

FEBRUARY, 1942

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

Bulletin of the Provisional International
Please Reprint

Contact Commission

SIX CONTINENTS AT WAR: NEW ASPECTS OF WORLD STRATEGY
A STATEMENT ON WAR

SIX CONTINENTS AT WAR

Since the American entry into the military phase of the Second World War, the worldwide character of the war strategy can be seen more clearly, as it affects both the inter-imperialist struggle and the fight to defend the Soviet Union and extend the October Revolution.

In the first world war, the main military battlefield remained on the European continent. In the present war, armed conflict rages over the entire world except the Americas — but even here the war has been brought closer home. In the first world war the belligerents continued in armed conflict throughout the period of the war. But in the second world war, a number of weaker capitalist nations, ravaged by crisis and tense class relations at home, were completely overrun and knocked out of the war, so far primarily by the Axis powers. The intensity of the war in Europe, Africa and Asia, even with powerful French imperialism subdued, reveals that new sharp turns in the inter-imperialist and class struggle are ahead.

If the capitalist decay of the period of the first world war sufficed to unleash a whole series of social revolutions which rocked world capitalism to its roots, the aggravated capitalist decay of the present period of world history will have as its dynamic outcome such proletarian and colonial upheavals as promise to bring down the decadent world capitalist structure entirely.

The imperialists have settled down to a war of endurance, now that the quick blows of German imperialism have failed to gain a decisive

victory. They hope to achieve victory through exhausting each other. But this cannot continue. As facts since the beginning of the war showed, objective events will force sharp turns. The anarchy of capitalist production, with its gigantic world over-production that is now being consumed in war destruction, has been extended to the military sphere: the anarchy of war supplements the anarchy of production, and leads to revolution.

THE ROLE OF THE SOVIET UNION

The contradictory position of the Soviet Union reveals to greatest extent, the decay of capitalism, and the exploiters' inability to unite for their common good against the majority of mankind, the workers and oppressed masses of the world. Despite the existence of the Soviet Union as a material expression, as the first step, of the developing basic antagonism of modern society, the world proletarian revolution, the antagonism among the imperialists has disrupted every attempt by them to forge unity to crush their class enemy. More, they are compelled to seek its aid in their conflict with each other.

On the other hand, the Stalinist control of the first Workers State has so far prevented the Soviet proletariat's battle to defend the U. S. S. R. from developing into a battle to extend the October revolution.

Nevertheless, the role of the Soviet Union in the conflict so far, as a warped Workers State under the domination of the Stalinist agents of world capitalism, has already revealed

ed the stupidity and fallacy of all bourgeois and opportunist theories as to Russia's status and actions (the supposed identity of the Soviet Union with Nazism and Hitler Germany, etc., etc.) Only the clear Marxian analysis as presented by the I. C. C. and the R.W.L. laid down in advance the general line of march which events would take.

U.S.S.R. HOLDS KEY

Today the Soviet Union holds a pivot position. The way in which the war there turns, will go a long way in determining the outcome as a whole. Either, Berlin or New York (Wall Street) will win the dominant position in the world as the polarization center for decay capitalism — or the successful defense and extension of the October Revolution will establish a world socialist center representing the exploited masses.

The most important step needed by the Axis to break the present impasse is the defeat of the Soviet Union. This would give them needed supplies, and release men and machines for the rest of Europe, Africa, the Near East and a new assault on England. Above all it would give the Germans direct connection with her Asiatic ally. Such contact would enable her to replenish both her own and the Japanese dwindling supplies, and to intensify the war in the Pacific. A real world pincer movement against India could then be pushed forward with vigor. This would go a long way toward the crack-up of the decadent and crumbling British Empire. A victory of this extent would give the Axis a solid land empire from the Atlantic to the Pacific, uniting their forces, and giving them supplies and manpower that could more than match the allies.

Such is the AIM of the Axis, but it will not be realized. Not because of the Anglo-American imperialists,— who of their own strength are too weak to stop it, at the present moment, but in spite of them.

AXIS PROBLEMS GROWING

It is the objective conditions of world capitalism in its death agonies, and the growth of the assets of the proletariat (powerful already-existing forces and developing potential strength), which will smash the Axis plans.

The strength of Transition Economy, even under the control of the Stalinist stooges of world imperialism, like the strength of the trade unions even under the domination of the bourgeoisie's labor leaders, reveals a power undreamed of by the theoretical worshippers

of capitalist economy; in time of war and military crisis just as in time of "peace" and economic crisis (such as the post-1929 period) Transition Economy brings into play internal forces that though handicapped by the worst leadership possible, surpass (relatively) capitalist countries favored by more developed economies with the best leadership possible.

And the strength of Fascism, whose power the bourgeois and opportunist theoreticians pessimistically exaggerated, just as they underestimated the power of Transition Economy, is revealed to be no stronger (in economic, political, military force) **THAN THE STRENGTH OF DECAY CAPITALISM.** Its main "strength" and "contribution" to the world is its effort and ability to accomplish as rapid and widespread as possible, a destruction of all that developing capitalism gave to the world, in men, material, arts and science.

Above all, the development of the class struggle and colonial unrest, which the Axis political and military strategists have skillfully utilized to achieve their gains over peoples and territories formerly controlled by the Anglo-American imperialists; must inevitably, under the impact of the unbearable intensification of the agony of these people, be accelerated to a point of open upheavals against ALL the imperialists.

Another factor which complicates the tasks of the Axis powers is their rivalry, which rages furiously behind the scenes despite their mutual pledges of solidarity. It is an open secret that Italy, worn out by military adventures, economic decay and inability to add to her meager economic base, has become a "prisoner" of Germany. But few yet realize that the same process is in development in Japan. The German bourgeoisie do not intend to allow Japan to dominate the Pacific. They use Japan today, only a step in their well laid plans to snatch the victory from her tomorrow, in the event of the Axis' victory. This inner conflict in the Axis camp must be watched closely.

STALINISM HOLDS THE FORT FOR ANGLO-AMERICAN BLOC

The Anglo-American bloc, having won Stalinism to their support since the break-up of the Hitler-Stalin Pact and the German invasion, are working to keep enough supplies rolling into the U.S.S.R. to prolong the present German-Russian stalemate. Their immediate aim

is to thereby wear down German imperialism and prevent the opening of another real offensive elsewhere. Such aid (military supplies, etc.) as they give is a cheap price for the Anglo-American bloc to pay for the use of the flower of the Soviet youth against the youth of imperialist Germany, a cheap price for maintaining a fighting front in Russia to prevent Hitler's moving through the Near East toward India, and contact with Japan.

However, should the Red Army's heroic advance now occurring, develop into a threat to enter Germany proper, there would be an immediate new sharp turn in the Anglo-American bloc's world strategy. The real face of imperialist class hatred toward the Workers State would again appear, and the supposedly dead "appeasement" policy would gain ground overnight. Should the danger to bourgeois rule appear as great as in France, the Anglo-American imperialists and bourgeois democrats in power would follow the same pattern as their class brothers in the German invasion. Fearing the proletarian "danger" a thousand times more than their imperialist "enemy," the worthy "democrats" would come to some kind of an understanding and "separate peace" with German imperialism against the Soviet Union and the maturing European proletarian revolution.

AMERICAN IMPERIALISM HOLDS CLUB

Although the Soviet Union is in a position to extract worthwhile concessions from the Anglo-American bloc, because of her strategic position in relation to Germany and Japan, the false policies of Stalinism permits American imperialism to hold a card of equal value: the fact that the U. S. is the only possible source for the large-scale supplies needed by the Soviet forces to prepare against the threat of a powerful German offensive in the Spring. Despite important headway made in the winter military campaign by the Soviet forces, and the good job being done by Soviet factories, Hitler's control of the industrial output of Europe makes it possible for him to replenish his losses on a scale far offsetting anything the U.S.S.R. can do. The opening up of a CLASS "Western front", proletarian revolution in Europe, of an "Eastern front" of proletarian and colonial revolutions in Asia would of course change this picture. Not fearing this as an immediate perspective, and knowing Stalinism's

hostility to such developments the U. S. will use Stalinism's need for supplies as a club to extract the utmost possible concessions. Considering the fact that the imperialists have so far been the chief gainers of the deals with Stalinism, we may expect more serious military and political concessions to the class enemy.

IMPERIALISTS PREPARE COUNTER-REVOLUTION

While the Stalinist policy develops only on the narrow basis of the variants of shifts in capitalist alignments, the American and British exploiters strategy in relation to Russia is far more broad and realistic from the point of departure of CLASS RULE and changes in property relations. Not only are they using Stalinism internationally as a force to disorient every effort to extend the October Revolution, and have again made Stalin pledge to aid in reorganizing bourgeois rule (under the tattered fig-leaf of bourgeois democracy) after the war, but they are grooming outright pro-bourgeois forces to help restore and consolidate CAPITALIST RULE IN RUSSIA ITSELF UNDER THEIR HEGEMONY,— if and when the October conquests are overthrown, and they no longer can use the Stalinist lickspittles. While special emphasis seems to be given to Kerenky, all forces, even White Guards are being groomed for this possibility.

As previous articles have pointed out in detail, the Stalinists are conducting the defense of the first Workers State as a national patriotic war, directed against the Axis, one group of imperialists, instead of an international proletarian war against all the imperialists. Within this framework, military victories, even important battles may be won, but a real victory that will guarantee the survival of the first Workers State is possible only when the October Revolution is extended, when the class war envelops the military war.

AMERICAN IMPERIALISM STRIPS FOR ACTION

The world strategy of American imperialism calls for a varied pattern. Above all she needed national unity, which must be secured at all cost. It was necessary to provoke such circumstances as would overcome the sharp splits in the bourgeois ranks, and line up the masses for full support of the capitalist war plans, tasks which were made very difficult by the aftermath of the 1929-33 crisis.

The Pearl Harbor incident grew out of this need. The President's Fact Finding Commission clearly reveals that, although the army and naval leaders were at fault, the government itself from Roosevelt to Hull, to Knox and Stimson issued PAPER instructions and PAPER warnings to the Pearl Harbor commanders, but they themselves did nothing MATERIALLY to make up for possible shortcomings, and above all kept it a dark secret from the American public. The attack WAS NO SURPRISE to the imperialists, even though the FORM may have been; nevertheless, they passed it off as a total surprise and shock to beat down all opposition in war hysteria. The Japanese-American negotiations preceding the attack, despite pretensions to the contrary, were understood by the bourgeoisie to be of such sharp character as would lead to a break. Their task was to throw the onus on the Japanese, in order to make **them** appear the aggressors.

Facts, however, prove that it is American Imperialism, due to its tremendous need for commodity and capital markets, that has been the main driving force for war, as presented in our pamphlets. To "organize the world" to their own needs, as our 1935 convention thesis pointed out, the American imperialists inevitably needed a war — a war in which they could, if possible, enter at their own choosing when the others are exhausted.

The winning of national unity, as part of the world strategy of the American bourgeoisie, which follows the pattern of total war, was the first task needed and accomplished. Next comes the task of developing production for war to the fullest capacity, so that the U.S. can meet her own and all her allies needs for war supplies.

Third, the Americas must be consolidated under her complete domination. The results of the Rio conference, even though less than hoped for, were far above the highest expectations of the Jingoists several months ago. The war hysteria has done the trick. The victory was a blow not only against the Axis, but also against Great Britain.

Fourth, aid must be given to the U.S. allies. This aid will be given according to the special needs of the United States, not the needs of the allies. Just as England has often sacrificed an ally for her own needs, so too the American bourgeoisie are learning the ruthless game of imperialism and war.

U. S. UNDERMINES BRITAIN

Fifth, America uses the war to further undermine the British Empire just as Germany used the war to consolidate domination over Italy. The struggle between Great Britain and the United States is by no means over. They are "politely" jockeying for positions of advantage. This was reflected in the Rio Conference which the U.S. dominated. Argentina resisted the U. S. proposals not only because of its own internal economic needs, not only because its economic relations are more fundamentally tied with Europe than with the U.S.; but also of its role and relations with Britain.

China already comes under the American orbit. India is more and more depending upon New York than upon London. Australia follows Canada's footsteps and reveals its dependency for protection on New York more than on London. Ireland is under growing American pressure. The Dutch East Indies depends upon Washington to the fullest extent. The Jewish nationalist forces work through United States more than with England.

But England still dominates the other governments in "exile," such as the "Free French," Poland, Belgium, e'c. America, however, is making a hard fight to wrest control. Stalinism too, leans heavily on Washington.

UNIFIED COMMAND

Sixth, a unified command on a world scale is needed. The "unified command" in the far Pacific did not give the U.S. what she wanted, but her partial victory can be followed up, with the greater dependency of this area on American men and materials. No real unified world command or European command was established, due to the friction among the Allies, and fear of the Soviet Union. Both the U. S. and Britain would lose by such an arrangement in Europe, because the Soviet troops there hold the key, and this would force recognition. The U. S. is working for a "unified command" of the "United Nations" in which she holds the dominant position, so that her military control will guarantee her the decisive voice at the peace table.

Different areas throughout the world have been assigned to the Allies. United States is to keep the Americas safe, fight in the Pacific and keep the Atlantic open. The Red Army is to handle Europe — that part of Europe it can fight in — with England making raids now

and then. England is to safeguard the British isles, keep the Near East and South Central Asia open, and drive the Axis out of Africa. The troops of China, Philippines, and other Asiatic areas are to continue as cannon-fodder for the Anglo-American imperialists, with the U. S. operating primarily the mechanized equipment — tanks, planes, ships.

Despite Stalinism's pledge to support the democratic imperialists' war aims, no unified command with the Soviet forces was established due to the fundamental antagonism between the U.S.S.R. and the "Allies", which is far deeper than among themselves or even with the Axis. The bourgeoisie fear the Red Army, and its potential power to help extend the October Revolution.

They fear also the colonial masses, who may turn any weapons given them, against their own exploiters.

So, at the present stage the Allies have a long way to go and many contradictions to overcome before they can obtain a unified world command. And in the main, such a command will be imposed only in a critical juncture by the strongest power.

Seventh. It is now clear to almost all that the military phase in Europe is only a stepping stone for the real struggle for the control of Asia. This thesis we presented in our founding convention over six years ago. While the main rivals of the American imperialists may be in Europe, the main booty lies in Asia.

WAR AND REVOLUTION

The military conflict in the Pacific reveals the inner weakness and basic aspects of the strategical positions of the different imperialist powers even more clearly than did the European phase of the war. Of the six imperialist powers, the four European imperialists are in no position to give the Pacific their primary attention (until one can consolidate Europe under its own hegemony). Of these four European powers, France is out of the picture as a decisive factor. Italy can only play the role of stooge to Germany. And Germany or England could give full attention to the Pacific only by a knockout of the other, and the elimination of the Soviet Union as a threat from the rear. This applies to England as well as Germany, in spite of the Eden-Stalin and the

Roosevelt-Litwinov agreements.

There is left therefore, only Japanese imperialism on the offensive and American imperialism in the second position, ahead of the other imperialists in the drive for Asiatic conquest. The main fight in this area, as long as the Soviet Union holds out, thus falls to American and Japanese forces.

The war has further changed the imperialist relations established by the Versailles "peace" treaty, already altered by the events flowing from the 1929 crisis and the Hitler rise to power. The post war "have-not" status of Germany, Italy and Japan has been altered. Germany gained in Europe, while Italy lost in Africa and is now under German domination. Japan has gained the most in Asia so far. Of the "have" nations, France lost decisive areas, while United States gained in all parts of the Atlantic and South America even before she formally entered the conflict. Although England has not lost (has in fact, gained a little) territory, her Empire is NOT intact. Even without the loss of territory to the Axis her fighting ability reveals an Empire in decline; economic decay and growing colonial unrest manifest themselves ever more sharply. The war in Europe has hastened the process. The war in the Pacific accelerates it even faster.

NEED WORLD STRATEGY

The sharp turns, zig-zag pattern, and interrelation of the struggles on widely separated fronts, of the world war as a whole, show to the highest extent the need of a proletarian strategy of world-wide character; a strategy based on the objective conditions of capitalist decay and sharp historical turns, as pointed out in detail by the RWL Program adopted at the Third Convention. Although more decisive sharp turns are to be expected the general perspective is a LONG WAR. Only proletarian revolutions can CUT THE WAR SHORT AND STOP THE IMPERIALIST SLAUGHTER, just as it did in the first Imperialist War. The Axis under Germany and the Anglo-American bloc are preparing for a long war. So too must the proletariat, but from the point of view of a comprehensive strategy which will STOP THE WAR.

Although Hitler has Europe as his military workshop he is as far as ever from the plan to "organize Europe." An organized Europe,

of harmonious economic and political relationships, can emerge out of this war ONLY on the basis of a United States of Socialist Europe. All other "organized" Europes can be such in name only, mere caricatures of the Europe of Versailles, under conditions of aggravated capitalist decay. One imperialist would dominate the continent against the masses and the other imperialist who would continue to seek realignments which would re-establish their powers. National boundaries would not be abolished but only redrawn to meet the needs of the dominant capitalist power; the economic and political structures which would form the component parts of such an "organized" Europe would be based on unbelievable scarcity and extreme instability. The economic, social, and political problems of a "Balkanized" Europe would not be solved, but would be checked from breaking out into continual open upheaval only by the continual resort to the utmost brutal force — regardless of whether the Axis or the "democratic" imperialists would win the war.

The "just peace" about which the social-patriotic lackeys of the "democratic" exploiters prate, cannot be established by the imperialist powers, no matter which side wins. The Roosevelt-Churchill Eight Points will never be put in practice just as Wilson's 14 Points (for bourgeois democracy everywhere, the right of self-determination, etc.) were not enforced after the first world war. The intensified capitalist decay calls for more — not less — ruthless dictatorial measures than that employed since 1917 to hold in check the proletariat and colonial masses. Only the social revolution can break through this mockery and institute a just peace. The KEY is simple: PRODUCTION BASED UPON USE, instead of production for profits. ALL other solutions are so much hypocrisy to delude the masses.

PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM

The second imperialist war again brings to the fore the test of proletarian internationalism and the fight against social-chauvinism (social patriotism). The fight for the independence of the working class from their exploiters, de-

mands a fight also against the capitalist agents who use all kinds of left phrases to conceal their actions of splitting the international working-class in behalf of their master's victories. This can be carried through only on the basis of Lenin's position on imperialist war which the I.C.C. and the R.W.L. has time and again explained.

Yesterday, before the imperialist war we were for a policy of marching separately and striking together with the Chinese forces against the Japanese imperialists. This was the application of the principles of the permanent revolution to that period, a strategy aimed at winning the masses away from the control of the comprador bourgeoisie by exposing their weakness and treachery in action, in the struggle for colonial and national liberation. As in the Spanish civil war, the strategy of march separately and strike together did NOT mean giving any political or material aid to the bourgeois forces. Today, however, with the Chang-Kai-Shek government becoming an integral part of one of the contending imperialist war camps, this strategy no longer holds. The independence of the proletariat and colonial masses can be won only by applying the same general policy of Lenin on imperialist war, even though our tactics will vary to meet the concrete situations.

Revolutionary development in capitalist and colonial countries will bring out the true color of the bourgeois-democracies, and their belly-crawling compromises with Fascism to check the coming Social Revolution. Above all, American Imperialism and the Dollar hope to play the leading role in beating back the extension of the October Revolution. Her world strategy has this goal as its major task.

Capitalism inevitably leads to overproduction and crisis — and wars. The imperialist war inevitably is preparing the ground work for social revolutions. The second world war will let loose even more gigantic upheavals than the first world war. We, the working class, must be prepared for our historical task.

January 25, 1942.

A CENTRIST STATEMENT ON WAR

The "Statement on War" by James P. Cannon in the January "Fourth International" reveals the depths of revisionism to which the Trotskyites have sunk. The statement correctly asserts that the war remains an imperialist war and that the Trotskyites will continue to oppose it. It also correctly asserts that the Soviet Union must be supported. But all this is completely contradicted by the ensuing material — by errors of commission as well as of omission. We will remember that Kautsky and others of the centrist stripe also spoke "against" the war, but, as Lenin pointed out, and as events proved, this was not enough.

The fundamental error in Cannon's brief statement is that within the framework of the imperialist war it differentiates between fascism and democracy: it presents the political line of revolution against Hitler and Mussolini — but it submits completely to the war-mongers in the United States. The most extreme demand for the workers at home is for a Workers' and Farmers' Government — in order to conduct a real "effective" war against the Axis. This is certainly not a Marxian position on the imperialist war; nor does it represent the workers' interest in any way.

WEASEL WORDS ON GERMAN REVOLUTION

But even the discussion of the revolution in Germany reveals a false position. "Our program," says the statement, "to aid the German masses to overthrow Hitler demands, first of all, that they be guaranteed against a second Versailles."

FIRST OF ALL, then, the masses must be guaranteed against a new Versailles. And what, according to the Trotskyites, is the SECOND task. Obviously there is here a division — first a program against Versailles, and second a program of proletarian revolution. But only a proletarian revolution can guarantee against Versailles; there are not TWO tasks and two programs but only one task to perform. The Cannonite insistence on this "first of all" is not an accidental phrase. It must be remembered, that Cannon is in favor of a "revolution" of the old Brandler type, a "Workers and Farmers Government" under capitalism. It must be remembered that in Spain he favored bourgeois democracy against the fascist form of capitalism, that he shouted for a Blum-Cachin and later a Caballero-CNT "left" capitalist government. And it must also be con-

sidered that at the moment the German leaders of the Trotskyite movement are speaking openly of a BOURGEOIS nationalist revolution in Central Europe.

The meaning of this phrase, therefore, is clear. Trotskyism is not even for proletarian revolution in Germany, either.

What the Trotskyites reveal here is a hopeless confusion of the national problem and the proletarian revolution. **They place the national German question FIRST OF ALL.** It will be recalled that Lenin had to warn the German revolutionists against the slogan "Down with Versailles" because it played into the hands of the German bourgeoisie. Marxists subordinate the national question to the proletarian revolution. Our material on the Czech question reveals the contrast between Marxism and Trotskyite centrism.

SUPPORT IMPERIALIST AGENTS

Another aspect of this nationalist confusion appears in the continued Trotskyite support of the Chinese nationalists. Before the imperialist war (December 7, 1941), we classified the Chinese struggle as progressive; but our position strategically was for marching separately from Chiang Kai-Shek and striking together against Japan — with no material aid to the nationalists. The Trotskyites, during this same period, confused the progressive nature of the war with its reactionary leadership. They advocated material aid to Chiang Kai-Shek, agent of Anglo-American imperialism.

Today, however, since the imperialist war now involves China and Japan, China has become the puppet of Wall Street, and the struggle in China is an outpost of imperialist strategy. Under these circumstances we can no longer support the Chinese struggle against Japan. In precisely the same way the Serbian national struggle was no longer supported by the Marxists when it became a phase of the first imperialist world war. Only a hopelessly confused party or one anxious to sow hopeless confusion among the workers can justify support of China because it is a military front against the Axis. We support the Soviet Union not because it is a military front against the Axis, but because of the property relations in the Soviet Union, where the capitalist class was long ago expropriated. The class relations in China are somewhat different. This is the real difference between the Red Army and the Chinese nationalist army.

When the Trotskyites deal with the problems of the American working class, they show their centrist position most clearly. "The great majority actively or passively support the war program of the Roosevelt administration. As a minority we must submit to the majority in action. We do not sabotage the war or obstruct the military forces in any way. The Trotskyites go with their generation into the armed forces. We abide by the decisions of the majority But we retain our opinions and insist on our rights to express them."

Such is the degeneration of the Trotskyites, following the path of Stalinism and Social Democracy in social-patriotism! You can "retain" your opinion and you can "insist" on your "rights" to "express" them, but you agree in advance to submit to the "majority" in ACTION; this is equal to "talking" in a vacuum. "The great Majority," says Cannon, "actively or passively support the war". But revolutionary Marxists do not stoop to the DESIRES, and ideological confusion of the class. Revolutionary Marxists FIGHT FOR THE INTEREST of the MAJORITY even though we have to swim against the stream. Is it to the interest of the majority to "support" the war? Of course not. It is to the interest of the majority to fight against the imperialist policies on the basis of the class struggle. Cannon turns upside down this revolutionary position. Cannon says, "We abide by the decisions of the majority." This sentence is correct if one speaks about decisions within a Marxian party which one disagrees with, or with the INTEREST OF THE CLASS. But to speak of ABIDING BY THE DECISIONS OF THE MAJORITY in an imperialist adventure, when a scientific explanation of the State and classes clearly reveals that it is the exploiting MINORITY'S decisions that start the conflict, continue it, and carry through a criminal exploiters' "peace" — this is class treachery.

In United States these centrists, on this basis of submission in ACTION call for a Worker's and Farmer's Government. In the first place history has passed beyond this formula: The

interest of the working class as well as the oppressed masses is a WORKERS COUNCIL GOVERNMENT. It is not a play of words. A Workers' and Farmers' government is a state within the framework of the capitalist mode of production, a left bourgeois state; while a Workers COUNCIL government is the democratic expression of the Dictatorship of the proletariat after capitalism has been overthrown. And what, may we ask, do the Trotskyites want a Workers' and Farmers' Government for? To reorganize production for use AFTER capitalism has been overthrown? No. They say, in Cannon's statement, "Such a government and only such a government, can conduct a war against Hitler, Mussolini and the Mikado in cooperation with the oppressed peoples of Germany, Italy and Japan." This is a different phrasing of the same false formula advanced by the Trotskyites months ago, calling for the "Turning of the imperialist war (not into a Civil War as advocated by Lenin but) into a war against Fascism." In other words, the main enemy is NOT AT HOME — but the "enemy" imperialists. But like the I. L. P. and other opportunists the Trotskyites say, the exploiters cannot fight the imperialist war with the greatest efficiency. Let us do the job. The third party of capitalism is more efficient for capitalism. This may not be the intentions of the Trotskyites, but it is the content of these formulas. To bring about this left capitalist government, the Trotskyites are for a Labor Party.

Certain varieties of centrism delight in giving one **abstraction** which COULD be filled with a Marxian content and in the same article giving another formulation in the **concrete** which can only be filled with the opportunist content. Such is the centrism of Cannon in this false statement on war. The Goldman-Cannon material on the Minneapolis trials further revised the Marxian positions on the basic questions they dealt with. This material was dealt with before in our publications. We only point the out here to reveal a consistent shift to the right by these revisionists under the increased war pressure.

Volume 4, No. 2

Price 5 cents — 50 cents a year

Issued by the R. W. L. for the International Contact Commission.

Affiliates

Central Committee of the Red Front of Germany

**Revolutionary Workers League of U. S.
Leninist League of Scotland**

Mail address of publishers

Demos Press, Office

708 N. CLARK ST.

Chicago, Illinois

Printed in the United States

Voluntary Labor