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**MILITARISM  
AND THE  
WORKER - SOLDIER  
PART TWO**

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STACK 3

*BLOODY IMPERIALIST AGGRESSION ON A WORLD SCALE: MILITARY DICTATORSHIP AT HOME*

Let us now cast a glance at what is going on at home while the big plunderers wage war for profits all over the world. Already we see there is not only conscription for war, but there is emerging also conscription for industry. The present congress is going ahead with seven-league steps in full preparation to mobilize not only all men between the ages of 18 and 65 but all women between the ages of 18 to 50. The proposal to put them under practically military rule in the factories with wages, hours, and conditions largely controlled by the capitalist state and army. They even propose to take the children of the working class, in their vacation periods from school and put them to work picking cotton and tobacco, and grubbing around gardens and farms. As a preparation for the militarization for the men, women and children in industry and agriculture they have had Eddie Rickenbacker parade the country with fascist threats against the workers in the factories. Significantly enough those of us who are in the army have noticed that Rickenbacker does not make any proposal to raise the standard of living of the buck privates.

With point rationing, and admitted 24% rise in the cost of living, with 20% deductions for taxes, and 10% for bonds, real wages are actually being sharply cut. Real wages, it must be remembered, are not measured by the amount of money received, but by what can be bought with the money received. In this sense wages certainly have declined since the beginning of war. Not content with the agreement of the AFofL and CIO officials not to strike the present Congress is attempting to tighten up legislation on it. They are trying to force us to work where they want us to, otherwise their aim is to induct us into the armed forces or maybe punish us for treason as was the case in "democratic" France. In short, all the gains of the American working class won through bitter struggle over 150 years of battle, are to be swept away by the "democratic" government.

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

*HOW TO FIGHT AGAINST WAR AND MILITARISM*

Right at the outset let us state that class conscious workers in uniform or out, cannot be opposed to all wars. We are opposed to imperialist wars because we do the dying and the bosses get the profits. We are not opposed to

the war of the Soviet Union against the Nazis, because we know that essentially it is a war of our own class against imperialism. We are opposed to the Stalinist leadership because we know that these people objectively aid imperialism. But that does not make us opposed to the war of the Soviet masses. On the contrary we are in favor of aiding them to kick out the bureaucrats so that the war will develop openly into one of communism against capitalism. We are in favor of revolts of the colonial masses, because they are allies in the struggle against imperialism. The fight against militarism is an integral part of the fight against capitalism. It must be co-ordinated with the struggle for a Workers Council Government with its own Workers Army. At every stage we fight the bosses' state and military apparatus, and counterpose the appropriate forms of workers struggle in defense of their democratic rights.

What must we do to effectively fight against militarism and capitalist war? We must:

1. Educate the masses to the real role of militarism and the state.
2. Create opposition to all forms of bourgeois militarism.
3. Present those slogans that lead to action for the demoralization of the exploiters' state and its militarist arm.

In order to carry this out the revolutionary vanguard must:

- a. Struggle against the use of the educational system for militarism. This calls for opposition to compulsory military training and for the abolition of the R.O.T.C.
- b. Fight against the use of the unemployed appropriations for military purposes.
- c. Expose and oppose all forms of military appropriations.
- d. Fight against all forms of the bourgeois militarization of youth, boy scouts, CCC camps, R.O.T.C., etc., etc.
- e. We are opposed to the (voluntary) joining of the military forces. The question of working in the army, and calling for the joining of the military forces, or of taking a "neutral" position on this question, are two different aspects of the problem.
- f. We are opposed to the draft. We fight against the draft up to the point of conscription, pointing out that even if we do not prevent it, we will greatly weaken the drive to militarize the workers for the war, and help the anti-militarist forces. After the draft takes place, we are opposed to Conscientious Objection (C.O.s) and to

and to individual and anarchist actions against it. This is a form of petty-bourgeois liberalism. After the draft takes place, we change our tactics. We do not hurry to join the colors, but if it cannot be avoided, we work within the army for our class position. This merely means that we extend our class struggle activity to the war front.

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

In our opposition to militarism, it is incorrect to take the position that the soldier is a person to shun and hate. We must consider soldiers as misguided workers if volunteers. If not volunteers (drafted) no particular problem presents itself. The tactics to be used against soldiers etc., that are used as strikebreakers will vary according to conditions, and the tempo of the struggle.

Above all, the question of militarism affects the youth of the population, and must be made a special fighting issue of the revolutionary youth organization. This by no means implies that the revolutionary party turns this work (exclusively) over to the youth. The party must lead the struggle against militarism. The adult workers, and especially the women, can be drawn into a genuine struggle against militarism; every available force can and must be involved in this struggle against imperialist war and for the class war.

#### THE TRAP OF "TRADE UNION CONTROL"

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

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

This has been amply proved by many unfortunate defeats of the workers. The latest example is the Spanish Civil War where the workers submitted to control of their armed forces and their arms by the capitalist state. The result

was the smashing of the revolutionary initiative and struggle of the workers, and the reconsolidation of the boss class armed forces that finally lead to the defeat of the Revolution. There the workers in a revolution had their own armed forces destroyed and had a new PCFM of the same old capitalist army rebuilt. Here, where we do not yet have a revolutionary situation and our own armed workers forces, this kind of proposal would head off effective work just as it is beginning.

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

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

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

#### THE ARMED FORCES OF THE WORKERS

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

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

As the previous document states:

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

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

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

"On this basis, it is foolish to say that to call for the arming of the people means to arm the reactionaries and fascists as well as the workers. Under capitalism these elements can obtain arms whenever they need them. Only the workers and other layers of the exploited are deprived of this condition, training with arms. To call for the arming of the people is to give the exploited, who are in the majority, an equal opportunity to defend themselves against any and all invaders of their 'human right' to live as humans.

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

#### ARMING OF THE PEOPLE

Specifically, today, we call for ARMED WORKERS DEFENSE CORPS to defend the democratic rights of the workers and their hard-won gains against the attacks

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

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

#### WORK IN THE BOSS ARMY

Now that war is already raging and conscription is passed, it is false, as we stated in former documents, to view it on the grounds of "conscientious objections". We have already pointed out that we are not against all wars; workers are for their own class war against the capitalist system. Workers should be in no hurry to get conscripted but when the boss state inaugurates it, they should register, although they should take advantage of all prescribed possibilities of exemption (dependents, health, etc.); then if drafted for service, they must work within the boss army for their class struggle position. This means, as the F.W.L. document summarizes:

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

#### CLASS DIVISION IN THE BOSS ARMY

The struggle for the democratization of the boss army is of special importance as a means of emphasizing the class division of society, which also prevails in the armed forces of the bosses. The same boss-worker antagonism exists in the army. (1) The worker-private is under the strictest supervision

and must carry out all orders of the boss-officers and their military discipline, without questioning the policies of the officers. (2) This worker-private vs. boss-officer division obtains even in the social habits where no mixing of officers and privates is permitted. (3) The appointment of officers from the top, most of whom are bourgeois, who have the power of discipline is strongly undemocratic and illustrates the undemocratic nature of the entire society. The struggle for the democratic election of officers from the ranks is part and parcel of the struggle for workers democratic rights against the bosses and their armed force. (4) The pay differences again illustrate the class division, just as in industry. A private gets \$50.00 a month (according to the new law). Before it was \$21. But a general draws \$666 a month. (5) The same Jim Crow practices of the separation and abuse of Negroes exists as in capitalist society.

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

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

#### INCREASE IN CLASS DIVISIONS

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

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

## THE U.S. ARMY AND THE COLONIAL COUNTRIES

Already rumblings of revolt against American Imperialism's endeavor to "organize the world" have been manifested in North Africa and in Puerto Rico, particularly in the latter. As these revolts develop and intensify we who are in uniform will be increasingly called upon to beat down colonial uprisings. What is the task of the working class under such circumstances?

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

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

## THE ARMY AS A STRIKE-BREAKING FORCE

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

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

Particularly is this necessary when democracies of all types are endeavoring to set soldiers and sailors against workers in the factories. Workers who are in the armed forces should remember that the struggle conducted by the workers in the factories is being waged for them too. If the hours, wages, and conditions of the factory workers are smashed by the bosses the workers in uniform will not find that the bosses are going to give them any particular concessions when they are let out of the army. It is therefore up to the working class in uniform to support the struggle of their brothers in the factory. And it is equally up to the workers in the factories to counteract the vicious demagogy and expose the contemptible duplicity of the bosses

by supporting the soldiers and sailors in their struggle for equal pay and equal conditions with the workers in the factories. Incidentally, something that creatures such as Rickenbacker and others never mention: they are always willing to drive down the level of the factory workers to that of the armed forces, but we have never heard them suggest that the armed forces be raised to the level of the best paid factory workers.

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

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

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

## MAIN ASPECTS OF REVOLUTIONARY DEFEATISM

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

1. We not only wish for the defeat, but we WORK FOR THE DEFEAT of our own boss class. We do not wait till there are millions who are so engaged; but we point the way from the beginning and, no matter how few the forces, we work for such defeat and the victory of the workers.
2. We are for the defeat of the bosses, their government AND their armed forces. We are not merely for a change of government of one group of bosses by another; (even if the other is called a "labor" government): we want to smash the boss state and to do this we have to oppose and work for the defeat of their armed forces.
3. We are for such a policy even if it means the temporary "victory" of the "enemy" imperialists. We are not interested in the victory of one

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

#### THE POSITION OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONTACT COMMISSION

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### THE LESS ON OF FRANCE

Francis the clearest example of this. There the bosses yelled for national

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

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

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

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

Particularly important for us to remember in this connection is the way that Fascist and democratic capitalists cooperate with each other even while war is going on. All during the time that this war is raging when millions of American, English, German, Japanese workers are reddening the soil of five continents with their blood, the American, German, English, Italian, etc. bankers gather together around mahogany tables in Switzerland at the International Bank there and plan methods for coordinated action against all sections of the working class including "their own". Roosevelt attacks Vichy and calls out for liberty, equality, and fraternity, at the same time that according to the Washington Merry-Go-Round, by one stroke of the pen he increases the dollar value of holding of French Fascist bankers by 50%.

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

#### CLASS UNITY AGAINST NATIONAL UNITY

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

This is the lesson we must learn. CLASS AGAINST CLASS; TURN THE BOSS WAR INTO

#### A WAR AGAINST THE BOSSES!

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

#### THE SOVIET UNION, THE STALINISTS, AND THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING CLASS

The beginning of the end of the last war came in 1917, when the Russian when the Russian workers seized power and made use of that power for the purpose of spreading international working class struggle against capitalism and its imperialist war. Unfortunately the war weariness of the masses, and particularly the leadership of the treacherous social democrats, prevented the further extension of the working class revolution. As a result of this, of the isolation of the new workers' state, and of incorrect policies, Stalinism gained control of the Soviet Union. Endeavoring to catch on to the coat tails of first one and then the other imperialist group, Stalinism was finally put to the wall in 1941, with the Nazi invasion. Stalinism is organically incapable of waging a real struggle against imperialism. Only the overthrow of the Stalinist bureaucracy can lead to real working class triumph. To this overthrow we of the International Contact Commission have pledged ourselves. But this does not mean that we are against the Soviet Union. On the contrary we are for the real extension of the 1917 revolution. Let us take a popular analogy. At times of strike the reformist and centrists in the labor movement come out with the slogan that "you can't fight the leadership because a strike is going on". Our reply has always been that this is a time when the leadership must not only be fought but kicked out or else they will totally betray the struggle. By analogy this is our position today. We are for the victory of the Soviet Union. We are for the smashing of the Stalinist agents of imperialism.

#### PROGRAM OF INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY

In the above pages we have given a brief analysis of American militarism and its war plans and counter-posed a revolutionary program to achieve workers' victory. This is a program of international solidarity that has been tried and tested in the last war. Its application meant the end of the past war. It is the only way to stop this war, and to complete the job begun then, of overthrowing the capitalist system and its wars, dictatorship, misery and exploitation; and establishing the rule of the majority; the Workers Council Government based on Workers Control of Production for Use.

The International Contact Commission has sections in England, Germany, Australia, the United States, and has also sympathetic groups in many other



countries, all of whom carry on the struggle against their respective imperialisms. We call upon all workers to join with us to fight:

AGAINST BOSS WAR - - FOR CIVIL WAR!

AGAINST THE REPUBLICAN-DEMOCRATIC WAR PLANS!

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

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

FOR WORKERS DEFENSE CORPS; FOR ARMING THE PEOPLE!

FOR TURNING THE IMPERIALIST WAR INTO CIVIL WAR!

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

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

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

FOR THE NEW COMMUNIST (4th) INTERNATIONAL!