

Workers' Revolution

OR

Wars Forever



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Revolutionary Workers' League of U. S.

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We are living in a period when all disputes are being settled by FORCE. We are still in the period characterized by Lenin as "the era of Wars and Revolutions." For five years the rival imperialist powers have been engaged in a mammoth game of mass murder unparalleled in all history. The "game" is being played with such intensity because the stakes involved include the riches of half the world. Before another year is out, the same guns, tanks, planes, bullets, of ALL the powers will be turned against Imperialism's MAIN enemy, the proletariat and oppressed colonial masses who will revolt against the social slavery imposed upon them by the very nature of the capitalist system.

For five years the proletariat, particularly in Europe, has been waiting for some of the promises of the Great Powers to be put into practice. Both the exponents of the "New Order" and the exponents of the "Four Freedoms" have been busily engaged in the greatest lying campaign of all history. Lies are weapons as potent as bullets in Imperialist war. And the imperialists have not overlooked this weapon.

WHAT IS TO COME?

The proletariat has heard of "peace" and "freedom" and "plenty." It has heard of the glories and promises of "lebensraum" and the glories and promises of the Atlantic Charter. But not one indication has appeared where there has been an attempt to put them into practice. And each day that has gone by has brought one more doubt, one more question mark to the minds of the confused working masses. Is it really true that after the war we will have jobs? Or will we have breadlines, inflation, soup-kitchens, and relief again? Is it really true that this time there will be no more wars? Or will the Third Imperialist War begin before the bloodshed of this one has ended? Is it really true about "democracy," "freedom of speech," "freedom from want" and all the other "freedoms?" Or will we again come face to face with capitalism's Fascist advance before the war ends?

PROLETARIAT SUSPICIOUS

These things bother the proletariat — much more today than four years ago. Even the most gullible are beginning to have doubts, are beginning to remember the lies of the First World War, and are comparing them with the new lies. They have heard Mr. Churchill fondly endorse the Atlantic Charter

which supposedly gives the oppressed peoples the right to determine their own destiny. But they have also heard him say that "we have not become the King's ministers to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire." And they have watched anxiously while the leaders of the Indian nationalist movement were thrown into jail because they asked that the Atlantic Charter be enforced; that India be given her national independence. They have heard Mr. Roosevelt endorse the Charter with even greater fervor, while at the same time denying freedom to the colonial people of Porto Rico, whose nationalist leaders were in the good federal prison at Atlanta.

The proletariat has stood by quietly and listened to the frantic howls by the Allied propagandists about the tyranny and famine in central Europe under the Nazis. But they have also learned about the shameless MASS STARVATION of the INDIAN PEOPLE, a British-made famine which claimed at least a million lives. They have heard Mr. Wallace's tearful promises of a quart of milk for every person on earth. But they have also watched dozens of millions of Chinese, Italians, and Africans starve under the shadow of Allied guns. And not so easily forgotten are the starvation and sub-standard rations in Europe, England and America during the 1930's when food was plowed under to keep prices up.

The proletariat has been told of the beastly brutality of the Japanese and German imperialists — much of which is undoubtedly true. But they have also heard the condemnation by the Australian high command of the brutal tactics of American forces which shot down hundreds of defenseless and unarmed Japanese after torpedoing their ships.

HOW THE ALLIES FIGHT FASCISM

The war was supposed to be fought to eliminate religious bigotry, to gain freedom of worship. But Polish Jews in the Polish Army who condemned the anti-Semitism in that army were forthwith court-martialed.

The war was supposed to be fought to eliminate Hitlerism. But Hitler's friends and cronies have been recognized and embraced by the Allied Imperialists. Lord Rennell of Rodd, an old friend of Mussolini and an avowed Fascist sympathizer was put in charge of the Allied Military Government in Sicily. The Fascist King Victor Emanuel of Italy and the butcher of Addis Ababa, Badoglio, for 25 years a loyal fascist, conveniently and suddenly were glorified as anti-Fascists and embraced by the Allies. Darlan, who collaborated with Hitlerite agents in France, just as easily turned to collaboration with the Allies in Algiers a few months later. Such military dictators as King George of Greece, Vargas of Brazil, Batista of Cuba, and innumerable others have not only been tolerated but have been praised and

welcomed into the fold of the "United" Nations, to fight for "Democracy."

PRIVILEGED CLASS EXEMPT

The proletariat has watched these things and pondered — and doubted. It wants to know for instance, why the government of the United States has made a present of some 15 billion dollars to the Big Corporations during this war, but was unable only six short years ago to find a measly hundred million dollars for the unemployed on WPA. They want to know why, if this is a war for freedom and equality, the rich have been permitted to make 25 billions in profits last year, three times the sum of 1929 profits. They want to know why, if we are fighting for our very lives and existence, Louis B. Mayer must have a salary of some \$1,300,000; why he couldn't live on the \$25,000 limit and why that limit had to be repealed. They want to know why, if we are fighting a "war to the death," the Chase National Bank — pinnacle of the Rockefeller Empire — still operates even though it helped send industrial diamonds to Germany DURING this war.

If this is a "war against Fascism," why do the Allies make treaties with Franco, which permit Spanish Fascism to send tungsten to Germany? If this is an "all-out" war, why do American and British bankers sit on the same Directors' Board of the Bank of International Settlements in Switzerland together with German, Italian and Japanese bankers? Why is Anaconda Copper permitted to remain in business even though they practically admitted making thousands of pieces of defective equipment which cost lives of Allied soldiers? Why is Curtiss Wright still permitted to remain in business even though government officials found that hundreds of their planes were fraudulently put together and are useless? Why are the shipbuilding companies which make "liberty" ships that split in the middle permitted to continue in business? But a poor welder in a large factory who did some defective welding — even though the judge admitted there was no question of deliberate sabotage — gets a year in jail and the loss of his livelihood.

PRODUCTION FOR PROFITS ONLY

Something else workers want to know: if this is an "all-out" war and if after this war there won't be any crises, if we can expect full employment and full production after the war, then why did the Big Banks and Big Corporations refuse to invest their money in new plants? Why did the government have to put up 15½ billion dollars in new aluminum, magnesium, aircraft, synthetic rubber and other plants? Here's something even more confusing: why did the American capitalists refuse to put their money into such new and promising industries as synthetic rubber (nearly 100% Government built) or aircraft

(90% government built)? The United States has more liquid capital than at any time in history — banks, insurance companies and big corporations are loaded with excess money. Yet they REFUSED to invest in their country's FUTURE. Why is the worker being bombarded then to buy bonds, to sacrifice for "his" future?

The working class has been reading and listening and waiting — wondering and doubting about all these things.

FREEDOM MONOPOLIZED BY CAPITALIST CLASS

Why was it all right in America to have a 400% rise in profits but to limit the rise in wages to 15% even though prices have gone up at least 60% to 80%? What is all this talk about "freedom" when Negroes are kept in Jim Crow army camps, when candidates like Jim Simpson of Alabama are permitted to run in a "free" country on the program of "white supremacy"; when Negro voters in Alabama and Texas are still denied the right to vote in primaries even after they have paid their poll taxes and even after the Supreme Court has just specifically ruled that they have such a right? What is all this bosh about "no discrimination" when the Negro people are herded in shameful ghettos in Harlem and on Chicago's South Side and in thousands of other communities throughout the country? Is there any difference between these ghettos and the ghettos for Jews established by the Nazi murderers? Is there any difference between the Hitler pogroms against the Jews and the Detroit race riots against the Negroes — for which, by the way, not a single one of the real inspirers ever spent a second in jail?

The working class wants to know these things. It wants to know why "inciting to strike" is punishable with a five year jail sentence in Britain, and one year in America for striking in a government-controlled industry? Weren't we supposed to be fighting for "liberty?" General Motors, Ford and all the industrialists refused to convert their plants to war production in 1940 and 1941 until they were guaranteed adequate profits and favorable amortization plans. But these "strikers" were never punished. The Big Corporations of America are guaranteed by federal statute at least two years of swollen war profits after the war. But thousands of war veterans of the Second World War are already finding it exceedingly difficult to find jobs and to take care of themselves or their families.

CLASS STRUGGLE IN ARMY

The worker in the army is looking around him too. He sees Clark Gable get a captain's commission after only a few short months, while thousands go through hell and can get no further than corporal. They see a complete class dictatorship in the armed forces — one type of law for the commissioned officer who is the "head," and another law for the buck private

who is only the "body" of the army. They see differences in pay, differences in food, differences in uniform, differences in treatment. The worker in the army wants to know: "Is this the equality we are fighting for?" Each day his doubts become stronger, his confusion greater, his desire to learn the TRUTH about this war much more pronounced.

The doubts of the proletariat after four and a half years of bloodshed are rising to an unquenchable crescendo. Here and there they have already led to COUNTER MEASURES. The doubts have been crystallized; they have formed into action — on both sides of the warring fronts.

The record of such counter-actions is immense. It started not today, but at the very outset of the war. It continues to grow as the mask of imperialism is torn from the lying faces of the liars of the Wilhelmstrasse, the City, Wall Street, Tokyo and all the other capitals of the world.

WORKERS ORGANIZE

The war had hardly begun when the effects of these proletarian doubts began to be felt. The reactionary Beck government in Poland fled at the first thrust of the German armies. But the workers of Warsaw organized their own defense against Fascism, and for three weeks the heroic proletariat of the beleaguered city, under their own leadership, held out against the Nazi battalions. A few months later the French working class, likewise imbued with doubts and distrust of their bourgeois state, took a negative course of action which threw the front wide open. Hundreds of thousands of French workers who knew the anti-democratic character of the Daladier and Reynaud governments at first hand, who had witnessed the loss of one workers' right after another during their bonapartist regimes, refused to be cannon fodder for French imperialism. They deserted by the thousands; and those that remained at the front fought with only half a heart or not at all. There can be no doubt of the fact that the French military defeat was partly the result of the action (or rather lack of action) of the French working class. The Nazis undoubtedly had military superiority, but no nation the size of France can be defeated in ten days time unless it does not have the support of the populace. Unfortunately the French proletariat was unable to take advantage of the surrender of its own capitalist class and strike out for state power. Some twenty-three years earlier the Russian working class was able to accomplish this, was able to establish a working class state following the defeat of the Russian armies. The reasons for the failure of the French proletariat still remain to be uncovered, but the fact that the proletariat took COUNTER MEASURES against their class enemy, the French bourgeoisie, is indubitable.

STRIKE ACTION

In August 1942 a violent revolutionary upheaval broke out in India. Millions of British Indians participated; strikes and attacks on minor bourgeois officials became pronounced. In July 1943 the working class of Italy rose up in the most heroic battle against Fascism of our times. They rooted out Mussolini (only, unfortunately, to have him restored

at the point of a German bayonet a few months later) and started a clean sweep of Italian capitalism. That struggle, hidden by censorship (both Axis and Allied) still goes on. Its latest manifestation was on May Day 1944, when the workers of Northern Italy forced the German imperialists to declare the day a holiday, rather than face the threatened general strike. A few weeks earlier the Italian workers, six million strong according to some estimates, went out on strike for better bread rations and a number of political demands.

Some months later in Nazi occupied Denmark a general strike broke out, and fighting between German and Danish working class forces reached a high pitch in eight Danish cities. Only a short time ago — as this is written — the Greek Navy at Alexandria mutinied against the Greek government-in-exile. The Chicago Daily News foreign correspondent who was on the spot, Mowrer, writing to his paper a few weeks after the mutiny was supposed to have been put down, informed his readers that the struggle was still going on. Even in the little “republic” of El Salvador a general strike forced the twelve year dictatorship of Martinez out of existence.

But these actions do not by any means exhaust the thousand and one methods by which the proletariat shows that it does not believe the lies of the imperialist masters. The strike wave in Britain has been mounting for months, each month higher than the last. In March 1944 the British had to impose 5 year prison penalties for strike “agitators”, in an attempt to break the ever-recurring coal strikes. Despite all the pleas of national unity in the United States, strikes have continued and grown more fierce and determined in character. Demands by the War Labor Board to end strikes are increasingly being disregarded — even by the foreman’s union in Detroit. But aside and apart from such organized strikes there are in all countries the thousands and thousands of quickies, departmental shutdowns and slowdown strikes.

“ENEMY” TOO FACES STRIKES

Such things are happening not only in the Allied countries but in Germany, Japan and central Europe as well. Allied Labor News reports strikes of over 100,000 workers in Japan in 1941. Our sister organization in Germany, the Red Front of Greater Germany, sent us a few years ago copies of a small printed leaflet circulated by left wing unionists in Germany, calling for strikes and mass action. At the time a serious strike wave was occurring in central Austria. The censorship naturally keeps such things hidden not only from the German public, but, unless communication with the underground is good, from the foreign public as well. The Singapore dockworkers refused to work for low British wages even while the Japanese were attacking, and the open struggles of the Burmese and Malayan masses against British rule were a primary cause for the loss of those colonies in 1942. Mutinies, “going over the hill” and other such actions have occurred on innumerable occasions, in all probability. As in the last war such things become known only after the war is over, and even then a good part of the data is never brought to light.

One thing stands out like a sore thumb from all this: the masses

do not really believe the lies of their masters about “the fight against Fascism” (or on the other side, the “fight against the Bolsheviks”). They have seen too many real Fascists tied up with the so-called “fight against Fascism”; and above all they have seen too many actions that bear a striking similarity to Fascist actions, to believe the poppycock about this being a crusade against Hitlerism.

WORKERS ACTION FIGHTS FASCISM

As yet, except in isolated spots, the proletariat does not recognize that the ONLY blows being struck against Fascism are not the military campaigns of Montgomery and Eisenhower, or MacArthur and Mountbatten, but the general strikes of the Italian working class, the strikes in the British Clydeside, the American coal miners’ strikes, the struggles of the Greek sailors, and other independent actions of the working class.

These actions of the working class all over the world are important: they are the only method of fighting capitalism and its imperialist wars. But even more important in the long run are the doubts, the confusions, the lack of faith, that are being born in the minds of millions, hundreds of millions, of oppressed and exploited. Doubts are the preludes to action; and the disillusionments are mounting. Before the year is out those doubts will reach the maturity of firm mass action, strikes, Revolutions — and not only in Europe but all over the world.

The military campaigns of the imperialists are waged with one eye focused on the “enemy” and the other eye focused on the Proletariat. The “second” front has been delayed and timed to coincide with the inevitable uprisings in Europe. The imperialists, ALL imperialists, on both sides of the front, are ready to use FORCE against any section of the oppressed which dares to throw off its shackles. They will give all sorts of excuses (as the Allies did in Italy) for not putting “freedom” into effect now. They will tell us about having first to “beat Hitler,” or having first to reconstruct the economy, or other such stuff. But they will be telling us only the usual LIES, the same lies we heard in the first War. Meanwhile the world capitalists will be attempting to smash the only forces that can really bring peace, the only class in society that is really interested in fighting Fascism, the proletariat.

Can any one doubt that? It is necessary only to trace the history of the present social system, capitalism, and to understand the laws of its productive process to make the fundamental prediction of this brief article that . . . ONLY PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION CAN END IMPERIALIST WAR.

PART II

THE ECONOMIC ROOTS OF WAR

What is the background of this present war? If you know the past and present of any phenomenon, it is not difficult to predict its future.

Before the “military” war there was a gigantic trade and political war between all nations.

Italy imposed a quota upon the products of all competitors. Amer-

ica signed trade treaties with various nations giving them "favored nation" treatment, giving one nation a break and excluding others. Tariffs shot up skyhigh. The Germans introduced a complicated barter system and its "aski" mark. Japan subsidized its shipping and other industries and was able to make constant inroads on the trade of other nations. It also introduced economic sanctions for the "outsiders" in Manchuria and on the Japanese mainland. Britain devalued the pound and strengthened her Empire system at the Ottawa conference, where the nations of the British Empire took steps to exclude the commerce of other nations — particularly of the U. S

In every nook and cranny of the Earth, Standard Oil fought British Dutch Shell for the oil markets. The struggle took on not only diplomatic and economic but even bloody military forms. Many a political revolution has been fomented in the great struggle for oil. Aluminum, steel, banking and other trusts fought each other all over the globe. Uncle Sam following the first war slowly excluded Great Britain from the Latin American markets. In the thirties the Japanese and Germans were finally able — with government subsidies — to penetrate a little into those markets. Whereupon Mr. Roosevelt introduced his "good neighbor" policy and the trade treaties with Latin America, whereby the American government made loans and gave other subsidies to South America to keep the Western Hemisphere a Closed Shop for the colossus of the North.

Britain used its tin and rubber monopolies in the Far East as a weapon over everyone's head. It forced the prices up and kept artificial quotas. Germany fought this monopoly by attempting to develop synthetic products. America found itself in the position where it not only had a surplus of trade in finished products and in agricultural products, but also had surplus capital which it needed to export abroad. Under the "New Deal" the American capitalists decided to sacrifice agriculture exports and to introduce a giant subsidy campaign in the forms of loans to foreign powers, to keep American trade going.

THE LIST IS INEXHAUSTIBLE

Competition is the heart of capitalism. The competitive arena becomes ever bigger and bigger, but the competition grows with it — and grows sharper and bloodier. But competition is itself only an effect of something deeper — the mode of production. And competition under capitalism is only one of the expressions of the basic capitalist contradiction: **SOCIALIZED PRODUCTION AND PRIVATE APPROPRIATION.**

PRODUCTION FOR PROFIT

Capitalism is based on wage labor, and commodity production — production for a market, and for a profit. No wheel of industry, under the present system, turns unless the boss can make a profit out of production. People may be starving, may be without clothing or shelter, but that does not influence the capitalist production process. Commodities are produced only for a profit. The quest for markets to sell those commodities is a constant problem before capitalism, since the masses of proletarians throughout the world are paid only sufficient wages to cover

mere subsistence needs. The surplus over and above that is appropriated by the capitalist. Unless capitalism can find markets or spheres of investment for the surplus, it suffers crises and depressions — and, of course, it eventually must go to war to DIVIDE the market that is left; steal markets, in other words, from its fellow capitalist powers.

All this isn't new. It was stated by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels in the famous "Communist Manifesto" way back in 1848, and it was stated with scientific precision. But the capitalist war makers MUST keep this truth from the working class. They must build the lie that capitalism is a healthy organism, that the only reasons we have wars is because we have "bad men" like Hitler (or the Kaiser), or we have "bad men" like the Bolsheviks, or "bad men" like the "Jewish Capitalist Plutocrats of England and America," or the "bad men" of the Hirohito dynasty. They must hide from us the fact that it isn't bad MEN, but a **BAD DECAYING SYSTEM** which causes wars. If you took all of the "bad men" in the world and drowned them we would still have imperialist wars; those wars are **INEVITABLE** so long as you have capitalism.

CAPITALISM'S CRISES

Just take a glance at these brilliant words of the Communist Manifesto (written 96 years ago) and see if they don't tell the story of Capitalist contradiction better than all the lying "economists" that capitalism has ever passed off on a gullible public:

"The bourgeoisie cannot exist without constantly revolutionizing the instruments of production . . . The need of a constantly expanding market for its products chases the bourgeoisie over the whole surface of the globe . . . It is enough to mention the commercial crises that by their periodical return put on its trial, **each time more threateningly**, the existence of the entire bourgeois society. In these crises a great part not only of the existing products, but also of the previously created productive forces, are periodically destroyed. (Remember "plowing under" and killing pigs in the 30's?) In these crises there breaks out an epidemic that, in all earlier epochs, would have seemed an absurdity — the epidemic of over-production. Society suddenly finds itself put back into a state of momentary barbarism; it appears, as if a famine, a universal war of devastation had cut off the supply of every means of subsistence; industry and commerce seem to be destroyed; and why? Because there is too much civilization, too much means of subsistence, too much commerce. The productive forces at the disposal of society no longer tend to further the development of the conditions of bourgeois property; on the contrary, they have become too powerful for these conditions, by which they are fettered, and so soon as they overcome these fetters, they bring disorder into the whole of bourgeois society, endanger the existence of bourgeois property. The conditions of bourgeois society are too narrow to comprise the wealth created by them. And how does the bourgeoisie get over these crises? On the one hand by enforced destruction of a mass of productive forces; on the other, by the conquest of new markets, and by the more thorough exploitation of the old ones. That is to say, by paving the way

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for more extensive and more destructive crises, and by diminishing the means whereby crises are prevented."

CAUSE AND RESULT

Crises and wars are caused not by "bad men," not by "sun spots," not by a lack of printed money. They are caused by OVER-PRODUCTION. And over-production is an illness from which capitalism can not recover. In order to exist, in order to meet competition, capitalism must build bigger and bigger plants, bigger and bigger monopolies. It must force the small man out of business and later the small monopoly. All industry becomes subordinate to the big banks. The liquid surpluses of capital mount to threatening proportions — 20 billion dollars in gold in the Kentucky vaults, the biggest corporation reserves in history. Capitalism drowns in its own liquidity. It has OVER-PRODUCED — and not only overproduced commodities, but it has "overproduced" capital which is begging for investment elsewhere.

The anarchy of capitalism, the profit motive, the INDIVIDUAL rather than SOCIAL appropriation, forces the capitalist nations to constantly war with each other to gain markets for their surpluses.

The Second World Imperialist War (on the part of all nations except the Soviet Union), is just such a war. It is a war for markets, spheres of investment. The first shot may have been fired by Germany or Japan, but the CAUSES of the war lie rooted in something much deeper — Capitalism itself. And the guilt for the war does not rest necessarily with the nations who fired first, but with the rotten, moribund system which uses war to gain markets and spheres of influence.

Germany went to war to gain control of Europe, as a prelude to the fertile markets of the Near East and Asia. Unable to continue competing by "ordinary" means, i.e. economic and trade means, because of the superiority of the American production machine and the long ill-effects of Versailles, Germany took first to the war for conquest. America, with its enormous wealth and productive machine, could sit back and wait longer till becoming embroiled in the war. But the waiting was only a tactic. American Imperialism knew it was going into the war, as far back as 1920 in fact — when the M Day plans were first formulated. American Imperialism needed new markets and spheres of influence as much as Germany — far more, in fact, because America has far more liquid capital for investment. But America, with its proletariat not yet as "hard-up" or as close to Revolution, could afford to temporize, and wait till Germany, Britain and France exhausted themselves, (parenthetically we might say that "allies" in modern imperialist war, are not "friends," but nations whom our Wall Street master TEMPORARILY fears least).

TWO KINDS OF ATTACK — MILITARY AND ECONOMIC

That nation which goes to war first is not necessarily the aggressor. On the contrary it is only the economic aggressions of American imperialism and the tight-fisted control of the Empire by British imperialism which forced the other less fortunate powers in the first instance to take counter measures, diplomatic, political and eventually military. The

economic crises brought on by the fact that the "have-not" powers were unable to find markets for their surplus goods and capital, confronted them with the imminent threat of proletarian Revolution. The only temporary solution to their problems rests therefore in stretching out for military control of "new" markets — markets stolen from other imperialists.

"For example, when Japan and Italy reduce the cost of production so as to undersell Germany, England, France and the United States on the world markets, these countries are forced to reduce their cost of production (further lower the standard of living) to undersell Japan and Italy. This vicious circle continues until the workers and farmers of these countries, pressed to the wall, prepare for revolution, for the overthrow of their exploiters.

"But how do the exploiters and their paid agents prepare to meet this situation? They will not give up their 'right to exploit' and its golden power. Why should they, when they can use workers to fight and shed blood for them? They try to stave off the revolution in two ways: either by the establishment of an open fascist dictatorship, as for example in Germany with Hitler, or by colonial conquest (the Japanese invasion of China or the Italian invasion of Ethiopia).

"Within each country 'free' competition gives way to competition between syndicates and trusts, in other words to finance capitalism. Monopolies extend competition within the nation to competition between nations. In the language of economics, the productive forces have long ago outstripped the national boundaries. Capitalism has created the world market to which all countries are subordinated. And no matter how hard the different nations try to pull their productive forces back within national boundaries, it can't be done. 'Organized' capitalism is a contradiction and a fake. The way out of this contradiction is not to retrace our steps, not to go backwards, but rather to eliminate the causes of this contradiction, to eliminate capitalism itself, to overthrow it, to establish a socialist mode of production which once and for all abolishes exploitation of man by man." (From the Workers Answer to Boss War.)

PART III

WAR AND REVOLUTION

"War," said the old military theoretician, Von Clausewitz, "is the continuation of politics by other means."

The statement is true not only of IMPERIALIST war, but of CIVIL war as well. The imperialists go to war to gain new markets, to solve their INTERNAL crisis, to circumvent the Proletarian Revolution. But in the very midst of the imperialist war the molecular processes leading to CIVIL war keep mounting. In the first phases of the imperialist war the masses are dumbfounded; their ancient nationalistic prejudices are brought to the fore. With the aid of the social-patriots (Socialists, Stalinists, etc.) Capitalism is able in many cases to imbue in the working class the lie that the danger is from across the sea (Hitler), that the reason for their ills lies not with their own capitalist masters at home but with the

Kaiser or Czar or dictator or President abroad. But this ruse, this BASIC lie of all imperialist wars, soon becomes dispelled. First by partial actions, then by total revolutionary actions (Civil war) the masses show that they are disillusioned, that they have discovered the lie.

The First World War was ended not on the battlefields of the Somme, Marne, etc., but on the homefronts. Not a single foot of German territory had yet been invaded. The German military leader, Ludendorff, who understood very clearly the interrelationship of War and Revolution, had asked the Kaiser to propose an armistice 11 months earlier — during the General Strike in Berlin. The war was finally ended by the action of the Russian proletariat in 1917 which established a Workers State, and the revolt of the sailors at Kiel in October-November 1918, which started the German Revolution — as well as the tempestuous condition of the class struggle in every country on earth, including the United States.

THE WAR WHICH BEGAN AS A RESULT OF ECONOMIC CRISIS AND IN AN ATTEMPT TO AVERT PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION WAS THUS ENDED BY THAT REVOLUTION ITSELF. The imperialist war merely postponed the Revolution which was already on the order of the day in 1912-13. (Any casual student of this period knows that 1912-13 was a period of economic crisis and imminent Revolution, particularly in Russia). But the Revolution eventually broke forth in far greater fury than the imperialists anticipated.

CLASS COMPETITORS UNITE AGAINST CLASS ENEMY

The whole history of our generation is the history of the relationship of War and Revolution. This relationship can be summed up in a dual dynamic process which goes on constantly:

1—On the one hand the productive forces of capitalism which are constantly outstripping national boundaries and which therefore lead to an internecine struggle both politically and militarily BETWEEN the imperialist powers, and

2—On the other hand, as a result of the general crisis of capitalism and its periodic depressions, a lowering of the standards of living and the growth of the struggle internally between the working class and the capitalist class, leading eventually to Proletarian Revolution.

The latter is the fundamental antagonism of capitalism; from 1914 to 1918 the imperialists fought a gigantic battle for more markets and colonies. But from 1917 onward the dangers to their WHOLE SYSTEM EVERYWHERE forced them to conclude a "Peace" (really a truce) to fight their MAIN enemy, the world proletariat. On 17 fronts, all the big powers on earth and their satellites, attempted to shoot and starve out the Russian Revolution. The workers and peasants of Russia, under the guidance of the Bolshevik Party and aided by workers elsewhere, were able to fight off this danger.

Workers in England went on strike, mutinies occurred in the various armies, Revolutions began in Germany, Hungary, etc. From 1917 to 1924 capitalism all over the world fought the menace of Proletarian Revolution. From a historic point of view the period of 1917-24 was far more important, far more threatening to world capitalism, than the period of 1914-18.

A QUARTER CENTURY OF STRUGGLE

Unfortunately, we the proletariat lost much of that first big world-wide battle against the profit system. We were able to maintain only an island in the big capitalist ocean, the Soviet Republic in Russia. Our Revolutions in Hungary, Germany, Finland, the Baltics, Austria, Bulgaria, had failed. Aided by the treachery of the Second International, aided by the armies and big loans of the richer powers, these sections of the capitalist class were able to get out from under, to smash the Revolution.

The first world war led to the first big wave of Revolutions. By 1924 that wave was defeated. The Revolutions in Germany of 1918-19, 1920, 1921, and particularly 1923 were smashed. The short-lived Hungarian Workers State was demolished with the help of French Imperialism and its Rumanian puppets. The whole wave of Revolutions was arrested. Another wave of revolutions and militant working class actions broke out from 1925 to 1936. The Chinese Revolution of 1925-27, the English general strike of 1926, the German crisis of 1930-32 which gave rise, thanks to the impotence of the workers under the treacherous Socialist and Stalinist leadership, to Hitler, the Austrian Revolution of 1934, the first Spanish Revolution of 1931, the second Spanish Revolution of 1936-38.

But throughout this whole period there were wars between the capitalist powers as well, (although they were not as decisive as the civil wars between the classes). There were the wars between Turkey and Greece, the various wars and raids in Central Europe, the occupations in Latin America by American marines, the Gran-Chaco war, the war in Ethiopia, the invasion of Manchuria and China, the occupation of Sudetenland, Austria, etc., etc.

The general crisis of capitalism brings on BOTH WARS AND REVOLUTION. For 20 years after the first war, humanity evolved through "little" wars and sporadic unsuccessful Proletarian Revolutions to a great big new blow off, to a new Second World Imperialist War and NOW, toward a new world-wide wave of Proletarian Revolutions.

IS "DEMOCRACY" ENEMY OF FASCISM?

It is a tragic farce to hear people today talk about Churchill, Roosevelt, Wall Street, and The City fighting for democracy, fighting FOR the working class AGAINST Fascism. Who in the first place, helped the reactionaries and Fascists come to power throughout Europe? Who but Thomas Lamont, of the House of Morgan, subsidized the rise of Mussolini in Italy, after the workers had taken over the factories? Who subsidized German capitalism with the Young plan and the Dawes plan and permitted German finance capital to continue its rule over the emaciated and starving German proletariat? Who if not that stalwart pillar of British "democracy," Churchill, helped the reactionary Admiral Horthy and a dozen other reactionary dictators to power in Europe? Who financed Hitler, it not the banks of London and Wall Street?

In each separate section of the international capitalist class, the WAR AGAINST THEIR OWN WORKING CLASS IS THE PARAMOUNT ISSUE OF THE DAY! In that struggle the powers of the earth are united. They lend and give money to each other to avert Revolution; they send

armies to help quash Revolution, and through their so-called philanthropic agencies (Red Cross, U.N.R.R.A. etc.) they distribute food in such a way (starving some, feeding others) that they undermine the Proletarian Revolution.

CAPITALIST GROUPS UNITE AGAINST WORKING CLASS

The imperialist masters are taking advantage of the war to build up the biggest profits and reserves in history. They are also building up solid dictatorships and repressive laws, to keep the masses ground underfoot. Their whole orientation is against the Proletarian Revolution.

They fear the proletariat aroused a thousand times more than they fear any Hitler. Thus the British Navy suppressed by the power of its guns a mutiny of Greek sailors (who had been fighting WITH the Allies AGAINST the Axis). Thus the British army fired upon the workers' mass demonstration in the streets of Athens, and subsequently forced the disarming of the Greek anti-fascist forces who were bidding for social reforms on the home front. (What happens to the promised "self-determination?") It isn't permitted to exist when the working class acts to determine its own fate). Thus, the Allies imposed the Fascist Badoglio and the Dictator Darlan upon the French and Italian people: to suppress the wrath of the masses. Thus, they recognize the reactionary "governments-in-exile," who will continue the vicious exploitation of the European masses and will — as they did in the past — attempt to suppress the proletariat with an iron fist. Thus, the whole "second" front was timed, not as a military front, but as a political offensive against the masses of Europe. The Allies have imposed martial law upon the suffering masses of Europe and have united with the unholy of "war criminals" and Fascist butchers to suppress the revolts which are on the order of the day.

The capitalists consider the working class at home their MAIN enemy, we the workers must also recognize that this is the main conflict; **OUR MAIN ENEMY IS NOT THE WORKERS OF GERMANY AND JAPAN BUT THE CAPITALIST CLASS AT HOME, THE AMERICAN BOURGEOISIE.** There can be no peace so long as that bourgeoisie is permitted to exploit us, is permitted to maintain the profit system and the anarchy of production. The first war led to the second; the second will lead to the third; **UNLESS** the proletarian Revolution ends the system that breeds Imperialist War.

PART IV

INTER-ALLIED CONFLICTS

On the Eastern and Western fronts the Allies are drawing closer to the heart of German Imperialism. But if the Allies should militarily defeat Germany they must still confront the Revolution in Europe and they must confront the Soviet Red Army, which despite the policies of Stalinism is a potential aid to the struggles of the working class and proletarian Revolution.

The continually more desperate struggle between the Allies and Japan for domination of East Asia and the Pacific goes on with increasing intensity and may require more years before it is finally resolved, even assum-

ing the worst variant — the continuing passivity of the masses of the East and of the Island territories.

With all this ahead, even if the Imperialists could get over these titanic hurdles (we doubt that they can) they still must settle the antagonisms which exist in their own ranks — the differences between Britain and the United States; between France and her "allies" and so on to the smallest participating imperialist power.

The antagonisms among the "allied" powers continue even in wartime. Argentina changes governments; immediately the British market for Argentine stocks goes up, the U. S. market goes down. Britain is maneuvering for a bloc of American states opposed to the United States. Argentina is the spearhead of that bloc, with Bolivia, Chile and one or two others close to it. In the midst of the war, Britain and America engage in serious behind-the-scenes disputes. One of them is over India. America wants entree into that enormous market. Wall Street is willing to support Nehru to gain "independence" (open up the market, in other words), but the British keep Nehru in jail. In the midst of the war there are serious disputes as to how to control the world money market after the war, with Britain favoring one system (the Keynes plan) and America favoring another (the White plan). The question of oil, airbases, air control, etc. plagues the rival "allied" powers. When Mr. Ickes decided to build (mostly for the benefit of Standard Oil) a large pipe-line in the Near East, Britain showed hostility to the idea. Who shall control the world air-trade after this war, is another painful thorn in the side of both powers.

IMPERIALISMS' NEEDS CHAINED TO ITS ECONOMY

As a result of the economic rivalry between America and Britain there are serious differences as to how to conduct the war itself. The U.S. wants a completely smashed Japan, but wants a limited German state under its domination which can act as a counter-weight to British control of Europe. Britain on the other hand needs a counter-weight to American power in Asia: she wants a completely destroyed Germany, but only a controlled Japan.

Britain called its dominion heads together in an attempt to form a dominion bloc. The rivalry of the two powers was evident even then when the Canadian Minister, Mackenzie King, refused to go along with a tightly knit bloc. It must be remembered that the U.S. has a four billion dollar investment in Canada, and Mr. King knows on which side his bread is buttered.

These facts are well known to the rulers of the earth. The rivalry between America and Britain extends to such important things as who shall control the nickel, tin, oil, rubber, electric, and other markets. This rivalry can only be **TEMPORARILY** ameliorated if the two powers can now gain control of the lucrative Asiatic and European markets — that is if they can eliminate the Axis imperialists and divide up the loot. But how long can such a "peace" last? It can only be an armed truce. The needs of each of the two great economic structures encompass full control of the whole world. America, especially, with its two hundred billion

dollar a year productive machine, must continually search for new markets or close her factories and face Revolution at home. In order to get the markets she must exercise political control of the areas conquered — either through a WORLD police system, controlled by the U.S., or directly through U.S. imperialist control.

SEEDS OF THE THIRD WAR

The rivalry between the powers is reaching new heights. FEDERATIONS of states are in the making. The U.S. has its base in the Western Hemisphere. Britain vests her hopes on maintaining control of her dominions and such countries as Holland, Belgium, and a number of other governments-in-exile. Britain is openly talking of a Federation of States in Europe under British influence, as opposed to a World Federation. The U.S. can and must talk for a WORLD Federation, because the U.S., with its enormous economic and military strength could easily dominate such a Federation. Thus Uncle Sam is now changing places with Britain. After the first war, Britain wanted a WORLD Federation (a League of Nations), but Uncle Sam recognized clearly that in any such League Britain would dominate. Today, John Bull, with his declining strength relative to America, has reversed positions. The rivalry between the two powers has changed some of its FORMS; but the antagonism is sharper than ever. Sooner or later it must burst forth in full fury.

Of course, this one rivalry does not exhaust the subject. There is the important rivalry between Japan and Germany — between the “have-nots”, Italy, France, Spain and the “haves,” America, Britain, Germany, etc.

The seeds of the THIRD world war are already planted. More than that — they are partly grown. And the imperialist powers KNOW IT. That is why they are demanding an ARMED peace. They want a two-edged sword directed not only against the MAIN enemy, Proletarian Revolution, but against each other when necessary.

Capitalism can not live without WAR. Only the elimination of the class struggle, BY THE SUCCESSFUL PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION can end imperialist war.

PART V

TO TURN IMPERIALIST WAR INTO CIVIL WAR

How shall we end the War? Obviously it can not be ended by PACIFIST prayers. All things today are being settled by FORCE, pure brute force. A system that will spend 350 billion dollars and millions of lives in world war I, and then go ahead to spend a TRILLION dollars (1,000 Billion) and more millions of lives, 21 years later, will obviously not rule itself out of existence as a result of a pious prayer. Capitalism exists only by the FORCE of its Army and Police system. It will not yield its power and its profits, no matter how many millions of people have to be slaughtered. It forces the working class, in self defense, to take counter-measures.

The war can not be ended by compromising with the Capitalist class as the Trotskyists and other centrists advocate. We can not “fool” the capitalist class into giving up State Power. We must refuse categorically to

support any phase of the bosses war — either its internal program (rationing, price-fixing, War Labor Board, Censorship, No Strike Pledge, Job Freeze, Labor Draft, Legislation against the closed shop, Wage Freeze, forced Bond Purchases, increased taxation, or any of the various forms of Work or Fight plans) or its external program for dividing up the markets and loot of the world. We are opposed to all forms of capitalism's corruption or rationing program even if it should be administered under so-called “Workers' Control” because these actions HELP THE IMPERIALISTS TO PROSECUTE THEIR WAR.

We are equally opposed to a “Labor Party” in which Revolutionists are supposed to live peacefully with supporters of the war and the capitalist system. Those who are FOR the war, and those (centrists) who are for WORKING WITH THOSE WHO ARE FOR THE WAR, are on one side. They cannot give the kind of leadership to the oppressed which will lead to the end of oppression . . . they can only fool and befuddle the masses. They cannot take humanity one step further ahead, they can only hold it back. Those who are on the side of the proletariat, the working class and the oppressed and exploited minorities, are for revolutionary means of opposing the bosses' war. The profit system has perpetrated this stark brutal murder of the masses too often.

We face the situation today where either capitalism must be totally destroyed or humanity pushed back to the abyss of barbarism: to total dictatorship by the bosses, to undernourishment, brutality, caste system, concentration camps and other methods of control used by Fascism.

THERE CAN BE NO COMPROMISE WITH A SYSTEM THAT REFUSES TO PRODUCE EXCEPT FOR MURDER — THAT KEEPS THE MASSES ON A SEMI-STARVATION LEVEL — THAT BUILDS THEM UP ONLY FOR PURPOSES OF SLAUGHTER!

ACTIONS FLOW FROM PROGRAM

What program can lead us out of this morass? The Revolutionary Workers League deals with this problem in all its material. In other pamphlets and articles we have dealt exhaustively with the character of the Soviet Union, and the social-patriotic reactionary and at times counter-revolutionary role of Stalinism; the need for a new Revolutionary Marxian Party and a New Communist (4th) International. We deal with them here only briefly, to supplement the theme of this brochure: THAT ONLY PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION CAN END IMPERIALIST WAR!

Here then is a short resume of a program for us which will lead to a successful Proletarian Revolution in ALL countries:

- 1—Against the imperialist war — a war for plunder, profit, markets and spheres of influence.
- 2—For the Proletarian Revolution which alone will end imperialist war and defeat fascism.
- 3—For a new Fourth (Communist) International. For a new Revolutionary Marxian Party in the United States.
- 4—Against a Labor Party and all other forms of Popular Frontism.
- 5—For independent working class action on the political and economic fields. For strike action now — including the sitdown strike — to gain

better wages and working conditions. No faith in reformists and Labor fakers.

6—For full equality for the Negroes, Mexicans, Chinese, Japanese and all other oppressed minorities in the United States. Against Jim Crowism and Anti-Semitism.

7—For Workers Defense Squads in the Unions and elsewhere to defend the working class from the Fascist inroads of capitalism.

8—For full and unconditional independence for the Philippines, Virgin Islands, Porto Rico and all other territories of the United States, including those islands and areas now occupied by American military forces. For the right of self-determination for all colonies.

9—For the defense of the Soviet Union against World Imperialism and Stalinism. Extend the October Revolution. For a political revolution in Russia to reestablish Workers Democracy and continue toward Socialism.

10—For a Workers Council Government in the United States and all over the world.

THE ROAD TO WORKERS' POWER

All this is just a brief statement of the road the workingclass must travel to achieve power and to eliminate war — once and for all. It is not an easy road. When the workers of Russia decided in 1917 that they had enough of the Czar's war they deserted the front, the workers went on strike and demonstrated in the streets for the things they wanted — bread, peace, land. Soldiers were ordered to shoot them down — the soldiers refused, instead they arrested or shot their officers and went over to the side of their class brothers. Sailors refused to fire the guns on the battleships at their own sisters and brothers who were fighting for a better way of life. They mutinied, took over the ships and used them to help overthrow the hated capitalist ruling class in Russia. Together they formed Soviets (Councils) and planned and carried out the running of the economy of production for use instead of for profit.

The Capitalist class of the world united against the Russian workingclass — on 18 fronts they were attacked by their erstwhile "allies" who abruptly halted the war with Germany in order that they might liquidate their MAIN ENEMY — the growing workingclass revolution. But despite all the pressure, all the military might, all the economic blockade, the united capitalists of the world were not able to put down the Russian Revolution.

The capitalists of the world — particularly the American capitalist class (who, after all have the most to lose) will shed more and more blood to keep the worker enslaved; to continue the system of "socialized production with individual appropriation" — the profit system, which must inevitably lead to devastating wars for markets every generation or so. But up until now we, the workers, have been foolish enough to man the bosses' guns and use them against our fellow workers in other countries: we have been foolish enough to fight to preserve a system that keeps US in slavery — that throws us out of work, that cannot provide decent food, clothing, homes or education for the overwhelming majority of the population—and this in the midst of plenty, in the richest country on earth.

It is up to us to rise up, to use the guns the bosses forced us to take, to use OUR UNITED STRENGTH FOR OURSELVES, to use OUR MIGHT TO OVERTHROW THE DECADENT PROFIT SYSTEM — to use our knowledge of the factory, mine, mill and farm to BRING REAL PEACE AND PLENTY FOR HUMANITY — TO ESTABLISH A SYSTEM OF PRODUCTION FOR USE UNDER A WORKERS' COUNCIL GOVERNMENT! Could there be any better objective for us to fight for?

THE RICH GET RICHER

Shall we permit mass murder every 25 years so the Rockefellers, du Ponts, Morgans, Stettinius, the Thyssens, Krupps, the Renaults, Schneiders, can add another million or so dollars to their bank accounts, or another few hundred miles or so of territory for them to exploit? To those who are still naive enough to believe the war is being fought AGAINST the system of Fascism we recall to you the alliances with the Fascists of Italy, France, Spain, Greece, Belgium, Rumania, and South America. It is being fought against a certain GROUP of FASCISTS WHO ARE COMPETING FOR MARKETS. To those who believe that the capitalists are strongly in support of the war for patriotic emotional reasons we point out: in 1939 there were 12,034 millionaires in the U.S.A. At the end of 1942 there were 25,106 millionaires in the U.S.A. And on the other hand the overwhelming majority of the declassed "middle class" (approximately 1 million) have been forced into the ranks of the workingclass. The restrictions and rationing programs have forced them OUT OF BUSINESS, unable to compete with the big chains, the billion dollar concerns.

Out of this war the profits and holdings of the 60 or so families who own and run this nation have increased to astronomical proportions. Exports alone (not counting Lend-Lease) increased 12% in 11 months of 1944 over the total for the year 1943. The 1944 average for a 6 months period was \$263,000,000 PER MONTH, while imports for 1944 averaged \$100,000,000 per month more than in 1939. Of course, under the circumstances it is not hard to see why there is never any shipping space for soldiers overseas to ever get a furlough home — what profit can be made from a few re-united families?)

But this is profit already in the bag; the real money will flow in later AFTER the war is over — after the markets are consolidated — with this in mind the capitalist class takes from the conquered and orients its economy on practical measures to beat the capitalists of other nations in holding and controlling these to-be-acquired markets. The Foreign Policy Association reports that after the war the capitalists of the U.S.A. will own:

- 60% of the world's war industries
- 65% of the naval units
- 70% of the merchant marine
- 75% of the transport and commercial planes
- 60% of the fighting and bombing planes
- 60% of the silver
- 80% of the gold.

The WPB statistical staff reports that at the beginning of June 1944

the Government expenditures directly for war totaled 190 BILLION DOLLARS — (money raised mainly from the pockets of the workingclass via taxes).

ONE ROAD TO PEACE AND PLENTY

The workingclass of the United States, like the workingclass of the rest of the world is learning the hard way that:

THE ONLY WAY TO END BOSS WAR IS FOR THE WORKERS TO WAR AGAINST THE BOSSES!

Neither regimentation, exploitation, nor slaughter will be ended by the victory of one or the other imperialist power. Nor will the victory of the so-called democracies over the axis bloc of fascist nations end fascism. If the capitalist system is permitted to exist it must prepare the way for the next blood bath, the third imperialist war for markets and control of the world's economy. The final outcome of this war can be only the victory, all over the world, of FASCISM OR COMMUNISM! THERE IS NO OTHER CHOICE!

By establishing an American Soviet Republic we can put an end to war forever. By overthrowing the capitalist class from power and establishing the Dictatorship of the Proletariat we can eliminate the capitalist system of production for profit and all its attendant evils. Under a Socialist form of government, with its socialized planned production for use and socialized planned distribution we can live a life of real freedom and plenty for all. The workingclass is becoming more and more aware of the way of life that could be: but to accomplish it they must bend their efforts to building up the instrument for the successful establishment of the workers' state, and that is the building of the Revolutionary Marxian PARTY. THERE IS ONLY ONE WAY TO END THIS IMPERIALIST WAR AND THAT IS THROUGH A MAJOR WAVE OF PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION. THERE IS ONLY ONE WAY TO INSURE THE SUCCESS OF PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION — AND THAT IS THROUGH THE PROGRAM AND UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF A REVOLUTIONARY MARXIAN PARTY.

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