

# INTERNATIONAL NEWS

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# Wall Street Over the Balkans

In the multiplicity of important events, military, diplomatic and internal, of the past few weeks, one theme is obvious and paramount. That is the role of American Imperialists as the MAIN driving force in the present blood-bath.

The events of this last month have illustrated more poignantly than any amount of theoretical gibberish to the contrary, the basic writings of the International Contact Commission, and its separate section on the character of America's imperialist aspirations. While the whole labor press everywhere underestimated the war-like role of the United States, the comrades of the ICC, and especially of its American section, the Revolutionary Workers League, repeatedly emphasized that the USA had more at stake in the coming redivision of the earth than any other imperialist power.

We pointed out that the so-called "peaceful" policies of the Roosevelt administration were merely smoke screen to veil this basic policy as the main driving force for war; how "the open door in Asia" was merely a convenient form for giving the U.S. the decisive booty in the Orient through her vastly more efficient economic structure; how the "good neighbor" policy in Latin America was merely a formula for excluding the other imperialists and consolidating the strength of the "Yankee" colossus in the territory south of the border. How the ravings for the "status quo" and "peace" were mere shams for the continued economic undermining and enslavement of the nations of the earth by the strongest economic power, the U.S.A.

But the shams, the smoke screens and the lies are now being laid aside. The role of America is visible now in its naked imperialistic character. Let us examine it in greater detail.

## JUGOSLAVIA

When the Yugoslav army completed its coup d'etat, placed its youthful king nominally at the helm and mobilized its forces for the conflict with Germany in a remarkably sudden about face, Mr. Winston Churchill presented

this as proof that "Yugoslavia has recovered its soul." Put more plainly that means that the union of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes has once again decided to align itself on the side of Britain and America.

Jugoslavia is a country about 40% the size of Germany proper. Over 85% of its population is engaged in agriculture. 27 million acres are cultivated with wheat, rye, barley, corn, grapes, etc. It is the largest producer of copper, a vital war commodity, in Europe. It also contains quantities of coal, bauxite, chrome ore, etc. In 1938 fully 59% of Yugoslav imports came from Axis countries, and fully 63% of her exports to countries now under German domination or in alliance with it. What possible incentive therefore could there have been for this last minute shift of relations?

Britain not only was not making any progress up to now in wooing the Slavs but was meeting with one setback after another. It seems obvious that the only power on earth that could have been instrumental in shifting the Serbian alliance was Uncle Sam, especially now that the Lend Lease bill passage permits of gigantic gifts to "allies of the democracies."

Two important facts confirm this thesis: 1—The news that Col. "Wild Bill" Donovan, President Roosevelt's personal emissary to Europe, asked the British, after he had spoken to Serbian leaders, to send troops to Greece with the advice that they could expect Yugoslav support; 2—The rapid message of congratulations to King Peter by Pres. Roosevelt and the quick promises of vital aid.

No, Jugoslavia has not "found her soul". Her new puppet capitalist government has merely changed the allegiance of the former rulers. It now serves a master in Wall Street instead of one in Wilhelmstrasse. Within the nation the pro-axis grouping, have been defeated by the pro-American grouping. The workers and peasants had no share in the change of allegiance. The army officers used the general mass discontent as a fig-leaf for

their rise to power. They were ably aided by the Stalinists and Peasant Party leaders.

The Yugoslav workers and peasants, however, will fare no better under Anglo-American domination than under German domination. They are mere puppets in a vast world conspiracy for conquest. Under the present regime the struggle for the "independence" of Yugoslavia means only the right to pay tribute to an American (and British) master, rather than an Axis master. They can have as little interest in defending the present Serb regime as the 1914 regime. The revolutionists in Yugoslavia today, as in 1914, will work not for the victory of the Anglo-American imperialists and their Yugoslav capitalist lackeys, but will uncompromisingly work for the defeat of this imperialist bloc, as the German comrades work for the defeat of Germany. The only Yugoslavia worth defending is a WORKERS COUNCIL Yugoslavia. To defend any other Yugoslavia is to defend slavery, imperialist domination and death.

### THE WORLD BLOCKADE

Armed with the powers of the Lend-Lease bill, the Roosevelt government has taken unprecedented steps to further its war aims. Probably the most important of these steps is the seizure of all Axis vessels in the United States. This was followed not only by seizures in Latin America but by confiscation even of German airplanes and hangars in Peru. Undoubtedly this line of march will be extended. Its effect is to supplement the British naval blockade and to make the continental blockade a WORLD blockade. The end result can be only the complete elimination of axis trade from ALL the sea-lanes of the world.

There are very few steps left before TOTAL participation in the war. The U.S.A. already is the main supply base for money, ships, tanks, food and material of all sorts; it possesses the decisive diplomatic weight in the war; it has bottled up all credits belonging to the Axis; it has begun the actual confiscation of "enemy" property; the only moves that possibly remains are the convoying of ships, which can be expected this summer; the confiscation of all the wealth of Germany, Italy, (and possibly) Japan in the Western hemisphere; and actual military measures in Europe and Asia.

### THE U. S. IN THE BALKANS

The changed situation in the Balkans is also to a large measure due to the intervention of American Imperialism. The stiffened backbone of Greece and Turkey followed immediately on the passage of the aid bill in America. The new Russo-Turkish pact and the "democratic" paper government in London and proposed Russo-Yugoslav-Turkish pact likewise indicate that lavish promises of help — the loosening of the gold pocket of Uncle Sam in Kentucky — were the key in forcing these moves.

Probably the outstanding change in the Balkans, however, is the role of the Stalinists and the Soviet Union. The temporary agreement between Hitler and Stalin is reaching a turning point due to the new role of American Imperialism vs. the Axis. The Soviets were forced to agree to the German seizure of Bulgaria. The fact that Stalin protested mildly AFTER the event — and then to Bulgaria, not to Germany — seems to indicate that the behind the scenes agreement was not carried out to Stalin's liking and as a face-saver Stalin "protested". At any rate the concessions that Germany can give Russia, now that the United States is stepping in, are not as hopeful as before. The Dardanelles are too vital to permit the Soviet Union to take them over. Hitler wants the Dardanelles for Germany. The basic **political** as well as economical and geographic, conflict between Germany and the Soviets, thus grows more imminent.

For the working class this is a vital matter. First of all because an attack against the USSR — even with Stalinism at the helm — is an attack against the world revolution, against socialist (Transition Economy) property relations. The liquidation of these property relations and the destruction of the Red Army would be a big blow to further proletarian struggles.

Another aspect of this matter, however, is the part that the Stalinists in every country in the world will play, should Stalin make a COMPLETE shift away from Hitler. The Stalinite parties then would outdo even the socialists in climbing on the social-patriotic bandwagon in the allied countries. Every Stalinite that now pays lipservice to pacifism and "against the war" in the United States, Britain and elsewhere, would then become finger-man against the revolutionists, would take the lead

in stopping strikes, etc. The revolutionists and militant unionists must keep this contingency in mind in their day to day activity. One must not confuse Stalinism with the Soviet Union.

### **WHAT IS THE AMERICAN STRATEGY?**

In making all these promises of aid, in dispensing billions of dollars to the American allies in Europe, the United States is doing so with a definite strategy in mind.

The GENERAL strategy is two-fold. First and foremost as a long range perspective to keep the proletarian revolution from developing, and to "organize the world" to Dollar needs. Even though its work in this regard is going on quietly behind the scenes, the scope of American intervention against proletarian revolution will be made much clearer with each passing month—especially when revolutions begin to break out. Just as the U.S. was able to shield for a time her imperialist aspirations behind talk of peace, only to replace that with more open imperialist steps today; so the American capitalists today are revealing very few of their plans against the Proletarian Revolution. Tomorrow, however, the full force of American machinery — use of the Pope, the gold reserve, Red Cross feedings, military intervention and subsidies to all sorts of "democratic" paper governments in London and New York and dictatorships when necessary — will be brought to the fore.

The second aspect of this strategy, as the short range of immediate perspective, is one of defeating Germany's latest march for empire, while at the same time undermining the British empire.

The immediate strategy of Uncle Sam, flowing from this general strategy, thus is composed of the following points:

1—To give Britain just enough aid to insure that Germany will not defeat the Empire, but at the same time not enough material aid to make a decisive English victory possible—in other words to force the further exhaustion of both powers; to completely subordinate the Pound and the Mark, etc., to the Dollar.

2—To attempt to make the Pacific an American lake, without placing too much "defense" of Asia upon Uncle Sam's shoulders. The trips of American destroyers to Australia and New Zealand and the increasing support

to China are part of this strategy. While keeping England busy defending itself on the continent, and Japan in China, etc., the United States hopes to gain the lion's share in the struggle for Asia. England is thus forced to release greater numbers of troops and ships for her Asiatic colonies. She is fearful that a changed relationship of forces between English and American armed might in Asia may result—when and if Japan is submerged—in the reduction of England to a distinctly secondary power in the Orient.

3—To force the present battle into a fight on two fronts, rather than a fight on one front. In speaking of "two fronts" we do not mean just geographic fronts—although the U.S. is anxious that besides the battle over England and Africa, that the war be intensified in the Balkans, so as to draw in Russia and Turkey; but we mean also on two POLITICAL fronts. The U.S. is anxious to involve the Red Army in the present struggle.

This third point needs a few words of clarification. Should Germany feel that defeat is inevitable she can undoubtedly come to an agreement—at a certain stage of the war — with the United States and Britain, to change her course, to drop the battle against England in favor of a drive towards the USSR. (Should England be losing, the same course would be open to her.) In return the Allies would undoubtedly offer large concessions. But this stage has not yet been reached. Nevertheless all the imperialists understand that as long as the Soviet Union stands it remains a reserve to help revolutions even though Stalinism will try to smash these revolutions. The workers in the Red Army are saturated with an instinctive and well-defined urge for the extension of the October Revolution. Even should the Red Army disintegrate—as it will with Stalinism at the helm—a large sector of the workers and the Red Army will be able to break away from Stalinism and give aid in more than one form. The workers in the Red Army have behind them an experience in revolution and a tradition. The American imperialists and the others are most anxious that this large reservoir of world revolution shall be decimated and exhausted before they oust Stalinism and before revolt breaks out in capitalist colonial countries. By pushing the war closer to Soviet borders and eventually involving the Soviet Union in a struggle against Germany, the United States thus hopes to kill two birds

with one stone, at one and the same time to exhaust her imperialist enemy, Germany, and the army of the Workers State.

## **THE U. S. AND PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION.**

All the reckoning of Uncle Sam, however, may be a reckoning in the clouds. Many things are going on behind the lines that are far more important than the military struggles.

In Syria revolt has broken out in at least two cities. The French capitalists have given a number of paper concessions—an advisory assembly, a new government, etc.—in order to stop the movement. But food riots still continue.

In the United States a strike wave unparalleled in recent American history is spreading from one factory to another—the giant Ford Rouge metropolis, Bethlehem Steel, Harvester, Allis-Chalmers, etc. The temper of the masses can be gauged by the fact that the governor of Wisconsin was stoned by the Allis-Chalmers strikers and his car windows smashed when he attempted to talk to them. This is the first time such a thing has happened in at least 20 years. It is an indication of the temper of the proletariat, even though its struggles are as yet purely on an economic level — the struggle for higher wages.

In Norway, Holland and other occupied areas revolt smolders. Strikes and organized mass sabotage continue to harrass the Nazis.

In Italy the military defeats have had wide repercussions. A deep schism is developing

within the bourgeoisie. Whole hordes of capitalists are in opposition to the ruling fascist clique, the Mussolini forces. Many are openly in opposition. Hundreds have fled to Spain and elsewhere to organize a revolt against the present fascist leadership and to make a separate peace with England. It is not excluded that before long Italy may change colors very much as France did last year, although Germany has a strangle hold in Italy at the moment. The differences WITHIN the bourgeoisie, caused by economic strains in war, were big factors in causing the defeats in Albania and Africa. The whole economic apparatus is being disrupted, inefficiency at home impairs the fighting abilities abroad. But more than all this, the struggle within the bourgeoisie undoubtedly reflects seething class movements. They augur large scale upheavals in the very near future.

To sum the whole development of the war in the past few weeks, therefore, we come to following the dialectical propositions.

The war draws in more and more participants, and increases the amount of participation of each belligerent (open or otherwise). Roosevelt and Hitler proceed to destroy, to sabotage, social wealth on an unheard of scale. At the same time the war draws out with every passing day the revolutionary actions of the working class, and brings ever nearer mass upsurges, due to the economic and social disintegration caused by the exploiters war. Capitalist destruction of men and material is laying the basis to turn the imperialist war into a civil war.

## PROBLEMS OF THE GERMAN REVOLUTION

Since the fall of Paris the theme of the coming German revolution has almost entirely disappeared from the realm of international political discussion. This indicates that many so-called Socialists—without admitting it to themselves or others—have been expecting the realization of a social overturn in the Reich less as the result of the German proletariat's fighting powers than as a result of the allied armies. It is readily seen that such an event would be of purely negative significance in the case of the outbreak of a revolution in Germany. But the question that must be answered now is this: can such a conclusion be to a certain extent justified (i. e., that only German defeat by allied armies can create revolution)—is the defeat of Germany the only means for creating a revolutionary situation in Germany—are there not other conditions to be considered?

It must first of all be stated that the preconditions for a German revolution are arising and will arise as a result of the long duration of the war. In their decisive phase these prerequisites will be born out of the internal political situation, resulting from the inner contradictions of the capitalistic system. But in their phase of development they may appear as the result of the foreign political complications of this second imperialist world war for the re-division of the earth.

Today the following tendencies are noteworthy:

- (1) Possibility of rivalry with Italy.
- (2) Difficulties in maintenance of the defeated people, desire for triumph and revenge by the defeated bourgeoisie and revolutionizing of the workers in the occupied lands:
- (3) Armed conflict with the Soviet Union.
- (4) Collapse of the present social order as a result of the necessary increase in armaments for the decisive conflict with America.
- (5) Difficulties in the change from war to peace economy.

### RIVALRY WITH ITALY

Thus far Italy has had to content herself

with the role of a poor second. Italy's industrial capacity is far below that of Germany. Hitler takes advantage of Italy because of her favorable geographical location for German plans. Control of the Mediterranean, especially by occupation of both control ports, Suez and Gibraltar, offers the possibility of extending the "New Order" from Europe to the rich colonial lands and semi-colonies of Africa and Asia and to organize these countries as exclusive German areas of loot. In this aim of German imperialism (not this time for a new **division** of the war booty, but to gain it for its own exclusive use) lies the probability of a conflict between German and Italian capitalism for the occupation and looting of the conquered countries and peoples, even if they succeed in establishing their victory definitely. A joint sphere of influence, such as naive political experts dreamed about for a time in the Balkans, is possible only in a transition period at this present stage of monopoly capitalism. A gentlemen's agreement between the big robbers collapses at the first sign of a crisis. Can it be that the Italian fascists do not understand this? Of course they do—their heretofore fruitless efforts to set up their own sphere of influence in the southern Balkans and North Africa at Britain's expense clearly shows that. Italy's real interests lie less in a total victory for Hitler's Germany (which would mean for Italy subjection to Berlin, trifling profits, and political dependence) than in waiting for the emergence of certain difficulties in the third Reich, which would furnish the axis with more equal weight. As soon as this occurs, Mussolini, the old "Realpolitiker", will place himself on whichever side has the biggest possibilities for success, so long as this does not upset his military situation in the Mediterranean. Despite the undreamed of superiority of the Germans, which is again demonstrated by the pitiful miscarriage of the Greek campaign, the Italians hope for an equalization of their forces — and should this equalization not come about by German defeats in the struggle with England, then the Italians must support themselves with a Latin bloc in the coming organization of Europe — under Italy's hegemony and the leadership of

Laval and Franco this bloc would attempt to set up a counterbalance in Europe. But this rivalry signifies a new difficulty for Germany — it means a further stretching of the already dangerously strained sinews of war — and costly vigilance in all of Europe. This would severely sharpen the crisis in Germany as the best variant.

But it also is true that the situation in Italy is much more critical than in Germany. Mussolini's military defeats, which cannot be kept secret, and the growing internal difficulties, objectively strengthen the revolutionary forces in Italy. A decisive defeat for Italy would evoke Chaos and the Revolution, an event which must be prevented by every possible means by the Germans. It is problematical whether Hitler, whose troops must keep all of Europe under occupation, would be in a position to put Italy's house in order without himself coming to grief. But a revolutionary Italy would create a significant change, not merely in the Anglo-German conflict, but would above all create vast social changes throughout the European continent, changes which would bring with them tremendous objective possibilities for a Revolution in Germany.

### THE OCCUPIED PEOPLES

In the course of 1939 and 1940 more than 150 million people in Europe were militarily defeated by the third Reich or economically and politically "organized." For most of them this means the fate of a slave in the truest sense: transportation, compulsory labor, hardships, hunger. For the Hitler system the occupied lands and peoples are of use only for food and labor reserves. As soon as all raw material and food supplies have been confiscated by the army and moved into the Reich, the "New Order" is established. This means degradation in the economic sense to the rank of supply stations for German industry without any consideration for their own manufacturing industries or the satisfaction of the needs of the conquered peoples. In the political sense this means the setting up of puppet regimes and the installation of the Gestapo. Economic planning must wait till the war is over—meanwhile a transition economy must suffice — i. e., a transition to starvation. The real conditions are not known to their full extent — the Ger-

man control apparatus functions too well for that. But even the German press has been forced to admit that the food situation in Europe is critical and has mentioned "general apathy" in Norway and "scattered resistance" in Holland. In Czecho-Slovakia and Poland the will to resist has gone much further. A few weeks ago, under the pressure of internal relationships, Petain proposed to Hitler the choice between a "peace of oppression" and a "peace upon an entirely new basis of collective work." Hitler adopted the compromise so favorable to him — collective work and oppression, and entrusted "Gauleiter" Laval with its execution. Nevertheless the voice of the French changes from a tone of apathy and aimlessness to one of hope for a French defeat. Hitler and Laval have taken special care that the preconditions for the regime of terror in France should be a partly obedient bourgeoisie, a disillusioned and disorganized proletariat, and general lack of provisions. Of course such conditions are present not merely in France but in all of Western and Northern Europe. But these changed conditions themselves will make even the most brutal measures of oppression appear questionable in value, especially over any lengthy period of time, in view of the changes in the French mentality.

### GERMANY AND THE SOVIET UNION

The fundamental contradiction between the Russian and the German social orders cannot be wiped out, despite the efforts of courtesy and the noble phrases of the ministers and state chieftains on both sides: it is the contradiction between the country in which the social revolution was successful and the country in which a newly arising monopoly capitalism has inaugurated its imperialistic quest for spoils. The German ruling class carries on this war as a conscious means of increasing its imperialist sphere of influence, which recognizes neither geographical nor linguistic nor national bounds. If they wish to continue their successes in the west, they must also seek for the despoiling or at the very least the "organizing" of the Russian "sphere". That even the Stalinist clique is conscious of this is shown by the setting up of zones resembling buffer states, between the Reich and the Soviet Union. War between the two is inevitable—unless spontaneous overthrow of the Soviet Union results — inevitable because of the irreconcilable contradictions of the two economic



and social systems, because of the German need for expansion toward the east; as a result of the foregoing a Russian attack lies within the range of possibilities. Such a step would have the result of again holding the German workers and the oppressed masses in check even though the Hitler regime might be experiencing the severest difficulties. When and where and on what basis this conflict will arise is unpredictable; but the political weaknesses of the Stalin system will cause the greatest possible postponement of this conflict, despite its inevitability.

### GERMANY AND U. S.

The American policy of far-reaching material aid to England as a major step toward active participation in the war increases the war's duration. A long war exhausts the supplies, the industrial capacity (in part through air raids) and the patience and willingness to make sacrifices of the oppressed classes and the soldiers in all the countries taking part in the war. In wartime the surplus value created by the working class is neither expended equally in all industries for productive expansion of equipment nor for equal increase of accumulated capital. Only very few industrial captains in very few industries accumulate giant profits, which still remain even after the burden of war financing. But since the workers who have been forced into the army have been removed both as creators of surplus value and as working hands in the general process of production, the remnants must be pushed to the very limits of their capacity for suffering. Therefore the trained German propagandists have taken pains that the execution of capitalist economics under Fascism with the usual characteristic of the increase of profits coupled with the lowering of the standard of living, can result in only one end, the readiness of the masses to make an end to the whole business, even at the risk of life itself.

The outbreak of this war signalled not merely an imperialist conflict of the various European capitalist groups, it also signalled the utmost intensification of the class struggle in Germany, the final attack of the German bourgeoisie on the living standards and wages of the German proletariat—its end can only have as a consequence the bitterest intensification of the class struggle from the side of the proletariat. Dread of this consequence makes the possibility for Hitler's agreeing to a compromise peace most probable, since he must fear to lose everything through the revolution.

The imperialist policy of the U.S. is to remain as a non-participant in the European war until all participants are exhausted, so that it can then call in the American reserves, which are meanwhile being feverishly organized, and laughingly make off with the lion's share of the booty for itself. These plans, which of course are diametrically opposed to Hitler's, make an ultimate victory for Hitler extremely improbable. If German imperialism wishes to be triumphant, it must first emerge victorious against the Americans. Germany can hardly be content with the mere occupation of lands, especially the lands of the European continent. It must control international commerce, in order to force her policy of imperialist domination over world markets and world sources of raw materials. And at this point the resistance of American imperialism is inevitable. Even victory against England will not bring the end of this war — it will only begin the second and decisive stage, the struggle between Wall Street and Wilhelmstrasse. Even if imperialist Germany is victorious in Europe, it can only postpone but not avoid this decisive struggle. If the strong social strains in Germany have not previously caused an outbreak then at the very latest this strong rivalry with the U.S.A. or the armed conflict with the U.S.A. will lead to an internal collapse, to material desperation, psychological crisis, political confusion and thence to the overthrow of the instrument of oppression and robbery of the national socialist state apparatus.

All the previously listed tendencies are a work now shaping individually and collectively the precondition for the revolutionary situation in the third Reich. Developments leading toward this stage will not be on a straight line with no setbacks. But the apparent difficulties in our way will not make us weaken. The period of revolutionary ripeness draws on, which Lenin has described in the words:

"When all the class forces opposing us have become involved in internal difficulties and are thus weakened, when all the hesitating and fluctuating intermediate groups are unmasked and have lost their prestige, when the masses of the proletariat support us and agree with us in our revolutionary actions, then the time is ripe for the revolution. When we are in position to recognize all these indications and to evaluate what we are seeing correctly, then our victory is certain."

Article from left groups of German comrades working with I.C.C., but not an affiliate.

2/15—41.

# Brockway and Defeatism

In order to be able to support the British Imperialists without a guilty conscience the leaders of the Independent Labor Party have had Fenner Brockway write an article explaining their position on Revolutionary Defeatism. They reject the Lenin position, that is the Marxist position, and in turn present their own position. They have this right, as have all other social patriots. But they do not have a right to falsify Lenin's position, nor have they the right to claim that their "new" position is to the workers' interest. Their position, like that of all who reject revolutionary defeatism in the Imperialist War, IS A BREAK IN THE RANKS OF THE WORKING CLASS AND UNITY WITH THE IMPERIALIST ROBBERS OF THEIR OWN NATION.

What was Lenin's position, according to Brockway? "He (Lenin) concluded that a Russian military defeat would be a 'lesser evil' compared with a German military defeat". Later on Brockway repeats, "He (Lenin) regarded the defeat of Russia as a 'lesser evil' to the defeat of Germany". This is only half the story. Lenin advocated that workers in EVERY country shall work for the defeat of THEIR OWN imperialists. Time after time he called on the German workers to support Liebknecht, who like Lenin in Russia, was advocating revolutionary defeatism within Germany.

Brockway attempts to show that Lenin had a purely **national** criterion for his program of revolutionary defeatism; that he felt that Russia was more "reactionary" than Germany and that he therefore wanted its defeat as a "lesser evil" to a defeat of Germany. But, on the contrary Lenin had an international criterion. He made no distinction between ANY of the belligerents. He advocated that the workers in EVERY country work for the defeat of **international** capitalism, and specifically to concentrate on the WORK for the military defeat of their own capitalism. Far from taking sides as Brockway implies, in the struggle between Germany and Russia, Lenin took a position against both.

The logical outcome of the desire for military defeat is a policy of sabotage. "Unless

there is a mass feeling behind it, such sabotage is not a class weapon." Again Brockway leaves the impression that Marxism is for individual sabotage. But this is false, to Marxists it is not a policy but a tactic in the application of MASS ACTION at given stages of the struggle.

The I.L.P. also presents a mechanical distinction between military defeatism and revolutionary defeatism. This is the same position presented by the opportunist Max Shactman. Revolutionary defeatism as a policy against the exploiters' government must of necessity reach the stage of military defeat of the exploiters' armed forces — no matter how or what brings about the actual defeat.

Brockway continues, "He, (Lenin) was prepared to see a German victory over Russia. No Socialist wants to see a Nazi victory over Britain, despite the tyrannies of the Empire." The British imperialists should allow the I.L.P. the longest possible legal existence. They are capable and clever social-patriots and have nothing to offer that the rulers need fear. Rather they will make good agents in the ranks of the workers, for the benefit of the exploiters.

Again, Brockway presents half of the argument. Lenin was for defeatism in Germany too, defeatism that the German workers should carry out against German Imperialism. But for the sake of argument, let us start with the I.L.P. half truth, and apply Lenin's formula to present day events. Mr. Brockway as the "leader" of the German workers is for defeatism of Germany as a "lesser evil" as compared to Britain. So far so good, for Brockway as the leader of the German workers. But Mr. Brockway must ask Lenin, who is the leader of the British workers, what is his position? If this Lenin we speak of in England is a Marxist, he will reply, "Our main enemy is at home. We advocate revolutionary defeatism in England", or as Brockway would say for Lenin — the defeat of British Imperialism is the "lesser evil" as compared to Germany.

Fenner Brockway and the I.L.P. negate this concept. To them the main enemy is in the **other** exploiters' country. They hide be-

hind the formula of "democracy" vs. Fascism. They make a distinction between "good" and "bad" capitalist powers, or "bad" and "worse."

We reply that the best way to fight Fascism, in Germany, Italy, or any other place is NOT to support your own imperialists BUT TO OVERTHROW your own imperialists and establish a Workers Government. As a step toward that end, the policy of revolutionary defeatism must be advocated.

According to the I.L.P., "The correct formulation should be that in a capitalist war, Socialists should work, not for the defeat of their own government by a foreign government, but for its defeat by the working class at home and for the use of governmental power to stimulate a similar workers' victory in the other warring countries and the establishment of peace and Socialism."

This formulation covers a multitude of sins against the working class. First, the I.L.P. wants the working class to defeat its own government. Fine. Lenin is also for that. In fact, Lenin was for the working class defeating their own government BEFORE our leaders of the I.L.P. But we ask a simple question. How shall the workers defeat their own government? The I.L.P. evades the issue. Lenin answers the question. Lenin's position on defeatism is the answer. The workers must take all action that facilitates MILITARY defeat, that intensifies the class struggle... otherwise all talk about "defeating" our own bourgeoisie is sheer poppycock. But what Brockway claims is Lenin's position is not Lenin's position. The I.L.P. formulation on "defeatism" is also the position of Max Shactman and over half of the Trotskyites — first advocated by Leon Trotsky.

It is a centrist formulation, but in war, action becomes Social-Patriotism as per the I.L.P.

Brockway counterposes the defeat of his own government by the workers vs. military defeat by foreign power. But the defeat BY the foreign power is NOT Lenin's position. It is not confusion or ignorance.

It is a play of words designed for confusion by Brockway and others. Let us consider the content and dynamics of Lenin's position on defeatism in opposition to Brockway's caricature and Brockway's straw man.

In considering the question of defeating ones own government Lenin considered:

1—Independent action of the working class vs. all groups of exploiters as primary. This independent action of the class is only possible by and through the political and organizational independence of the revolutionary Marxian organization.

2—At the same time Lenin clearly stated that the main enemy was at home. That this imperialist war must be turned into a civil war. If the imperialist war must be turned into a civil war through independent working class action and if the main enemy is at home then the workers must WORK for the defeat of their own exploiters as steps toward the overthrow.

3—How do the workers—work for the defeat of their own exploiters? "by a foreign government" as Brockway claims represents the Lenin position? Absurd. If one works for a foreign government, one does not carry on an independent working class action. One who works for a foreign exploiters' government represents a traitor to the working class, just like one who works for his own exploiters' government. No, the workers work for defeat by mass action that hinders the capitalist military efforts.

4—The working class militants WORK for the defeat of their own imperialists through REVOLUTIONARY WORKING CLASS means, work for a MILITARY defeat—even if this working class activity momentarily results in the "victory" of the enemy army. Brockway confuses the subjective factors with the objective factors. For example, the revolution (objective factor) is created by capitalism in its disintegration—but a SUCCESSFUL revolution is made possible by the working class under the leadership of a Marxian party (subjective factor). This same dialectic relation exists in the imperialist war and its breakdown.

The breakdown of the capitalist nation at war is not brought about by the sabotage of all enemies of the government combined—or by the working class and the Marxian party. The wholesale destruction of men and material by the exploiters government is the REAL SOCIAL SABOTAGE. The defeat of the imperialists is brought by this internal destruction of men and materials and the stronger pressure of the enemy imperialist army. In relation to the party and the working class in the war this is an objective factor or combination of objective factors. Once this condition of defeatism is at hand—the revolutionists who con-

ried out an independent class line advocate the workers taking power in their own hands, this is the subjective factor. The Marxists speak of WORKING FOR the defeat of our own government as a line of independent class action so when the actual defeat does come our working class cadres are strong enough to complete the task. To defeat the imperialists at war and to work for the defeat express two different concepts of the actual concrete process. In reality to speak of the workers defeating their own imperialists IN THE STAGE of the IMPERIALIST WAR is a vacuum, and has nothing in common with factual and historical conditions under our very nose. But to speak of defeating our own imperialists by our own forces in the imperialist war sounds very "left" and is an excellent cover for capitulation to the imperialists.

When we are in the stage of WAR—imperialist war, first the condition of DEFEAT for our own exploiters must be brought about as a precondition for the working class defeating their own exploiters. The first position of defeatism, refers to revolutionary defeatism, TO WORK for defeatism, to help prepare the working class for the battle that objective factors prepare. Man helps this process but he does not determine it. The second defeat, the

workers defeating their own exploiters is the defeat of the exploiters in SOCIAL REVOLUTION.

To work for the defeat of our own exploiters by revolutionary means even if it means the momentary "victory" of the enemy exploiter is the steps necessary to TURN THE IMPERIALIST WAR INTO A CIVIL WAR. Our action runs parallel to the objective factors of the social sabotage of men and material by the imperialists. Only after the process is under way turning the imperialist war into a civil war, is it possible for the workers to then "defeat their own government". The I.L.P. confuses the imperialist war stage with the civil war stage and the strategy needed for the former and the strategy needed for the latter. Their confusion, skipping stages, lies, and often plain ignorance on the part of some results in social patriotism regardless of the motives desired.

It is high time for all who claim to be revolutionary Marxists to again re-read all of Lenin's material on revolutionary defeatism and apply it to the actual process of 1914-17 and then consider the present war through these historical lessons.  
Mar. 30—41.

# Uncensored News From Germany

## INTERNAL CORRESPONDENCE OF THE RED FRONT.

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FINLAND: RFAB—The paper of Finland's revolutionary socialist opposition "Vapaa Sana" has been banned 9 times in the course of a single month by the social-democratic bourgeois coalition regime in Finland. The struggle of the revolutionary socialists of Finland on the basis of a revolutionary Marxian internationalist program, free from every influence of reformism and Stalinism, continues uninterrupted. 4 new weeklies have been started in Finland's main industrial centers. Our comrades in Finland also hope to start a Swedish language weekly in a short time for the benefit of the large number of Swedish workers living

in Finland; this is to be under joint editorship with the revolutionary - socialist workers' opposition of Sweden.

GERMANY: RFAB—We present excerpts from the report of an illegal Austrian organization: it is noteworthy that this report is full of indications of the importance of the new and greatly increased scope of the Russian-German trade agreement... An entirely new factor that no-one expected could bulk so large, has entered into the German war economy — Russian aid with raw materials. Since the beginning of the war most of the troops stationed in Vienna have been equipped with just a few field and maneuver uniforms, and, since replacements were hard to obtain, these uniforms were in pretty disreputable condition. But just a few days ago everyone appeared in brand new uniforms, all made of a new somewhat

darker army cloth without a trace of ersatz — all pure wool. We have been able to learn that the spinners and weavers of Teesdorf, Felixdorf, Pottendorf, and Traiskirchen, the largest textile plants in St. Polten, have been working the last few weeks not with artificial or substitute materials but with pure cotton or sheep wool. The large shipping boxes in which the materials come have Russian writing which has been lightly daubed over. The recently built clothing factories of the Tribuwinkel which have lain idle for months due to lack of raw materials, are now working day and night again; and here no secret is made of the sources of the cotton yarn—the packing cases have clear Russian writing under which is stamped REICH COMMAND ARMY ADMINISTRATION. The rubber factory Semperit at Moellersdorf near Traiskirchen which a month ago employed only 150 hands, now again has a payroll of 2,000. Certainly the rubber did not come from Germany or the occupied territories—it can only be taken for granted that it came from a Russian source, as Russia has been replenishing her supplies by large purchases in Asia and America. While a few months ago it was openly admitted that airplane fuel was lacking and the pilots kept their fuel rations in small stores next to their fields, now everything is present in great abundance (no synthetic product). The supply of lubricants for the factories, whose machines were going to ruin for lack of oil, has been tripled over night. In the Berndorf factory for war industry metals aluminum has suddenly appeared again, and the packing cases are marked Kitschkä (in the SU) as the place of origin...

ITALY: RFAB—At present there are in Italy about 100 concentration camps, the majority for Italian Jews but some also for refugee Jews from Germany. Among the largest are Sforza-Costa near Ursibaglia, Gioia del Colle in A-

pulia, Sant' Angelo in Vado, Province of Pescara, Colfiorito near Foligno, Campania Province of Salerno, San Severino also in the Province of Salerno, Lama Beligni in Abruzzi. There is a camp for women in Pollenza, province of Macerata, a camp for antifascist South Tyroleans in Lagonegro. The concentration camp in Manfredonia is reserved for anarchists, the largest camp for socialists is at Isonia, Province of Chieti. The technique is nothing like that in the German concentration camps. But Mussolini is practicing the technique and educating the Italian people to concentration camps.

GERMANY: RFAB—All of the railroad repair shops in Eastern Germany and the Ostmark are busy putting new wheels on the German trains so that they will be able to travel without difficulty on the Russian railways which have a broad gage. The locomotive shops in Vienna, in Simmering and Ottakring are busy with the construction of trucks serviceable for both broad and normal gage locomotives. They hope thus to avoid the great difficulties involved in transferring goods from the Russian to the German railways.

VIENNA: RFAB—At the end of January the proceedings against seventeen of the Red Front comrades took place. They were arrested at the outbreak of war in the beginning of September, 1939, and were all held in solitary confinement since. Four of these comrades were arrested in Danzig, the rest in Vienna. They were charged with having contact with a foreign organization and with having accepted instructions for the injury and weakening of the military power of the German Reich—further with having tried to build anti-national socialist cells among the armed forces and highest plants in Vienna, and Linz. Among those accused were two brothers, who, at the time of their arrest, were eighteen and nineteen years old.

# The Trotskyites and the War

In an editorial in the March 15th paper of the Cannon Trotskyites there is further sign of the right shift among these centrists as the war pressure goes on. "As horrible as war is, we would not hesitate to urge Roosevelt to enter the war, if it were really to be a war for democracy against fascism." Whoever heard of supporting Roosevelt "if" the war was for "democracy"? As if Democracy was some all-embracing abstraction void of class content! The working class can ONLY defend their democratic rights by a struggle against bourgeois DEMOCRACY as well as the fascist form of capitalism. The Cannon formula is the opposite of this. In the present period of decay capitalism the struggle to maintain decadent bourgeois democracy does not run parallel to the struggle for workers democracy (either in the form of the struggle for democratic rights for workers today, or for workers democracy under Workers Councils tomorrow). On the contrary these struggles are opposites. Cannon does not say, "if Roosevelt would fight for workers' democracy". He speaks of "democracy" and this can only mean one thing, bourgeois democracy.

The Trotskyites also say, "The real solution lies in an altogether different direction. The real solution is to **transform the imperialist war into a war against Fascism.**" Far be it from us to stick to old and dried formulas that are outworn, but the Lenin formula of turn-

ing the imperialist war into civil war is not outworn and it is opposite of the revisionism of Cannon and Company. Marxists must teach the workers in the imperialist war to turn the imperialist war into a CIVIL WAR; this includes a war against fascism. But to turn the war into a war against Fascism does not even imply a civil war.

The Lenin formula clearly reveals that the MAIN ENEMY is at HOME — that we need a civil war. But the Cannon formula to turn the war into one against fascism, does NOT even mean civil war, because we do not have fascism in the United States. Therefore, the formula can be used to mean that the MAIN enemy is not at home; that if we were to remove Roosevelt and have a Labor Party or Farmer Labor Party government (functioning for Wall Street) which would say it was fighting for "democracy", we should all join the imperialist army and help fight Germany and Italy.

Naturally the editorial also says things that are correct. But that is precisely the way centrists write—they have a cover for two or more positions in every article. If they did not they would be reformists instead of centrists. The Trotskyites have learned nothing of the last war and are continuing today along the path which leads to social-reformism. 3/31—41.

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