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**MILITARISM  
AND THE  
WORKER - SOLDIER**

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*THE PROBLEM STATED*

Today millions of us have been gathered in the army camps from the four corners of the United States of America. Here we are, coal miners, steel workers, garment workers, share croppers, office workers, men of every and all kinds of work. Taken from our homes, our wives, our kids, our friends. For what? That is the question we ask ourselves and sometimes others. And in 99 cases out of 100, the answers are either --- silence, or "Do what you are told, we will do the thinking", or the same kind of phrases that were handed around so liberally in 1917; but they don't tell us anything new. But we must have an answer to the burning questions of militarism and war, for it is our time that is taken, our lives that are being risked, our destinies that are being decided.

We, who are in the armed forces, and in the factories, who are connected with the International Contact Commission for a new Communist (4th) International present this pamphlet as an answer to the burning questions that confront not only us but every worker in or out of uniform. We present it as a broad general summary of the whole problem of militarism and war. This is not a document just to be read as a pastime, but is something to be read and studied and treasured for future reference.

In order to understand a war time program, it is necessary to consider the question of militarism generally, and this we shall proceed to do.

*NATURE OF MILITARISM*

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

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

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

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

#### MILITARISM IN THE U.S.

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

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

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

In the transition towards a stateless society, at a time when the workers have taken over power through a working class or proletarian dictatorship, the base and cause for militarism is eliminated and the more progress that is made towards socialism the more does the whole of the apparatus, including military force, just wither away.

In a country of such Transition Economy, but where the economy and social forms of the proletarian dictatorship are in decline, such as the Soviet Union at the present time, the negative forms of military control will develop to the same degree as the disintegration of the workers' state. Such is the case today under Stalinism. But this negative military development is no more "militarism" than the seizure of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, was "Red Imperialism". The forms are alike, but the material base, the content is different. We not only fight militarism and its economic base, capitalism, but we also fight the warping of the Red Army, and the whole military structure of Stalinism which is negating the economic base of the Soviet Union.

#### MILITARISM AND AMERICAN IMPERIALISM

To very many people the U.S.A. preparation of the greatest military machine

in history came either as a surprise or as a preparation for the inevitable results of Nazi and Japanese aggression. Nothing is farther from the truth. To prove this let us quote from what an affiliate of the International Contact Commission said over six years ago.

"Militarism has slowly developed; until now it looms up as a powerful factor in the American state structure, yet this development has taken place without full recognition because it has taken on special forms, unlike those developed in the classical militarism of Europe."

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

It is precisely this "extension of militarism to giant proportions" that is being carried out today, and this is not only due to the present war of American Imperialism against the Axis powers, but is also due to the coming revolutionary struggles that must inevitably be manifested unless capitalism is crushed on a world-wide scale. Already in February 1943, Congressman Claire Booth Luce and Vice-President Wallace are arguing about World War III (New York Times, February 11, 1943) The American imperialist giant, faced with the contradictions of the decay capitalist system must move to strengthen and extend its present war economy strength by greater and greater political control; it must assume decisive leadership and control on a world scale if it is to survive as a capitalist exploiters' state. Already in a period in which it finds itself engaged in conflict with Germany and Japan openly, it is obliged to conduct a hidden war with its ally, England. This war goes on all over the globe, in South America where American imperialism has virtually been victorious; in India, in North Africa, etc. This struggle for world domination is what the present military and political machines of the American finance capitalists mean. The talk about "defense" against "aggression" is so much twaddle to cover this elementary fact. The same kind of a sneak attack was made on French North Africa as was made by the Japanese on Pearl Harbor. No one should be misled by such lying slogans of the imperialist robbers on either side. On both sides it is a war for plunder, and it does not matter which robber fires the first shot.

We shall analyze in detail the special forms of American Militarism and show the trend of development to their present giant proportions even long before the war, in order to indicate that it was for the purpose of such world domination, and that alone, that the American capitalist class was moving to the complete militarization of the entire life of the nation. We shall show that all these trends were fully present before the war; that the war has only sharpened them and has given the American ruling class a good opportunity to utter a lot of patriotic clap-trap in carrying out this process.

Such complete militarization in this war is far more drastic already than at any time in 1917-1918. This is due to the decay of American imperialism, that decay which had such marked effects for all of us in 1929-1934, and to the fact that the U.S.A. aims at world conquest are more pronounced. In the previous war, only a minority of the population was directly affected. In the present imperialist war all the people will be subordinated to militarism, will be directly caught in the war moves of the American imperialism. (In this connection one only has to refer to such measures as the extension of the 40 hours a week to 48 hours; the bill in the 1943 Congress to compel the registration of all men from 18 to 65 and women from 18 to 50, and the rendering of all those registering to work at the whim of the government; and finally to the decidedly anti-labor bias of the War Labor Board in its recent decisions, particularly its February 1943 decision with regard to the packing house workers denying an increase in wages despite the higher cost of living).

#### THE MILITARY FORCES OF THE U.S. BOSSES

In the past American imperialism has maintained a very small standing army, and they have tried to claim that this shows they had no imperialist intentions. Exactly the opposite is true as the developments since conscription and particularly the active entrance of the U.S.A. into the war indicate. It is plain to anyone, in the armed forces or out, that their entire structure was a skeleton structure for a giant military machine.

This is nothing new to us. Years ago in the same document from which we have hereto quoted, our American Affiliate, *The Revolutionary Workers League* wrote:

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

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

'A whole series of other military forms, concealed and open, are used as leaders for the program of the militarization of the American workers. The Boy Scouts, R.O.T.C., summer training camps (C.M.T.C.), C.C.C. camps, and other forms are used, and are slowly penetrating every avenue of public life with the spirit of militarism.

Further reasons for these 'special forms' were given in the document *Youth under American Imperialism*: 'The imperialist nations of Continental Europe are all directly bounded by powerful rival imperialists. In the event of war, which may begin without being declared, these nations will immediately be called upon to throw large standing armies into the field of battle. The U.S. on the other hand is separated from its powerful rivals by thousands of miles of ocean. The U. S. is bounded on the north by Canada which is under the domination of American bank capital and in any event is no military threat. On the south is Mexico, which is in all respects a semi-colony of American Imperialism. For these reasons the U. S. can afford to manoeuvre in a manner impossible to other imperialist nations. At the same time, this lack of direct colonial empire which on the one hand eliminates the need for armies of colonial occupation, is also a grave defect in U. S. Imperialism, which it must eventually remedy. The countries of South and Central America are almost virtual colonies, but here again the U. S. Imperialists have an advantage over their rivals. The colonial powers of Europe must have large armies of occupation in their colonies. The U. S. can depend more on the power of the dollar and its agents in the colonial countries.

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

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

The remainder of this was written as far back as 1935. We do not cite this as evidence that we are bright chaps or anything of that sort, but merely to show that we appreciated the nature of the problem of American militarism long before the war, and that long ago we foresaw the consequences of it.

It is obvious from the above that American imperialism had a well prepared plan for strategy long before the war. It can therefore be easily seen that with the actual entry of the U.S.A. into the war, and with the various conflicts raging not only against the Axis but within the ranks of the United

nations in a concealed form, we have definitely entered upon a long period of open militarism and imperialism unless measures are taken which we shall indicate later. Before going into this phase of the matter let us see the particular method that the bosses use to put flesh on the skeleton of the military machine. This will be very instructive.

#### CONSCRIPTION AND THE ARMY.

The Conscription Bill was a major step on the road of complete regimentation and militarization of the entire people and their activities. The Administration said it was necessary owing to Hitler's victories and the need for "defense". This was a brazen lie, and they knew it. The plans for conscription were drafted long ago; M day plans were completed in 1921, as a matter of fact, so we can see that despite all the stuff we were given twenty-five years ago about the war to end all wars, the bosses and their brass hat agents were already preparing for World War II. And we can be equally sure that, left to themselves, these same people will prepare for World War III, to shed more blood in order to obtain world domination.

We can also see from this that conscription is nothing new but is the extension of militarism by the American boss class. It flows logically from the special aspects of the previous military structure. Let us again quote from one of our documents of some six years ago in this connection.

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

"The standing army has at present (1937) 12,968 officers to 145,826 enlisted men. This makes it one officer to every 12 enlisted men. This set-up is tremendously top-heavy with officers. The U. S. Army is a skeleton army of imperialist aggression. When the time comes, these officers will take the workers from factory and street and make soldiers of them overnight."

And the time did come. And the Roosevelt administration capably serving the interests of the American imperialists, in so-called "peace-time" conscripted the best man power of the nation to build a tremendous standing army of mil-

lions. We all remember then that Roosevelt and Wilkie vied with each other in 1940, in claiming that this was an army solely for the defense of the Continental United States. Now, all of us know that it is an army of offense throughout the whole world. Pearl Harbor was just a culminating point for the American bosses. Several months before that, however, the meeting of Roosevelt and Churchill in the Atlantic had already agreed to the plans for the slaughter of thousands of American soldiers and sailors.

#### THE LARGEST NAVY IN THE WORLD.

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

Today, after twenty years of the fiercest rivalry and competition between Britain and the U. S., the former finds herself confronted by the rising might of German Imperialism which by force of arms threatens its very existence. A German victory would mean the end of the British power in Europe, with Germany replacing England in the role of main contender for world domination with the United States. The grim prospect of the occurring of this led American imperialism to engage in the present war.

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

But this does not prevent the American imperialists from "discovering" that they have only a "one-ocean" navy. Billions of dollars are now being expended in order to make the U.S. Navy the "greatest navy in the world". The slogan that is now being put forward is that after the war the sea lanes and the air lanes of the world are to be policed by the U. S. This is merely putting in the usual hypocritical terms the demand of the American finance capital for armed domination of the whole world. Anyone can see that even if the British navy were to fall into the hands of the Axis, the American navy could still "defend" the Continent against attack. Particularly is this true with the practical acquisition of a large section of the French fleet by the American

imperialists, as for instance the Richelieu on February 15, 1942. But "defense" is just a catch word. The real reason for building a "five-ocean" navy is to be able to simultaneously carry on offensive naval struggles in all parts of the earth, if necessary, in order to try to conquer Asia, Africa, as well as complete control of North and South America, no matter if all the other powers are opposed to it. In addition, and still more important, as we shall show at length later in this document, all armed forces, on land, sea and air, are being built up by American imperialism for the purpose of safeguarding capitalist rule against working class and colonial revolutions. To have world control, American imperialism must have a navy capable of dominating the seas against the combined navies of all other powers, and capable of transporting convoys to be sent all over the world to smash the rule of other imperialists and to crush revolts. For these reasons Uncle Sam thus drops his former slogan of a "navy second to none", in favor of the more aggressive policy, "the largest navy in the world".

Of special importance in this connection are the concessions which American imperialism has obtained from its British rival, and through its French stooges, for the use and exploitation of naval bases all over the world.

#### THE DRIVE FOR WORLD AIR SUPREMACY.

Already in the documents referred to, some years ago we indicated the development of drive for world air supremacy. At that time a proposal of Roosevelt for fifty thousand new planes a year was received by most people with a gasp of amazement. Now, it is taken as a matter of course. Just recently a newspaper fight developed between Claire Booth Luce on the one hand and Vice-President Wallace and Mrs. Roosevelt on the other. Luce came out early with the demand for domination by the U.S.A. of the air lanes of the world and spoke with the utmost cynical contempt of the so-called "freedom of the air". Wallace and Mrs. Roosevelt, more astute, continued to advocate the tremendous increase of American air power, but also want to make use of the demagogic hypocrisy "freedom of the air", while building up monopoly by American imperialism. In other words they rebuke Mrs. Luce with the classic phrase "Don't be foolish. These things are done but they are not talked about".

The struggle for airlines becomes today the major imperialist economic battlefield. Just as yesterday the path of empire was measured in terms of railroad and merchant marine, so after this war the airplane will to a great extent replace both. In the sphere of plane production American Imperialism is supreme; she can outproduce practically the rest of the world put together. Her only handicap - or potential handicap - is that she may not be able to get the air bases necessary to control world air transportation. The fight for air bases, amongst the "victors" as well as the "vanquished", will thus become a major imperialist struggle.

We can readily visualize tomorrow a long drawn out war for the control of the North Pole or the South Pole. Air transportation will completely revolutionize the transport industry and change barren wastelands like the Poles into all important areas.

The struggle for air power is merely a continuation of the struggle for sea and land power. The forms of imperialist conflict are being modified even during the present war, but the intensity and lastingness of that conflict continue.

#### THE MARINES---SCOURGE OF COLONIAL PEOPLES

The infantry force of the Navy, well trained, finely equipped Marine Corps has been used for a long time, and with deadly effectiveness, by American Imperialism to crush colonial revolts, and to secure its imperialist policies throughout the globe. Especially has this been true in relation to Latin America (Cuba, Mexico, Nicaragua, San Domingo, etc) in the past. And while the Roosevelt administration has used, and is increasing its use, of the power of the dollar (lend-lease, export-import loans, etc) as the main weapon to extend control over so-called allies and neutrals, it is certain that the Marines will again be called upon, when necessary to secure and maintain American investments, and to increase them. They are also being held as a supplementary reserve for the crushing of revolt where it may occur, as for example Puerto Rico & North Africa. That is why the Marine Corps is being built up during the present war to a far greater extent than is required by the immediate necessity of that war. Throughout the years the Marines have always symbolized the aggressive imperialist aims of American imperialism. That is why, through "boot camps" and the like American imperialism has endeavored to harden, to brutalize and to separate the Marines from other branches of the armed service. We do not mean to state that attempts are not made on a wide scale, to harden and brutalize all the armed forces, but this has been historically true of the Marines to a greater extent. With the development of a fight for world supremacy, and particularly with the development of revolt against imperialism, we will see an even greater effort along this line. Many years ago in the document referred to so many times we stated "the big stick is bound to follow the 'good neighbor'". This has become evident even to children today.

#### THE NATIONAL GUARD---"PRE-CONSCRIPTION" CONSCRIPTION

In order to determine what is going on at present, and to intelligently forecast the future, we have to look back at the past many times in this document. Let us take a look at our document of three years ago and see if what we then said has not been borne out by experience. At that time we said:

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

First, from a military view, it increases the armed forces to the point where, according to reliable bourgeois military observers, it is almost adequate for 'defense'. But this is only the first step for conscription to build an army of 2 million men - (again proof that it will be for OFFENSE).

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

Third, the incorporation of the Guard into the federal army, thus completely eliminating their control by the states, is a further indication of the 'Europeanization' of American society in the military sphere; in this instance, a step to destroy the cumbersome and contradictory multi-state divisions of authority, and centralize the military forces under national capitalist control.

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

#### "THE FEEDERS" OF THE WAR MACHINE

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

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

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

#### C. C. C. PART OF WAR MACHINE

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

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

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

"McIntee's report is also significant in that it states that 70% of all enrollees were sub-standard in weight and had to be fed well in order to get up to normal weight. Here is ample proof of the rottenness of the "American way" where the majority of unemployed youth are suffering from malnutrition. So Roosevelt feeds them but only to make them better cannon fodder, since a great percentage of physical rejections from the army are because of malnutrition.

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

## 'RELIEF' PROGRAM FOR WAR PURPOSES

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

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

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

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

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

## MILITARISM AND YOUTH

"The prongs of militarism affect that youth probably more than any other strata of the working class. Millions of American youth have for years felt the ravages of capitalist decay. Over five million of them unemployed, another half million each year graduating from school and not finding jobs, others working for an average weekly wage of \$12-14, with no prospect of advancement, part of the unemployed corralled into the W.P.A., C.C.C., N.Y.A., etc.

which, as has been explained, are part of the war machine.

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

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

Every word of the above has been borne out by the events occurring since then. Using all these forces, carefully built up under "democratic and humanitarian" slogans the Roosevelt Administration has taken advantage of the actual outbreak of hostilities to proceed to link all these forces into a huge military machine. From this they proceed to further militarization of the whole of life in the U.S.A. The establishment of the WAACs the WAVES the SPARS, the tremendous newspaper and radio and movie advertisement given to these forces, the militarization of labor, the proposal to register and draft into industry as well as military service all women from 18 to 50 as well as men from 18 to 65, are but the culminating points of the developments already set out in our former documents. All of this is the very best proof of what was long ago said by Clausewitz in his book "On War" - "War is the continuation of the politics of peace by other means". All of this most effectively gives the lie to the mendacious assertion that December 7 fundamentally changed everything, because long before December 7 processes were already extensively developed for world domination of American imperialism.

## THE NEGROES AND MILITARISM

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

Many Negroes were fooled in the last war by the bosses' promise of equality "after" the "war for democracy". They served in the army and found the same Jim Crow restrictions, were given the dirtiest work, (hard labor, servant



work, etc.) and often were the first to be sacrificed on the battlefield when the arm-chair generals had to accomplish a "manoeuvre". Then when the survivors returned home, they found the same Jim Crow oppression. Indeed, they were "ordered" to take off their uniforms; there were many instances where angry mobs forcibly stripped Negro soldiers of their uniforms insisting that they once more accept their Jim Crow status.

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

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

Since the entry of the U.S. into the war, and despite all the talk about "equality" and "democracy", the double oppression and exploitation of the Negroes in the army as well as outside, has been greatly increased. Discrimination is rampant. Recreation and social facilities are much less in the case of Negro troops than in the case of whites. On February 16, 1943, a military Court Martial sentenced three Negro soldiers to 50 years imprisonment at hard labor and one to 40 years for alleged participation in a so-called "riot". The discrimination against the Negro soldiers has been extended wherever they have gone. In London for instance, pressure was brought to bear upon the British tradesmen and others to make them comply with the American "democratic tradition".

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

## THE POLICE --- ANOTHER ARM OF THE BOSS STATE

While the Roosevelt government devotes its main military attention to the army and the navy for the purpose of conquering and exploiting the whole world, it does not neglect other sections of the capitalist state, including "special bodies of armed men", the police force. Just as the federal government has taken over the state guards so they take advantage of the present war situation to develop and increase the police force. The "G-men" (Federal Bureau of Investigation), so glorified as an "anti-crime agency", now shows its true colors by organizing special classes for local and state police forces to train them to combat "Fifth Columnists", in reality all forms of militant or revolutionary working class activity. In this connection two further facts should be remembered. One is the instruction by the FBI of local and state police forces in the manner of handling "riots". Every worker who has been in a strike or a demonstration knows what is meant by this term. The second fact to be remembered is the activity of the FBI in the Minneapolis case against the leaders of the Trotskyites and the Teamsters Union. In this instance the FBI was used as a direct tool for the purpose, among others, of throwing out one Union leadership and supplanting it with another.

This session of Congress is preparing special legislation to supplement existing anti-working class laws, to combat all forms of militant and revolutionary activity that might endanger the military moves of American Imperialism, or endanger the profits of the American bosses. This is going on despite the wordy promises of both Roosevelt and Wilkie to maintain labor's freedom".

Unless this is met with the sternest and most effective resistance this will mean the complete crushing of the democratic rights of the working class, including all its gains, the right to strike, 40 hour week, wage standards. All this, of course, is done in the name of "winning the war", but in reality it is an offensive struggle of the American bosses, who have no intention of surrendering their gains should military victory be gained.

The increase of all this reactionary legislation, the general increased offensive of the bosses, leads and will lead to a greater use of violence against the working class. As the examples of Mississippi show this violence will be in many cases extra legal. But there will also be an increase of the "legalized violence" of the bosses in the form of the use of police.

It must be pointed out that these police forces differ from a conscripted army in that they are professional and permanent agencies of the bosses against the workers; they will always serve the reactionary interests of the capitalists. The major parts of the conscripted army, composed of workers will be won over to revolutionary struggle; but the police will always have

to be fought, (although with a favorable relationship of forces in a revolutionary period, the workers may be able to neutralize sections of them). In the meantime, they constitute a vicious agency of the boss state to crush all workers' rights and eliminate opposition to the war of imperialist offense.

#### U.S. IMPERIALISM FIGHTS OFFENSIVE WAR

Even before the war we pointed out the political-economic reasons why American Imperialism must wage an aggressive struggle for control for the entire world but someone may raise the cry "We were attacked at Pearl Harbor and we must defend ourselves". We shall answer this argument briefly, since other literature of the ICC and its affiliates has gone into the question in detail. Suffice it to say that in reality, from a working class point of view, it makes no difference whether an imperialist power is fighting on its own soil or on that of its opposing robber; it is still a war for profits, for the redivision of the world, for the increased exploitation of the workers, and intensified oppression of the colonial masses, for the maintenance of the rotten profit system at the expense of the exploitation of the workers, and intensified oppression of the colonial masses for the maintenance of the rotten profit system at the expense of the exploited toilers no matter in what land they may be. Aside from the above, general, and universally true considerations, however, the myth of defense is an utter lie. This can be shown in two sentences. First, Pearl Harbor itself was an acquisition of plunder on the part of American imperialists; and in addition the demands made upon the Japanese Ambassadors at Washington were deliberately calculated to bring on an attack. Second, the attack upon French North Africa was the same kind of attack that was made by Japanese imperialism at Pearl Harbor. Both cases are brilliant vindication of our contention that there is no reason for the American-Japanese masses to be shooting at each other and that wars for plunder remain wars for plunder no matter which burglar fires the first shot.

Today American boys are in all continents, and it would take a person very gullible indeed to believe that they are there for purely defensive purposes. As a matter of fact, all of us know that the original slogan of "defense" has been changed to "victory". And we were further aware of the fact, as pointed out elsewhere in this pamphlet, that already the type of victory and type of peace to follow this war are being foreshadowed as a victory for a peace of conquest.

#### MILITARISM IN ALL PHASES OF LIFE

In the mad scrambles for empire in the past, only a select section of the population was involved. The vast sections of the oppressed under Chattel Slave and Feudal society were outside the orbit of militarism; their youth were neither drafted nor permitted into the armed forces. Even under

capitalism, up until the present period of Imperialism (dating from the turn of the century) mercenary and volunteer armies carried on the battle.

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

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

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

#### MILITARISM AND CAPITAL PROFITS

Many people may think that the expenditure of billions and billions of dollars for war materials will mean an end of economic crisis for higher wages, etc. Exactly the opposite is true. The last war proved it. This war clinches it. The present war, occurring 25 years after the last, is the most decisive expression of the insolvability of the contradictions of capitalism. In those countries where there was accelerated expansion of the capital of heavy goods industries (for example steel) the economic effects of the crisis were most pronounced. This expansion of the forces of production increased the gap between concentration of capital on the one hand and the possibility of developing any forces for the investment of capital on the other hand. Hence, the necessity under capitalism for a new struggle to redivide the world and the decreased mass of profits.

The crisis which now causes the war arose precisely from the previous war (and its causes) in which the process of the concentration of capital without its simultaneous growth only increased these contradictions - no outlet for this capital could be found. The present war orders - a subsidy to industry and finance - will serve as a stimulus to the system in an immediate sense, but to the degree that new productive forces are called into

play, to that degree the already intolerable contradictions, strained by the last war, will grow immeasurably greater. The increased productive forces always outstrip the markets under capitalism. Thus in the process of blood and plunder, the very destructive nature of this whole act will serve to increase the contradictions. No economic solution for capitalism is possible as a result of the war.

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

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

#### GOVERNMENT SUBSIDIZATION FOR BIGGER PROFITS

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

First, the so-called amortization program. This is a two-fold government policy whereby: (1) The Government itself will build certain plants and, while retaining nominal ownership, lease them RENT FREE to the large capitalists, for production of war materials. Such is Roosevelt's plan, for instance, in relation to airplane expansion; and already the federal government is building seven 20-25 million dollar munitions plants for DuPont. This means double profit for the profit-mongers: the Government pays for building these plants, and then DuPont and others will manufacture war material which will be sold to this same government at a profit. "Conscription of industry" under capitalism means government coordination of industry AT A PRICE - giant subsidies.

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

Thirdly, this government subsidization goes primarily to the biggest capitalist monopolies.

End of Part 1

Continued