

*This Is Not  
Our War!*



**A Declaration  
by the  
Workers Party**

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## ***To the Working People of America:***

The German blitzkrieg has routed great armies and overthrown governments with a speed and completeness never before seen. France has been overwhelmed and few have any confidence that the British Empire will survive. Nazi successes have sent a thrill of horror and fear through the heart of every working man and woman in America. "Stop Hitler!" is the cry. For if he is not stopped, trades unions and workers' organizations everywhere will be destroyed. The workers will be reduced to starvation wages and slave conditions of labor. Jews will be driven once more into the ghettos and will have to scrub the streets under the whips of the storm-troopers. Negroes will be pushed still further into the slums and swamps of oppression and misery where they have lived so long. This is what Hitler's rule has meant wherever his cursed armies have conquered. Hitler must be stopped, for Fascism spares none. Every worker must steel his heart for a fight to the death against Hitler and all that he represents. But the war in Europe has taught us some terrible lessons.

We shall learn them or we shall perish.

The blitzkrieg, despite its suddenness and unexpectedness, is but a part of the Second Imperialist War. And the Second Imperialist War was neither sudden nor unexpected. It was openly and methodically prepared for before the eyes of the world. Its causes are as clear as the preparations which led up to it.

## **THIS IS AN IMPERIALIST WAR**

The Second Imperialist War is a continuation of the First which lasted from 1914 to 1918. The great powers had divided the world before 1914 between them, and when there was no more new territory to divide, they fought for each other's possessions. In 1929 came the great economic crisis, and, unable to recover from it, they prepared for war and are fighting again for the same reasons they fought in 1914. But today, after twenty-five years of almost unceasing crisis, Capitalism is so bankrupt that it can only wage war by slaughter, sacrifice, brutality and suffering on a scale far surpassing anything that the last war produced. Totalitarian government and blitzkrieg have not produced the hopelessness of Europe today. It is the hopelessness of Capitalism which has produced the totalitarian government and the blitzkrieg.

Yet today the now fearful power of the blitz-

krieg seems to overshadow all. If Hitler defeats Britain, all Europe will be at his mercy, and in those countries where he does not personally rule he will try to install Fascist governments. In Asia, he will assist Japan to conquer China. He will carve out a vast empire in Africa. Germany and the United States of America will then fight for control of the world market. As long as Capitalism lasts, these imperialist wars will continue.

But the victory of the Allies will not be the victory of Democracy. Following in the footsteps of France, Britain has already established a dictatorship. Should Britain be victorious, it will be only after a long hard struggle during which the British capitalist system in the main will become almost indistinguishable from that of Germany. Labor will have to remain in chains, or fight for workers' power.

## **THE WAR ENDS DEMOCRACY**

The ruin and devastation caused by the last war threw Europe and the world into such a condition that famine and pestilence killed millions. Revolutions broke out, and were bloodily put down in every country except Russia. In the condition that Capitalism was in before this war began, after a war waged by totalitarian methods on both sides, Capitalism in Britain and France, as elsewhere,

will be able to exist only by bloody dictatorship. Workers and farmers, in this grave hour when every joint of Capitalism is creaking and cracking, do not listen to the capitalists with their talk about democracy. They know what the future holds. Learn, and learn quickly so that you can prepare; for the capitalists are preparing.

How can workers in any country maintain their rights after a war? The American capitalists know that they will have to fight a victorious Germany and Japan for the profits of Latin-America and China. But they have now thoroughly learned the lesson that the blitzkrieg has taught. To win a totalitarian war requires a totalitarian state.

They know that under Capitalism the greater part of the funds for rearmament must come from the wages of the workers, and the extension of their hours of labor.

They have seen Hitler use sympathizers in Norway, Holland and Belgium to carry out his plans. To carry out their plans they will have to dominate Latin-America by armed force. This is the future. It is for this that Roosevelt, the agent of the Capitalist class, calls for billion after billion, not to defend democracy. Workers, look at France, look at Britain, and then say how much democracy will remain in America if the capitalists have their way.

The American capitalists today call all who oppose them members of the "Fifth Column." The Associated Farmers of California, notorious enemies of the workers, have declared a private war of their own on what they call "subversive activities" and they promise to persecute "Fifth Columnists" with, as they say themselves, an energy never before seen. Under the slogan of defending democracy they will drive down still further the pitiable living standards of the agricultural workers. That is what war for democracy means. That will be the fate of the whole working-class unless it opens its eyes on time. The signs are written in the sky for all to read.

We know that when the workers realize what the capitalists are doing, they will be compelled in self-defence to strike back. But many workers, particularly the Jews, in their fear of Hitler, feel that the working-class must submit to Roosevelt until at least Hitler is defeated. A bitter awakening awaits them. Roosevelt fears Hitler, but there is something that he and Churchill fear more than Hitler, and that is the organized force of the militant working-class movement. Shall we remain blind to the lessons of the last few years? Did the ruling-class of Britain and France do all that they could to defeat Hitler? Hitler was always a greater danger to British and French capital than he is to

American capital. Yet the British and French capitalists welcomed Hitler's coming to power. They allowed Mussolini to conquer Ethiopia. Rather than send arms to the Spanish workers and peasants they preferred to see Mussolini dominate Spain. Roosevelt passed a special law to prevent arms going to Spain. Britain, France, and America armed Hitler and Mussolini. Why?

They knew that Hitler was the last hope of German Capitalism. They knew that to overthrow Hitler would mean a Socialist revolution and perhaps workers' power in Central Europe. They preferred the danger of defeat by Hitler to the workers' revolution. For if Hitler defeated them, they could still keep some of their capitalist wealth and prepare to fight him again. But once they are defeated by the Socialist revolution as they were defeated in Russia, there is no more hope for them. Roosevelt knows this also. And though he may fight a desperate war with Hitler, at the first hint of social revolution either here or in Germany or elsewhere, Roosevelt or his successor will join with Hitler or some other representative of Hitlerism, to smash the working-class into the dust. Understand, then, the madness of surrendering our liberties to Roosevelt in the hope that he can be trusted to overthrow Hitler.



## **SOCIALISM IS OUR ONLY HOPE**

What then must we do? We must respond to the crisis of humanity with the understanding and the power demanded by the gravity of the hour. It is Capitalism which is dragging us down and we must strike at Capitalism. We must struggle for a new order of society, for Socialism. By Socialism we mean the taking over by the people of the great forces of production, steel, oil, coal, chemicals, and railways, from a few monopolists. We, the people, created them, we alone can create them, we must take them into our hands. The land must belong to the people again. We must form a workers' government which will control industry in the interests of the whole nation, and not in the interests of a few profiteers.

The workers have the strength to do it. And if only we can summon up the courage and organize ourselves, a glorious future awaits us. American agriculture alone can feed the whole civilized world, American cotton alone can clothe every living human being. American industry today can produce five times as much as the whole of Europe and in two years the whole of America's capacity to produce can be doubled. Starting here, we can change the world, if we have the vision and the will.

Look at Capitalism to-day. One-third of the

nation lives in rags and starvation, and now we must lose the little that we have in order to prepare destruction. At one stage of the last war the capitalists were destroying property at the rate of ten million dollars per hour. At the beginning of this war, the preparations alone were costing twelve times the preparations for the last war. Yet those are the alternatives; Socialism and progress; Capitalism and destruction. That is the choice. No worker who sees it can hesitate! We gain nothing by supporting Roosevelt. Let us inspire the stricken workers of Europe and the enslaved colonial peoples with the news of a powerful workers' movement in America that boldly raises the banner of Socialism. The despairing workers of Europe, the Indians and the Africans, the persecuted Jews, and the oppressed nationalities, Poles, Czechs, Scandinavians, Dutch, and Belgians, will lift their heads once more at the sound. That hour will mark the beginning of Hitler's end. With power in our hands, with our own democratic People's Army, with the tremendous industrial capacity unleashed by Socialism we can not only stop Hitler, but so destroy his system that no future Hitlers can ever arise again.

We are not alone. The British working-class, seventy per cent of the population, was only driven into accepting the totalitarian state because its

own labor leaders were given high places in the government. The French working-class is cowed, but it is not defeated. In Africa, one hundred million Negroes only need an example. The brave warriors of Ethiopia have never ceased to fight Mussolini. For years now, the Indian revolution of over three hundred million people has been held in check and betrayed at every critical moment by Gandhi, the representative of the Indian landlords and capitalists who fear the Indian masses much more than they hate British Imperialism. What greater inspiration could they have than the mighty working-class and farmers of America, the Negroes and the persecuted aliens, all banded together in the struggle for Socialism, for that peace, freedom and equality which only a new productive system can give. This system can come only by the organization of society on an international cooperative basis which will forever put an end to Imperialist war.

## **WHO ARE THE MISLEADERS?**

What leadership do the other workers' organizations offer to the great masses of the people in this crisis? The labor leaders, Lewis, Green, and Hillman, like their friends in Europe, think only of their comfortable jobs and their easy lives under Capitalism. In Italy, in Austria, in Spain, in

Poland, in Czechoslovakia, in the Scandinavian countries, in Britain, and in France, everywhere they refused to fight for Socialism, but joined with the capitalists in defending capitalist democracy. Look at the result. Must we in America join them in this insane folly, this attempt to defend what is doomed to destruction? No. Let us learn the lessons written in blood and tears across the continent of Europe during the last twenty-five years.

The democratic rights and privileges which are the life-blood of the workers cannot be maintained under Capitalism today. The labor bureaucrats have ruined millions of workers by claiming that this can be done. It is only by Socialism, by the change in the productive system, that the democratic rights of the workers can be maintained and extended. And the labour bureaucrats, instead of leading the fight for Socialism, act merely as agents of Capitalism in the working-class movement.

The Stalinists today have at last been found out for what they really are—paid agents of Stalin, serving the interests of the Moscow bureaucrats. As long as Stalin wanted an alliance with Britain, France, and America, the Stalinists supported Roosevelt and urged the workers to fight for capitalist democracy. But when Stalin chose to ally himself with Hitler, these agents of Russia

changed their policy. Today they pretend to be against the war. In reality they do all they can to assist Hitler's victory. When Hitler conquered Norway, he suppressed every working-class organization except the Norwegian Communist Party which issued a manifesto in his favor. Their opposition to the war is a deception and a trap.

Enemies of Socialism try to frighten the workers from the struggle by pointing to the crimes of Stalin in Russia. The Fourth International was first in the struggle against the greed and corruption of the Stalinist bureaucracy, and its agents, the Communist Parties of the Third International. But let us beware of confusing the crimes of Stalin with the heroic struggles of the Russian workers and peasants. Stalin's crimes have been directed chiefly against them and against all in Russia who opposed him. In Russia, imperishable achievements followed on the abolition of Capitalism. The whole world knows them. But Russia remains a state confined within national boundaries. She cannot lift the capitalist world surrounding her; instead the chaos and wars of Capitalism are dragging Russia down. One victory of the workers anywhere, and the Russian revolution will move forward again, sweeping away Stalin, Molotov, and all his other accomplices in the suppression of the Russian workers and peasants.

Meanwhile, we condemn the Hitler-Stalin pact with its shameful partition of Poland. We condemn the invasion of Finland and the Baltic States. We propose to the workers, both inside and outside Russia, to resist these and similar actions, which are hostile to the interests of the world revolution.

While Stalin has thus aided the victorious march of barbaric Fascism in Western Europe, Hitler tomorrow will turn on his Russian ally in order to plunder the rich resources of the Soviet Ukraine and destroy Soviet nationalized property. In such an event the rotten Stalin clique will be even less able to defend the Soviet Union than were the miserable rulers of imperialist France. The Russian workers and peasants, supported by the workers of other countries, can defend their country against Hitler and capitalist imperialism only by the relentless struggle for the overthrow of the Stalin regime and for socialist democracy.

## **THE FUTURE BELONGS TO LABOR**

Workers and farmers, it is upon us that the main burden always falls, heavier and heavier. We pay always in labor, and when war comes, in increased labor and blood. Our only salvation lies in resisting Capitalism at every step, in peacetime

as in war. We do this, not by sabotage, blowing up munitions factories, or by assisting the fascists to victory, as the Stalinists are doing. NO. Our method is the mobilization of ever-increasing groups of workers, giving them the vision to understand the crying necessity for Socialism and the mighty power of the workers to achieve it. The violence of Capitalism is opening the eyes of more and more workers every day. What system is this that can exist only by the periodical destruction of millions of men and billions worth of property? The reaction of the masses is sure to come. We who see the problem must ceaselessly and strenuously prepare for the triumph of Socialism. But we fight the capitalist class wherever we meet it, according to our strength. War may overwhelm us. We shall bend but we shall not break. And the harder and more fearlessly we resist Capitalism, the quicker we shall win. Let us then gird ourselves for the struggle. Onward to Socialism, without wasting energy and strength in trying to uphold the tumbling ruins of capitalism.

- 1. Not a man, not a cent for Wall Street's war. All war funds to the Unemployed.**
- 2. Against both Imperialist War Camps. For the Third Camp of World Labor and the Colonial Peoples.**
- 3. No Confidence in the Roosevelt Government. For a Worker's Government and a People's Army.**
- 4. Against Compulsory Military Training and Conscription.**
- 5. For full social, economic and political Equality for Negroes. End discrimination against Negroes in Industry and Trade Unions.**
- 6. For Peace Through Socialism. For the Socialist United States of the Americas, for the Socialist United States of Europe, for the World Socialist Federation.**

**NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE  
WORKERS PARTY (4th International)**