to becoming revolutionary on the one hand, and to throwing away all individuality and becoming the unthinking tools of reaction on the other. This can best be done under the present circumstances behind a "liberal" smokescreen, in order to hide the real purpose. Are there thousands of youth, homeless, unemployed, unable to finish school, needy? Then at all means the U.S. governments must provide relief for them, must undertake a project to save these youth. That ostensibly is the purpose of the CCC which in 1935 provided for 300,000 youth. The secretary of war reports that "practically it (the war department) has charge of all the activities in connection with the project except the selection of the men and the supervision of the work". Of the 95,618 active reserve officers 7,079 in 1937 were in charge of officering the CCC. The U.S. government plans on the one hand to give the CCC youth military training and on the other hand to crush any independence among the youth by conditioning them to the discipline of army officers. Just as privates in the army are not supposed to think for themselves so with youth in the CCC. The importance of the CCC to the war department is indicated by the fact that whereas relief expenditure is considered emergency, the CCC is considered as a permanent expenditure. At all relief offices the bureaucrats apply their pressure to getting unemployed youth to get "relief" thru the CCC.

10. The decentralized state apparatus - 48 states - a major problem of U.S. imperialism, reflects itself in the military forces. The National Guard, under the discipline of the states, is an example of this. Hence the U.S. government must provide a base for

a centralized cadre of privates, a federal setup, the CCC. In addition, the National Guard, ~~and the National Guard~~ ~~is being developed into a federal base to draw the National Guardsmen into a centralized federal army.~~ ~~warrior elements to solidify the position of the bourgeoisie for private & the state.~~ ~~the National Guard divisions, state militia and the~~ ~~3000 spots within the American bourgeoisie as is the system of the~~ 48 states. In the last two years of so, National Guard divisions have held maneuvers together with the regular army. The War department mentions this gleefully. As another move in this direction, the CCC is being developed into a federal base to draw the National Guardsmen into a centralized federal army. The plan is to tie the National Guard ~~closed~~ to the army so that its troops can be more quickly mobilized into the regular army in case of war, big interstate strikes or insurrection, without interference from the federated form of government. This has almost been accomplished. Not for the purpose of regular military training, but for psychologizing the youth to patriotism and military discipline, the bourgeoisie uses such set-ups as the Boy Scouts. To round out the plans of the bourgeoisie, there are such outfits as the Junior Naval Reserve. Not for the purpose of regular military training, ~~but~~ for psychologizing the youth to patriotism and military discipline, the bourgeoisie uses such set-ups as the Boy Scouts and Naval Scouts.

11. The creation of a special strike-breaking anti-labor corps is about the most important internal military problem facing the American bourgeoisie. Private strike-breaking agencies were inadequate to handle the giant strike struggles of recent years & which in the event of another industrial upswing like 1933 to 1937, will become even more difficult to handle. The struggles of the unemployed threaten to reach even greater heights of militancy and desperation requiring a special agency to handle. In addition to being inadequate, local vigilante and terrorist groups like the Black Legion can too easily become tools of those imperialists struggling against the dominant group. For this reason these groups have been hounded by agents of the dominant group. At the present time the most used anti-labor force in the military set-up is the National Guard. In most countries, France, Belgium, Spain, etc., special strike-breaking forces (Civil Guard, Mobile Guard, etc.) are recruited from the scum of the population and from specially-trained petty bourgeois elements. These elements are shut up into special police barracks and kept almost completely out of contact with the masses. Not only is the National Guard recruited mainly from young workers but these young workers live the "normal" workingclass life interrupted by weekly training and annual vacation training. Such a force is very imperfect for the purpose. This displays a weakness of American imperialism. It must create a more dependable, national special anti-labor force. In the meantime it must depend even more upon its agents in the workers' ranks, the CIO, etc., to hold the proletariat in check by means of soft soap.

The only thing in the U.S. which approaches the European models are the state police forces. These are recruited from the proper elements and are securely barracked in. But the ridiculous division into 48 states makes it impossible to use these elements effectively. Not all states have sufficient state troopers. It

is impossible to build 48 such anti-labor forces, kept within the boundaries of 48 states. The expense would be enormous, the recruits insufficient. What is needed is a mobile set up able to concentrate its forces where necessary any any given time. This must be a national affair. The national government has not been napping but is in analogous fashion to the CCC-National Guard, creating a national cadre to draw in elements now scattered thru the states in the state police forces. This cadre is the Federal Bureau of Investigation corps. The U.S. government is putting this outfit over behind the "liberal" smoke-screen (movies showing G-men crushing the Black Legion, etc.) and a law-enforcement drive. In Washington DC the FBI school enrolls state troopers from all states to educate them to become G-men. When the proper moment comes, the bourgeoisie plan to expand the FBI with its present cadre as an officers' corps.

12. On the colonial field, the special force of oppression had been the Marines. Perhaps an even more important function of the Marines is their service to the bourgeoisie in the role of Shore Military Police against the sailors, who are potentially the most revolutionary force in the military set-up. The Marines are an aristocracy in the "Service". Recently the bourgeoisie have changed their tactics and depend on agents in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, and on the ~~xxxxx~~ native troops to hold down the colonial masses. The young workers and peasants in the American colonies and virtual colonies will also be used to fight the battles of U.S. imperialism. In addition to the regular army, the Phillipines, Hawaii and other open colonies have ROTC and CMTC units. The most important unit in this field is the Phillipine Island conscript army. Military training for a minimum of 5½ months is compulsory for all adult Filipinos. This regular army of 10,000 is thus supplemented by a reserve of the entire male population, commandeered by American officers and also by graduates of the Phillipine "West Point". The bourgeoisie use this conscript army not only to suppress internal uprisings but as the first line of offense when the U.S. takes the inevitable steps toward open asiatic conquest and invasion.

13. The answer to the military machine of the bourgeoisie is the military machine of the proletariat, successively the workers defense group, the workers militia and the Red Army. The proletariat uses its military force to destroy the military force of the bourgeoisie. In the U.S. just as the revolutionary situation may mature from a strike wave, so can the military force of the proletariat grow out of the American habit of armed picketing. Because of the superiority of American technique over that of the other nations, the American proletariat can by correct application of the sit-down tactic arm itself better than any other proletariat. Already we have seen the ingenuity of the class in the use of acids. With the American chemical industry what it is, an occupation of the plant can make possible a proletariat armed with the most modern of weapons in addition to guns and clubs. With the armed workers as a base National Guard troops can be won over with comparative ease in a revolutionary situation. We must study this peculiarly American Strategy for the perfection detail.



14. The YOUNG WORKERS LEAGUE under the leadership of the Revolutionary Workers League must continuously strive for the smashing of the ROCC, CMTC, as well as the regular army. We must raise the slogan of abolition of the CCC. Here struggles at the relief buros are a necessary part of the struggles against the plan to militarize needy youth. With the workers guard as a base during great strike struggles, the National Guard can be demoralized - the young workers won over. The attempt to create a special anti-labor corps thru the FBI must be exposed and combatted. Because of the popularity of the G-men engendered by movies, press, etc., this take on added importance. In connection with this, local YWLs must fight the state police forces - for its smashing where it exists and against its creation where it does not. The Y.W.L. must continuously aid and supplement the RWL drive toward the pro-

letarian military machine - starting with workers defense groups, developing workers' militias and finally the Red Army. The struggle against U.S. militarism rests in the plants, in the heavy industries, the chemical and armaments factories, etc. As a supplement the YWL must carry on work among the armed forces.

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