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**What Next in the  
Europe Blood Bath ?**

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**American Imperialism  
Prepares For Entry  
Into the War**

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Theoretical Organ of the  
INTERNATIONAL CONTACT COMMISSION

# INTERNATIONAL NEWS

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## What Next in the European Imperialist Blood Bath ?

(Editor's Note: The following documents were adopted by the Ninth Plenary session of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Workers League, U.S., a few weeks ago.)

### PLENUM REPORT OUTLINE

#### PERSPECTIVE OF THE AXIS POWERS

##### Part two:

The axis powers under the leadership of German imperialism have their own internal contradictions. The Italian campaign against Greece reveals this antagonism, which will grow as the war and destruction continues. More than circumstantial evidence shows that Hitler had warned Italy to go slow in relation to Greece. Furthermore, Japan as the new Imperialist signer to the "New Order", was supposed to declare war on any country at war with its axis partners. But in this case it politely refused and continues to carry on trade with Greece.

In Rumania a civil war is developing despite Hitler's troops. The weak hold and shifting position of class relations is at the bottom of this. A warped form of class struggle exists, similar to the June purge in Germany, of a conflict between the Hitler top forces and the disillusioned Iron Guard, who believed the demagogues about "Socialism". But within this structure a bitter behind the scene war between British and Axis forces proceeds; and this, too,

is clouded with a struggle between Italian and German forces. Many of the murdered Rumanian leaders are former Italian stooges. The Iron Guard faction under Hitler, are the assassins. Hitler wants to dominate at Italy's expense too.

#### CAN THE AXIS WIN THE WAR?

Up to the present, the military victories of German Imperialism have in no way fundamentally improved its position. On the contrary, these military victories have carried with them new and greater antagonism for the Axis. So, too, would a complete Axis victory in the war. But that will not take place, even though it is not theoretically excluded. We are of the firm opinion that before the Fascists will be able to bring the other imperialists to their terms in military victory, the outbreak of proletarian and national revolutions will alter the whole course of mankind, to say nothing of its effects upon the war.

#### THE FASCIST "NEW ORDER"

For the sake of argument, let us conceive of a German military victory against Great Britain before the next step toward Asia against American Imperialism and Japan. This

undisputed domination of the continent would be to no avail from an economic point of view. Hitler and all of his bourgeois economists of decay capitalism who oppose the theories of the bourgeois economists of developing capitalism, will be unable to economically consolidate this military victory. Fascism can no more organize the productive and distributive forces than developing capitalism. Its "organized" momentary control would be a hell hole of organized STARVATION for the masses, except for the military apparatus which would be fed better in body to compensate for its ghastly deeds required to fulfill the imperialist mission.

Special material on this question has already been issued by the PC.

### Part Three:

#### PERSPECTIVE OF THE U. S. BRITISH BLOC.

Although the United States has not formally declared war on any Axis power, its position in relation to Great Britain is similar in certain respects to that of Italy in relation to Germany just before Italy entered the war: that of being the supply agency for England. America's policy is dictated by its long range perspective to subordinate the British Empire to the Dollar and at the same time to prevent German Imperialism or any other power from replacing England in its former role against United States. Confronted with not a simple problem of yes or no: but a problem of more than one imperialist danger to its own imperialist ends, to say nothing of the social revolution, the United States must take a position that to some seems contradictory: of "supporting" her main imperialist rival. But this is similar to England's role in the Spanish Civil War and Germany's position in the Finnish conflict with the Soviets. America "supports" Britain like the noose the condemned man. Parallel action with the United States is undermining Britain more than all of Hitler's military victories.

#### A BRITISH VICTORY?

The set-back of Hitler in his plan to take the British Islands before the winter of 1940 gives England a breathing spell which some "experts" have multiplied into a British victory.

But a British victory as an outcome of the war is as remote now as it was when Hitler's troops were thundering across France. A United-States-Great Britain victory is theoretically possible, but it would be an empty victory. And above all a British survival after this war, as the British Empire in its position up to 1939, is excluded. The British Empire is doomed. The article in the International News, written on the eve of the war lays down the main factors in this respect:

#### THE BREAK-UP OF THE EMPIRE

The break-up of the British Empire as a world power, from the standpoint of the system of capitalism, will take place within three re-groupment orbits. The English speaking "white" dominions such as Canada, Australia, etc., and the possessions in the orbit of American Imperialism, will look to Wall Street for their salvation. India and other colonies of the oppressed darker races will endeavor to steer an independent course away from the white imperialists, but will inevitably fall under the sway of one or another power, while London, or what is left of the main cadre of exploiters will try to reconstruct some semblance of an Empire in collaboration with the Dollar, always hoping to make a come-back at the expense of the Uncle Shylock. The hope of these three groupings can only be realized if the proletarian and national revolutions are defeated in advance.

The British "union" with United States would only be a last resort to save something providing they could get a "fair deal". But once American Imperialism has England in such a tight trap, they need not give such concessions. They can scoop up the greater share of the Empire with little concessions.

The dollar, with the Pound under it, can only "organize the world" providing — they first defeat the axis powers, and then hurdle a greater obstacle. They must first defeat the revolutions the war is now preparing and will soon unleash. This two-fold task for the Dollar (and the Pound) is too great. They will not succeed. Furthermore, even after "victory", America can "reorganize" the world only on the basis of "organized want", scarcity on a far lower level than today.

Speaking of the present war status of the economic relations of American imperialism and the British, we can say that yesterday, the Dollar displaced the Pound but was unable in the last period to REPLACE IT, as the uniform for world trade. Today events have moved beyond that stage, but have not yet arrived at the point of the Dollar replacing the Pound. The Dollar now DOMINATES on a world scale but the unsettled situation that flows out of the imperialist war has postponed the question of whose currency (or which system) will DOMINATE at the end of the war. The Pound, at any rate, is just disappearing as a "free" currency.

As for American Imperialism, no matter which variant takes place its power can only be maintained against its own class antagonism by moving more and more to the right — to reactionary and more dictatorial measures. The move right will not be straight line. To the degree that the pressure of the working class increases, it will take on left zig-zags until the struggle between Communism and Fascism is also terminated in this country. In France the class pressure was great enough to threaten the exploiters. They therefore unified the movement through the Peoples Front. Because the working class did not move for a positive solution, a revolution, the class pressure soon produced Bonapartism at the expense of the exploited. This was followed by imperialist war and a capitulation to German Imperialism because the war disintegration again caused an upsurge. Fearing the proletariat more than Fascism, the Bourgeois Democrats surrendered.

### Part Three:

#### CAN CAPITALISM SURVIVE THIS IMPERIALIST WAR?

Regardless of the outcome of the war from the standpoint of the exploiters, the key question, which overshadows the question of exploiters' variants is—can capitalism survive? Let us dispel false hope and illusions on the part of the exploited masses, and at the same time explain facts that will encourage revolutionary optimism. Capitalism will survive the

present war — UNLESS THE WORKING CLASS OVERTHROWS CAPITALISM AND ESTABLISHES ITS OWN CLASS RULE.

Such a survival, on the basis of defeated social revolution (as the worst variant and most unlikely variant; but yet not an excluded variant), would not be capitalism in its present FORM. It would reveal capitalism in its most acute form of decay — therefore most severe forms of dictatorship against the toiling masses.

The most likely variant, as the outcome of the imperialist war is the emergence of a new social order, (Soviets and Socialism, as the decisive section of world economy. But this variant is possible only on the basis of the WILL TO POWER BY THE WORKING CLASS, OPPRESSED MASSES, and their VANGUARD, on the basis of revolutionary Marxism.

The destruction of productive forces and social progress is so great that even when the working class take power, they will have to materially start at the beginning to reconstruct Europe and other parts of the world destroyed by the greed of exploitation in the war. Capitalism in the war accelerates the rate of retirement of productive forces, besides the actual destruction of war. (See INTERNATIONAL NEWS, January, 1941).

Today the decisive question is not Fascism or Bourgeois Democracy — the main question is the struggle against our own exploiters as a whole, all sections — revolutionary defeatism. Within the framework, once this question is settled, then the question (secondary question) becomes the relation between Fascism and Bourgeois Democracy. In effect, this is only a symptom of the relation between exploiters and exploited, the exact level of class relationships. In other words, the relation of the struggle between Fascism and Bourgeois Democracy is predetermined by the fundamental relation underneath, of exploiters and exploited, of the class struggle between capitalists and workers.

Therefore, in its structure, the propaganda of the Marxists must TODAY explain clearly the DANGER OF FASCISM and its relation to bourgeois democracy, for tomorrow, in breakdown of revolution, the DANGER OF BOUR-

GEOIS DEMOCRACY taking power will become imminent with the overthrow of Fascist regimes. Bourgeois democracy will again try to off-set proletarian victories confronting the class. Let us consider one concrete example of this social fetishism. The military victories of German Imperialism are spreading the victory of Fascism throughout Europe TODAY; but tomorrow the revolution that the war will bring on will cause the exploiters to try to catch and waylay the workers with Bourgeois Democracy. The revolutionary Marxists must explain this inverted social phenomenon but always in relation to the real struggle of Communism vs. Fascism in decay capitalism, not Fascism vs. "democracy".

#### Part Four:

#### THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION

The intense economic conflict between the imperialists following the last world war, after they obtained a temporary stabilization on the basis of the defeated proletarian revolution, led to the imperialist conflict and war of 1939, as we predicted many years ago. This imperialist war will not be terminated by an "honorable bourgeois peace". On the contrary, the proletarian and national revolutions that the war is preparing will put an end to the war and an end to capitalism. The war is producing many weak links all the way from the colonial countries to the most developed capitalist countries.

We have already dealt with France at the last Convention. All that was said then holds true today. The process toward the new upheaval is being prepared by the war in spite of the French capitalists' attempt to avoid this by capitulating and "getting out" of the war. Italy's entry in to the war accelerated the disintegrating forces from within. Italy will be unable to withstand a severe strain or shock. It is another weak link in Europe.

In the break-up of the British Empire, India remains its most vulnerable spot. Within the British Isles, Ireland holds an unique position where a civil war, similar to Spain, will break out before the war is over. Our comrades of the Leninist League must coordinate

their work and extend it to other parts of the Empire in order that they may play an important role in this process of Empire disintegration.

If revolution breaks out in one of the smaller countries of Europe first, it must be extended to one of the larger weak links, such as France and Italy. Only on this basis will the revolutionists hold the key to Europe. Such a relation exists between Latin America and American Imperialism as pointed out in our material at the first convention. Revolution will sweep into Latin America even though these semi-colonial links may be able to stay out of the military phase of the war. The pressure already exerted on these countries by the war is giving American Imperialism a double task in its plans to police this area. The ICC contacts in this area, although of the highest importance are unfortunately small. In spite of this we hold a favorable position. If this force can be used as a bridge and coordinating force to enable the ICC to root itself in this area, one of our most important tasks will be accomplished. Our previous work in Spain is good capital for this work.

In the Asiatic area we are isolated, due to the continued blood purge. However, steps must be taken to remedy this. Not only are the colonies a favorable field, but Japan, the leading imperialist in this area is one of the weakest imperialist links in the world capitalist chain. As long as the Japanese military forces can confine their actions against colonial forces the real effects of the strain can be smothered for some time. But at the first critical turn in the war, when Japanese troops will have to face greater obstacles or first rate imperialist fighting forces, the internal regime of Japan will break and its social revolution will develop. It is highly important that the ICC be able to take part in this as well as in India as pointed out before.

The position of the Soviet Union under Stalinism is precarious. Historically Stalinism will be eliminated before the war and the revolutions following it are over. This theoretical position has been elaborated before. But to us it is highly important from a strategical point of

view for the extension of the October revolution, just **when** and **how** this comes about. One cannot speak of the extension of the October Revolution in the series of proletarian revolutions to come if one cannot answer the theoretical question of the status of the Soviet Union and Stalinism in relation to the question of October and its extension. Those who do not understand the relationship between Stalinism and the S. U., who confuse one with the other or who deny the class character of the Workers State will yet all be lumped together on the side of counter-revolution, directly or indirectly. (Remember 1917). In this respect the cadres of the ICC have a clearcut position and international agreement. Our position on the Soviet Union and on revolutionary defeatism will enable us to move toward proletarian revolutions and the Communist Fourth International upon firm theoretical ground.

German Imperialism and the United States now constitute polar opposites in the capitalist pattern of Fascism and bourgeois democracy, and both as leading powers in their respective fields represent the two keys to the reconstruction of society after this war. Neither one will be able to reorganize capitalism to its own liking, no more than the other lesser imperialists will be able to. Against the different plans of the capitalists the other (Second) camp, the proletarian camp has its plans. The fact that the ICC has its strongest sections, theoretically and organizationally in United States and Ger-

many will enable us to play a leading role in the drama of world revolution now in the making in the imperialist war. This is true of course only if we have the will to power, if every central committee member and every member and sympathizer is equal to the task. History has placed a tremendous task upon revolutionary Marxist shoulders. Our duty is to strengthen the International Contact Commission. Our forces in underground Germany are the most powerful revolutionary section in that country. This in turn gives us a key position in the revolutions that will sweep Europe.

Many think that the United States will be able to weather the storm. That is the propaganda the Dollar diplomats are putting out, but history will reveal the fallacy of this concept just as soon as the first important revolution breaks, no matter where it moves forward first. While it took about two years for the repercussions from the October Revolution to have serious effects in the United States, in the present epoch it will only be a matter of months before the impact will be felt, an impact that will be far greater than any previously felt in this country. We must prepare now to be equal to the task. Above all this preparation TODAY must be based upon the line of revolutionary defeatism. Our main enemy is at home—the American Imperialists.

11-30-40.

# American Imperialism Prepares For Entry Into the War

## I — THE OBJECTIVE SITUATION

After one year of imperialist war the harvest on which American Imperialism has been banking has begun to come in. The United Kingdom, Germany, Italy, and Japan are eating up their resources at an unprecedented rate. More than half the total incomes of all these powers are being spent on the carnage. In addition vast stores of wealth are being destroyed through the war itself. The blockade has seriously hampered the trade of the various powers, all to the tremendous advantage of the U. S.

A few figures are very revealing. Despite the war blockade which cost America almost all of the European market, American exports in the year ending August 30, rose by 37% over the preceding year, totaling 4 billion, 16 million dollars. Exports to Latin America have increased by 42.4%. And exports to South America — as distinguished from the total Latin American area — have increased by 58%. In May and June of this year America, for instance, exported almost as much finished steel as in the whole year of 1917. The US had a favorable balance of trade of one billion three hundred million, 600 million better than the year before.

That is not all. American inroads into the vast British Empire are equally significant. Sales of radios in India, for instance, rose by 100%. Sales to Canada, New Zealand, Australia, etc., rose likewise. In many instances sales in certain commodities were increased by thirty to forty times those of the preceding year. Russia was another large buyer of American goods in this period. And of course, over and above all, the biggest buyer has been Britain.

Politically this factor has been manifested in many directions. Latin America is more under American domination than ever before. Besides the bases gained in the Caribbean Sea, Uncle Sam is gaining use of bases on both oceans from nations all the way down to Uruguay. A whole system of finance and politics is being worked out whereby America finances the war preparations and new productive efforts of Latin America in return for almost complete hegemony. Most significant of the "changes" in attitude to the U.S. recently has been the complete subordination of both major groups of Mexican puppets to the wishes of Wall Street.

There is a tendency also in the British colonies of leaning more and more on the goliath of capitalism, and of slowly breaking the bond with the London hierarchy. The sending of a full-fledged envoy from Australia to the U. S. and vice versa is a straw in the wind. Reports from our comrades of the Militant Workers League of Australia give many more such straws (see their recent letter published in the International News).

The United States role, therefore, of waiting for the other powers to exhaust themselves — this policy and the capitalists who stand by it, have already won the first major victory of the battle in Europe. American power is today stronger than at any stage in history. Profits in the first nine months of this year were over 50% higher than in the same period last year. Future profits will be even more formidable.

## II — REORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN ECONOMY AND POLICY FOR A LAST MINUTE ENTRY INTO THE WAR

Behind the diplomatic "big stick" of Uncle Sam — a "big stick" which has been waving menacingly at Japan in the East and has brazenly flouted the Axis powers in Europe by its increasing participation in the war — behind this "big stick" stands a firm foreign policy strom itself and not at all ready to flinch from oriented definitely on moving into the mael-war under any appeasement formula. Three things can upset the present position of Uncle Sam:

1. A quick victory by Germany this spring (and English victory is excluded for the moment.) In this respect Britain won a big victory when Germany failed to invade England this autumn; but the American victory was far greater. **Impending** collapse of Britain would have the same effect.

2. A Japanese military drive southward toward the West Indies.

3. A social revolution on any continent.

In preparation for these eventualities American economy and its domestic policies are being geared to the new condition. A whole series of steps are being taken.

### I — In the economic sphere:

- a) expansion of plant facilities; this is meeting with opposition in certain industries, like steel where great fear of the future is expressed, the future when the war is over and munitions are no longer needed; and is being hailed by such industries as aluminum which can with the new government subsidies drive a deep wedge of a permanent character into related industries — like steel.

- b) giant subsidies to the capitalists in the form of 14 billions of war orders. The subsidies take on many forms but their effect is all the same — a shot in the arm to American capitalists.

- c) modification of the tax structure and new devices being prepared so that the next wave of taxes will affect the big capitalists as little

as time goes on.

- (4)—Speed-up of building of patriotic labor groups within the labor movement, such as the groups in many reactionary unions to "weed out communism".

- (5)—Control of the foreign born, already instituted by the national registration.

- b) A major struggle against the impending strike wave: A very important measure being contemplated at present in this respect is the creation of 160,000 enforcement officers against labor to protect war projects. This figure is probably outside the figure of the new state "home guards" being established likewise to be used primarily to keep civil peace.

- c) Propaganda for national unity, both open and blunt and hidden and confusing, such as that mouthed by the reformist agents of capitalism, is being greatly increased.

- d) continue the anti-trust prosecutions, against the opposition groups, while laying the basis for bigger monopolies — that is of putting enough threats and pressure in certain areas:

- (1)—Control of the trade unions through the labor bureaucracy. Of note in this respect is the pledge by the AFL "not to strike on government war projects," and the CIO pledge abstractly to aid national war rearmament.

- (2)—Legislative measures to limit the right to strike. Various proposals at present include giving 30 day notice (time to get in thugs and strike breakers, time for the national reactionary leadership to "tone down" the militants, etc.), giving up draft exemptions, etc.

- (3)—The internal passport of the draft will be an increasing halter around labor's neck, as possible — for instance the new amortization program for writing off large amounts on new investments in means of production, etc.

- d) step toward insuring dollar domination no matter who wins the war.

### 2 — In the political sphere:

- a) a witch hunt against labor and its vanguard. Greater control of labor through government regulation. This will take on many and diverse forms. They will include, how-

places so that the capitalists affected would pay not to have certain legislation carried or certain action taken. Needless to say the anti-trust prosecution will be continued against trade unions.

e) greater centralization of power in the government.

### 3—In the military sphere:

a) a whole network of war preparations, stretching from provisions to draft workers into the army, to naval bases all over the globe, to new military roads from Alaska to Brazil, to preparations to build 50,000 planes, to use of Singapore, etc. In this connection we must point out that the present plans are still amorphous, subject to many changes, especially the draft law which very likely will see more stringent amendments as time goes on.

## III—THE EFFECT OF THE WAR ON AMERICAN CAPITALISM

The present prosperity for the few is the forerunner of the most devastating crises in all American history. The basis for the greatest imaginable dislocation of economic forces has already been laid. Let us take a look at some of these:

a) Heavy industry has reached its peak. The government's insistence on new plants to produce new war (destructive) goods, augurs a period when these same plants AND MANY MORE will have to be put out of production. In the decay stage of capitalism, the general law (outside of war periods) is the overproduction of capital that can find no outlet and constant retirement of heavy goods productive forces. The greater the investment today, the more plants and new machines, THE MORE IDLE MEN AND IDLE CAPITAL AND IDLE LAND THERE WILL BE AT THE TERMINATION OF THE WAR. The 1932 level of decay is bound to be exceeded many many times; the number of unemployed will inevitably rise far beyond the 1932 period.

b) America's new role as the main world banker, with England's loss of its century-old role, carried with it the staggering consequen-

ces where Uncle Sam must fall with the fall of its "depositors". The majority of loans today are uneconomic ones; in reality subsidies, instead of a sound banking venture to a tottering world structure. On the heels of already defaulted loans to Latin America the U.S. today is sending good money after bad to keep its political influence. The same is true in relation to China, etc.

c) America's export business can be sustained ONLY by financial subsidies from the American government. And that will be far more true after the war. As a major producer of all three types of exports — raw materials, finished goods, and capital — America can not hope to have the other countries repay her. It is merely a question in the last analysis of the good government giving loans to foreign importers who use the money to buy back the goods of American producers; in a word it is just another form of subsidy — and even subsidies to capitalists are not inexhaustible; their inevitable result is greater debt, higher taxes, price fixing, lower wages and longer hours.

d) The gold reserve, while it will be an excellent political weapon to wring concessions from the rest of the world, in the long run means that other powers will be unable to buy American goods. It means that America must either extend a policy of indirect subsidies, with all it entails, or watch the world currency situation descend into chaos.

## IV — THE INTERNAL CAPITALIST RELATIONSHIPS

The critical situation in world affairs and the critical days ahead for American imperialism have served to consolidate a number of forces in the United States. The war orders, and the 50% increase in profits have created a temporary lull — or rather have submerged the hostilities between the opposing capitalist groups. But the next sharp turn of events will bring this conflict out ever more violently.

In the main two groups exist. Both are naturally for American penetration into foreign areas, for world conquest. Both are for "aid"

to England. The methods merely differ. A third group, now a minority, is the "appeasers". A fourth group is the "isolationists".

The first two groups (Roosevelt — Morgan — Rockefeller — Willkie). One group is in favor of an aggressive imperialist policy, which tries to avoid entry into the war but which knows sooner or later this will take place, with Britain as a second rate partner. The other two lesser groups are more insistent on a hands off policy in the European war, fearful of the world revolution; they favor concentration of the main energies of the U.S. to smash revolt and for that purpose advocate if necessary, some compromise measures with the victor in Europe.

Within the "interventionists" there are a number of cleavages, primarily between the two most powerful capitalists, the group who supported Willkie (the Morgan crowd) and those who supported Roosevelt (Rockefeller, etc.). The bitterness and vitriol — it was the filthiest campaign in dozens of years — was the result of merely a struggle between two sections of the same foreign policy groups for power.

The Willkie forces took most of the appeasers along with them; but the appeasement group was not the dominant factor in the Willkie campaign; it merely chose Willkie as a lesser evil. Within the "appeasement" group are such diverse elements as the reactionary Chicago Tribune group and many so-called liberals, with the Stalinists playing a tail. The appeasers may yet play a big role in American politics.

Basically of course, besides the diverse economic interests reflected in the various capitalist groupings and sub-groupings, there are the differing estimates of class relations, the differing methods on how to fight the proletariat, etc. It can generally be predicted that as the class relations sharpen or ameliorate, inner-capitalist relations will take a similar turn. That is the determining factor. In the next period, quite obviously, (although it may smoulder for a while) the capitalist schism are

bound to increase; the present groupings may create a new political regroupment, with splits from the present parties, new parties, and new methods. The proletariat and its vanguard must watch this internal struggle closely, however, so that it can parry the various forms of demagoguery used by all the new groupings (and the old) to swing the workers to their side.

## V.—RELATIONS BETWEEN THE CLASSES

As usual the American class relations lag behind Europe's, but the same tendencies of "Europeanization" are present: while long periods are being telescoped in American experience into a few years. Bourgeois reformism, which took the helm only eight short years ago, is still entrenched in power. The economic phase of the Europeanization took a rapid stride with the permanent army of millions of unemployed. This was followed up politically by the shift of the center of gravity from the Farmer-Labor, social reformist, opposition to the Labor (American Labor Party) opposition with the farmer trailing behind this set-up. Now the draft has brought this Europeanization to its military phase. It will now blend into the one phase and move more rapidly toward open class struggle. But this bourgeois reformism is moving rapidly into the next stage—war dictatorship (and if the workers seriously threaten the capitalist rule soon, even into a stage of Bonapartism). The whole European period in which the social-reformists had the upper hand may be telescoped in the United States into a period of months, just prior to a possible Bonapartist rule or during dual power.

The American proletariat after the last war took some sharp strides forward based on the revolutionary momentum abroad. In certain areas class-consciousness reached the stage where even embryo soviets were functioning. During the "golden twenties" — with the defeat of the world proletariat — class relations became temporarily "stabilized". In 1930-32 a renewed awakening of the class took place primarily in the unemployed field (and to a lesser extent in a few isolated militant strikes). In 1936-37 another giant strike wave engulfed

Today with war orders seeping into industry, with a small number of unemployed going back to work and the fate of the others — who at best worked only 8 or 9 months every year — slightly improved, but the fate of the majority even worse, a new strike wave is imminent the country. But it remained on a low economic level, even though it was very militant and based on a "new" revolutionary weapon, the sitdown strike.

The war needs of American imperialism dictate that stern measures shall be taken to check any such development, that steps be taken to limit strikes, keep wages "within reason", etc., and this too may aggravate the situation. Undoubtedly the next strike will see a great politicalization of the class, since it will be more closely connected with the capitalist state which is now the biggest purchaser of commodities in the nation. Steps to use the "yellow ticket" issued by the draft board, steps to invoke the draft laws themselves to break strikes undoubtedly will be considered; these too contribute to the politicalization of the coming struggles.

The uneasiness of the proletariat is already being used by the BOURGEOIS opposition — the Willkie - John Lewis - Stalinist forces — to embarrass the Roosevelt administration. Lewis and the Stalinists (Lewis still has great influence within the CIO even though he relinquished his presidency) are organizing this sentiment. The clearest example of this was the Vultee strike in which Stalinist Wyndham Mortimer played the key role. As in 1936-37, however, the masses may break the bounds set for them by the reformists, may get out of their hands, temporarily at least.

Meanwhile the AFL bureaucracy prepares to step in to fill the breach. At its New Orleans convention it pledged no strikes on the war projects. Through this and other actions it is gradually placing itself on solid ground with the White House in preparation for playing the key role within labor in establishing "class peace." Mr. Roosevelt is playing many cards at one and the same time. Within both organizations he has key leaders working for unity, no strikes on war projects, and class peace —

people like Tobin, Dubinsky of the AFL and Hillman of the CIO. But should the efforts of these people fail to achieve the necessary unity of the labor fakers, Roosevelt is prepared to swing his weight to the AFL in its avowed strike-breaking policy.

Rumors that Phillip Murray, new CIO president, is preparing a large organizational campaign, especially in the aviation industry, may emphasize what we have already stated: that the masses are beginning to stir again and that this labor faker — like his boss Lewis in 1935 — has his ear to the ground and is prepared to get the fullest advantage out of this development.

The working class today is sadly demoralized on political questions; it is confused on such questions as patriotism to finish the war efforts; it is silent although in opposition to the draft laws and conscription; it is overwhelmingly opposed to war, but it has only a few pacifist leaders to voice this opposition. Nevertheless on the economic question of bread and butter — with wage increases as usual sadly trailing rising costs of living — on this question it is determined to fight. That fight is now in its first stages. Should it break all shackles being placed on it and develop in intensity it will lead to Bonapartism, if unsuccessful, or possibly to people's frontism if it proves too successful, or to the present ENGLISH variety of people's frontism. The Roosevelt regime will slide over smoothly into its planned war dictatorship only if the strike movement can be arrested in its first stages. That will be a difficult task to accomplish.

#### VII — THE PERSPECTIVE AHEAD

The Marxists in America and their organization are sadly isolated from the class. To a certain extent the RWL must take part of the blame for this. But in the main it is still the pressure of objective events and their effect on the revolutionary movement which determine this isolation. But as the political education of the masses increases in the next period the gap will be narrowed, the Marxists will be able to penetrate deeper.

The next wave of revolutions will make itself felt in America within a far shorter period than after the October Revolution. The Revolutionary Workers League is singularly fortunate in that it is part of the International Contact Commission which has a strong base in Germany, a key country for world revolution and to a lesser extent in many other European, Asiatic and Latin American countries. This first elementary step in international unity will be a vital factor in the revolution here at home.

The tasks ahead — in this most favorable objective period in all history for the development of world revolution — will not materialize automatically. It remains for the RWL to play a key guiding role in this process. In the great dialectic of life, this small, numerically almost insignificant force, can — if it measures up to its tasks and its correct political program — **within the next few years** be the determining factor in American society.

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