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# INTERNATIONAL NEWS

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Theoretical Organ of the  
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**INTERNATIONAL  
NEWS**

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## If Germany Wins --- Then What?

Chaotic and barbarous as the imperialist bloodbath may be, it nevertheless is part and parcel of a well-defined pattern. Starting from the general imperialist economic warfare it weaves its way into guerrilla military skirmishes of greater and greater intensity, until eventually it engulfs all of humanity. The economic breakdown leads to a struggle for secondary and minor objectives (e. g. Ethiopia, Gran Chaco, Manchuria, Austria, Albania, etc.) and marches irresistibly onward toward a military

With that pattern in mind it is possible to place the present blitzkrieg in France and Belgium in its proper light.

### FIRST PHASE OF WAR

In the first place the whole struggle in Europe is only the FIRST PHASE of the imperialist war. From the point of view of time it is not decisive if this first phase is short or long. Politically, however, it is a subordinate phase of the war; an attempt by the four major powers of Europe to get their own house in order for the great drive for the vast markets of Asia. This no mere pipe-dream. It is no accident that the strongest power on Earth, American imperialism, has the overwhelming bulk of its navy in the Pacific waters. Unless the proletarian revolution intervenes the armies and navies of the world will yet be fighting in and near the Pacific waters for the right to exploit the rubber, tin, manganese, oil, cotton, coal, iron, rice and fishing fields of this fabulously rich area.

Assuming therefore that Germany is able to drive through to a quick victory — and this is an assumption that is the least likely variant; assuming that the British and French empires are completely smashed — would that mean the end of the war? Many sincere persons are hoping for such a smashing victory, hoping that the mass murder in Europe will end and the world again assume a more pacific character. Unfortunately these people do

not understand what is involved in the imperialist slaughter.

A victorious Germany, or a near victorious Germany, would undoubtedly want a short period of peace in which to consolidate its victories. But that she would get such a respite is most unlikely. A victorious Germany with its Italian ally would have complete control of the main seaway of world trade — the Atlantic and the Mediterranean. It would attempt to take control of a formidable navy, the British and French navies, with which to protect this dominance. It would not only expropriate the gigantic investments of Uncle Sam in Europe, but it could keep American trade and investments out of the vital Near East, including the enormous wealth of British India. A victorious Germany, not yet completely exhausted, with the new resources gained as a result of conquest, would form the greatest possible danger to the plans of American Imperialism to reorganize and dominate the earth, to find new fields of investment for its 19 billion dollars of idle gold, to find new markets for its surplus commodities.

The inevitable result could only be — again unless the proletarian revolution intervenes — the replacement of the present main imperialist antagonism between the United States and Great Britain, with an American-German conflict as the new antagonism, and a more devouring, more devastating battle between these two forces, a battle which would encompass every nook and cranny of the two hemispheres.

### MUST EXHAUST ALL BELLIGERENTS

This would be one of the methods by which the decisive phase of the Second World War could come about. A quick victory by England — and this seems most unlikely at the moment — might also create a similar danger to the United States, and similar results. America's strategy is to attempt to exhaust ALL the belligerent powers (Italy and Japan are already partially exhausted by their strenuous efforts in Ethiopia and China), thus paying the

way for the American dollar and the American Navy to impose the peace and gain world domination. The fact that Uncle Sam is now undergoing feverish preparations for ENTRY into the war can only be taken as an indication that the American capitalists are apprehensive about the rapid tempo of German victories. As the British lion is more and more exhausted he will have to pay a greater and greater price for American aid and entry; at that moment parallel action of Uncle Sam with John Bull will only be a method of defeating both belligerent camps at the same time, providing the U. S. is successful in the military sphere.

### ROLE OF THE SOVIET UNION

Aside from these two variants, however, of the first phase of the war blending into the decisive phase, (the direct military conflict for the rich-fields of the earth, especially in Asia, there is still another variant.

Even the most superficial student of world politics must understand that the alliance of Hitler and Stalin can only be of very short duration. For two reasons — first the social dynamite that the degenerated workers state represents (despite Stalinism); and second the "drang nach Osten" — the march to the east — can best be accomplished by the German imperialists only by an invasion through the Ukraine and towards the famous Khyber pass into India. The seizure by the Red army of Russian Poland and the small areas of Finland, as well as the naval bases in Latvia, Esthonia and Lithuania, were only small and necessary concessions by German Imperialism to Stalin in order to gain the temporary non-belligerency (on the allied side) of the Soviet Union. Once the situation in western Europe becomes more clarified the army of the Reich will concentrate on the REAL battle — the **Drang nach Osten**. Stalin understands all this only too well. The quick victories of Hitler's army in the west are just as great a danger to Stalinism as it is to the British lion.

This explains the present confused policy of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union. Despite its formal agreement with Hitler it hopes for a long drawn out battle between Germany and England on the one hand, and Japan and China (or Japan and the U. S.) on the other hand. During such a battle Stalinism hopes to bury its head ostrich-like in the sand, away from the fields of combat.

### U. S. MUST ENTER

But meanwhile a three-way pincer movement draws in on the Stalinist policy and on the Soviet Union. Stalinism, having long ago given up dependence on the world proletariat, must give concessions to three quarters in order to stave off invasion. She must grant material and political concessions to Germany to check an invasion from Poland; to England to check an invasion through the Black Sea and against the Baku oil fields; and to Japan to halt a possible invasion of Siberia. It is not at all unlikely that even before Germany herself invades Russia she will urge Japan onto an invasion of Siberia in order to weaken the Soviet forces in advance. Britain might tolerate such a move if it would cause Japanese pressure on British spheres of influence in Asia to be relaxed. But the United States would do everything possible to stop an IMPERIALIST power from gaining Vladivostok, only a stone's throw from Alaska, or in other vital areas of Asia. As the war develops in Europe, far from postponing the final day of reckoning in Asia it will bring that day much closer. It may thus bring on a simultaneous military struggle in Asia along with the struggle in Europe.

The presence of the American fleet in the Pacific is thus a clear indication of the role of Uncle Sam in world politics and the direction in which it is moving. The DECISIVE phase of the war can come only upon the entry of the United States and the direct struggle for the rich booty of Asia.

# The Dynamics of War and Revolution

The imperialist war, what precedes it and what follows it, does not occur in a vacuum. It is part and parcel of the development of broad social relationships. The war reflects the impossibility of present class relationships. It is an attempt to stabilize those relationships by finding new markets for exploitation, new fields for investment.

### THE IMPERIALIST WAR IS THUS A DESPERATE ATTEMPT TO CIRCUMVENT THE CLASS WAR.

It is part of a DUAL process, of which the main lever — and we must repeat and repeat this — is the establishment of "national unity" at home, direct action against any possible revolutionary developments; the military struggle against the other imperialists is only a secondary lever. Should the revolution develop at home, despite all precautions for national unity, it will immediately change the whole military scene at the front, make the former "enemies" into solid allies to smash the proletariat.

The extent to which the imperialists are forced to take repressive measures to insure this "national unity" is thus a clear and most precise reflection of the inner WEAKNESS of the bourgeois regime and the capitalist system. **DEEPEST CRISIS OF CAPITALISM**

Viewed in this light the war in Europe takes on different meaning: the economic plight of the imperialists and the military needs to conquer at least 4 or 5 continents tends toward the prolongation of the military conflict; but the social developments indicate just the opposite process, a MATURING WORLD REVOLUTIONARY SITUATION that will crash both the national unity and the military conflict.

Since the Nazi invasion of Holland and Belgium an iron clad dictatorship has been established in Britain. Thousands of refugees have been interned; police measures taken against working class organizations; longer hours introduced, etc.

In France, in addition to the tight control of the past the death sentence has been introduced

for such minor "crimes" as being absent from work without excuse.

Possibly the most lightning measures for national unity have been taken in the United States. Along with the legal measures to fingerprint non-citizens, the provisions against employing radicals in most factories, the granting of the right to employers to "investigate" employees for political beliefs, the threatened prosecution of all working class leaders opposed to the imperialist war — along with all this now comes, significantly, the overnight organization of "sports" clubs, "minutemen", and other agencies to smash working class meetings, to stop the distribution of literature, and undoubtedly to take forceful physical measures, when the time comes, against militant workers.

### RUMBLINGS OF REVOLT

For the time being, all over the world, these measures have served their purpose. The voice of the working class, outside of the small Marxist force of the International Contact Commission, remains silent. But already there are great indications of revolt, great onslaughts of class unity against national unity.

Austrian troops in Norway are reported to have mutinied at the thought of being sent out to sea. The removal of 15 French generals and the shake-up of the British staff can only indicate tremendous resentment by the French and British workers at the front and actual mutinies. The institution of death sentences for sabotage in France can only testify to mounting strikes and sitdowns in the various factories.

The 250 workers organizations, outlawed in France, the resolutions of over 400 trade unions in Britain against the war, the ever-increasing partial struggles of the German workers for better working conditions are living testimony to the shoddiness of "national unity", to its weak intrinsic character, to its inability to stave off the inexorable march of proletarian class unity against capitalism.

These energies and these rumblings of revolt must be guided by the Marxian forces

# Proposed Amendments to the Fourteen Points

The Eighth Plenum of the R.W.L. adopted five amendments of a politically secondary and formulation nature to the Fourteen Point Programmatic Declaration; these are being submitted to the International Contact Commission. The amendments arose on the basis of discussion with the affiliated sections of the ICC, particularly on the National Question, and other organizations such as the League for a Revolutionary Workers Party.

Three of the amendments deal with the National Question in Point 9 of the 14 Points (The Road to Power).

The first of these is the terminological substitution of "**national revolution**" for the term "bourgeois democratic" in the sentence dealing with the social revolution in backward countries. This sentence would read:

"In colonial countries and economically backward countries, the first phase of the social revolution will be the **national revolution** (agrarian), but this phase will continue into the proletarian phase".

The next two amendments to Point 9 deal with the right of self-determination. The first of these deletes the phrase "oppressed minorities" and substitutes the phrase "oppressed nations." The sentence now reads: "Marxists fight for the **right of self-determination for oppressed nations and national minorities** as an auxiliary slogan". Then in order to emphasize the strategical approach to this question, the next amendment is an added sentence following the one dealing with the workers in colonial countries: "They work to win the proletariat of the colonial countries as **workers, for the proletarian revolution.** (then add) The Marxists in the oppressor nation emphasize the right of self-determination, but the workers of the oppressed nation, in order not to become victims of national patriotism and in order to present the position of internationalism, emphasize the unity of the workers in the oppressed country with the workers of the oppressed nation".

For a further elaboration of these amendments on the National Question and the Right of Self Determination, we refer you to the document ON THE NATIONAL QUESTION (I.N., Feb., 1940, Vol. 2 No. 3) and also the lengthy document of the Revolutionary Communists of

Germany which will be published as a supplement as soon as technical facilities permit.

The next amendment, dealing with the question of parties under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in Point 10, is for the purpose of emphasizing that the possibility of non-Marxist parties being assimilated in a process which can only proceed very rapidly. To the quoted sentence, the phrase which we here print in bold face is the amendment. "However, certain parties, groups or factions which in the first period of the Workers State accept its foundation principles will continue to exist with full freedom of expression within the bounds of the new society until they are by a natural process, **which will be of short duration,** merged with the Marxist Party, or until their policies drive them into fundamental opposition with the new society, at which point they must be suppressed".

For a discussion of the question, we refer you to the section "Meaning of Workers Democracy" in the article "Character of the State in the Soviet Union". I. N. October, 1939, Vol. 1, No. 3, page 12.

In Point 11 — The Contradictions of Capitalism — a formulation error was made in dealing with the question of surplus value. This error was called to our attention by the League for a Revolutionary Workers Party (see their document and the Reply of the Contact Commission, I. N. Feb., 1940, Vol. 2, No. 2)

The amendment proposes to delete the second to last sentence: "The difference between the value of the labor and the value of the commodities produced by use of that labor power is surplus value". And to substitute: "Although the value of the commodities produced includes the dead labor (constant capital) of previous productive operations, etc., the commodities also include, over and above the necessary labor (variable capital) a surplus labor (surplus value) which the capitalists obtain for nothing by virtue of their ownership of the means of production. This surplus value is appropriated by the exploiters in the form of rent, interest and profits".

These amendments have been submitted by the R.W.L. for favorable action by the Contact Commission.

## A Letter from Australia

There is certainly no rampant nationalism as yet in Australia. It is not an issue in the Labor movement, altho it is not impossible that the Stalinists may try to whip up some enthusiasm for a break with Britain. It is not an issue because the difference between colonial and dominion status is more than an abstraction. There is no British army of occupation in Australia. The armed forces are responsible to the Federal government. Insofar as the government differs in form, from the British system of government, it affords a higher degree of nominal "democracy, (e. g. no "House of Lords" but instead an elected Senate on the U. S. pattern). Australian relations with non-Empire countries has recently entered on a new phase with the sending of a Minister to the United States. British dominion of Australia is economic, not political, save thru the formality of the allegiance to the crown.

### AUSTRALIAN NATIONALISM

There is a certain conflict of interests between British imperialism and Australian capitalism in the economic sphere. From this point a nationalistic movement may develop in the future: there are some indications that such a process is now in its initial stages. Australia's role in the last war was that of primary producing country, supplying chiefly troops and raw materials. But since that time there has been a consistent and rapid development of secondary industries.

In the last 25 years there has been an increase of 11,000 new factories; an increase of 230,000 factory employees; the net value of production of Australian manufacturing industries has increased from 63 million to 197,000,000 pound sterling. In 1913-14 imports represented 25% of the national income, in 1938-39 only 15%. There has been a population increase of 40%.

This process received its initial impetus during the abnormal situation engendered by the first "Great" war.

Much of the planned technical development had been completed by the outbreak of the war, so the requisite plant and technical equipment was available for the change-over

to war economy... Steel output rose in 1939 by 20% over 1938. There has also been an expansion of the cotton textile industry. Existing woolen mills are working to capacity. Aircraft factories are producing planes... Machine tools and plant can now be turned out locally.

From this perspective of general industrial-technical development... the question arises: what will be the effect on British-Australian relations? It is true that this industrial expansion has been built up primarily with the aid of British (and American) capital. But it is by no means precluded that even the British investors may approve a considerable measure of nationalist policy — so long as the profits continue to roll in.

Britain is Australia's principal customer, taking the whole of the wool clip, also huge purchases of wheat, butter, base metals, sugar, etc. "Loyalty" is paying very well for the present.

In the first "Great" war Australia's role was that of a large colony, expected to give to the "last man and the last shilling" in support of the "Mother country". But it is clearly stated by all boss class representatives, save those whose interests are most closely linked to Britain, that the "security" of Australia is "our" first concern.

### PRESENT GOVERNMENT WEAKENING

In the arena of Federal politics, the United Country Party, representing big primary producing interests is militarist, very reactionary, and pro-British. The United Australia Party represents the majority of big manufacturing interests, is admittedly anti-labor and is professedly pro-British, but in reality includes a section that unobtrusively pursues nationalist interests. The government is a coalition of U.A.P. — U.C.P. with the U.A.P. predominating. The government "line" on the war is that Australia's "security" depends on the "security" of the Empire. A great show has been made of sending troops overseas (one division of 20,000 gone, another soon to be raised — volunteer basis) and frequent references are made to Australia's war expenditure, altho "war expenditure" does not necessarily mean that the

money is being spent without thought for future Australian capitalist profits.

The "Labor" party which has the support of some local manufacturing interests, and may serve as the vehicle of a future nationalist campaign, stands for "adequate defense", "complete national and economic security". A resolution of the May '39 Conference of the A.L.P. reads, "We maintain that Australia will adequately play its part in Imperial defence by the maintenance of the inviolability of the Commonwealth of Australia".

The recent Corio by-election was fought on the issue of war policy, resulting in an overwhelming victory for the "Labor" candidate. While the significance of this has no doubt been greatly exaggerated, still it gives a general indication of how the wind is blowing. A defeat of the Menzies-Cameron government in December (or earlier) is far from unexpected. Curtin (A.L.P. leader) by the way has announced his intention of not increasing but maintaining existing military establishments overseas, by volunteer replacements. Even under the U.A.P.—U.C.P. up to the present, Australia's role in the second "Great" war is vastly different from that of 1914.

It is estimated that Britain is spending 48.3% of the national income on war purposes. Australia's expenditure is 12.5%. The Queensland Bureau of Industry estimates that not more than 8% of the total national income will actually be spent on war this year. In 1914 the expenditure was 14%. Of the war expenditure at that time more than half was raised by loan in London. This time there will be no borrowing from England.

#### BIG WAR GAINS

In many respects Australia's position at present is similar to that of certain neutrals, standing to benefit from the war. The balance of trade with Britain is improving and should continue to improve. All wartime purchases by Britain add greatly to Australia's overseas credits, represented largely by the London funds. As the London funds increase, the question will arise of an adjustment of the exchange rate or repatriation of portion of the Australian debt. Either way there is the prospect of Britain's financial domination weakening.

Australia's position with regard to the non-sterling bloc presents an entirely different picture. There is a deficit on all commercial transactions with the non-sterling countries. Dr. Rol-

and Wilson, Commonwealth Statistician, has estimated that in 1932-39 there was an excess of non-sterling payments over receipts of over 4,000,000 pounds, and at the present rate of importation this must rise to 18,000,000 pounds. Australia seeks in London the dollar exchange to cover imports of machinery, petrol, tobacco, tea, textiles, yarns, etc., from non-sterling countries, principally U.S.A., Japan, and Netherland's East Indies.

But the Anglo-French bloc as a whole is faced with the necessity of conserving dollar credits and there have already been signs of a conflict between British and Australian interests on this point. It is evident that certain local interests would agree to a cut on imports from European non-sterling countries, but are hotly opposed to a wider application. The current bickering over petrol restriction is symptomatic.

#### GREATER DEPENDENCE ON U. S.

Broadly speaking we can conclude that while Australia's financial position will progressively improve within the sterling bloc, it will deteriorate outside the bloc, particularly with regard to the United States. It is beyond the scope of this letter to predict the future ratio between the two processes, or to what degree the operation of this factor may be affected by United States maneuvers calculated to wean Australia from adherence to the British allegiance. (It must be remembered that while Britain and Australia are closely linked by the golden ties of commerce, the opinion is held by perhaps the majority of Australian capitalists that "our" future interests lie in the Pacific regions. There are hopes of an expansion of trade with India, South Africa and more particularly Netherland's East Indies, the Far East (which is the Near North to Australia!) and New Zealand. Australian capitalism has long been embarrassed by Britain's Japanese policy.)

As regards the internal prospects for the immediate future, it is widely expected that there will be a period of prosperity. The daily papers indicate that the unemployed "problem" is in process of reaching a temporary and partial solution through enlistments and through increased opportunities for employment.

But even taking optimistic predictions at their face value, and providing that no unexpected developments occur to counter-balance the artificial war-stimulus, it must be emphas-

ized that any resultant "prosperity" would be entirely abnormal, and could only be of short duration, followed by an economic "crisis" of record intensity. In the early part of 1939 a "recession" was threatening. As the bourgeois economists put it "the time had come for consolidation rather than for further expansion". The outbreak of war a few months later provided an effective "corpse-reviver" — for the time being. Anticipations of prosperity in the near future rest upon the assumption that because of the war, Britain (and other Empire countries, and possibly France) will have to buy from Australia on an enlarged scale.

But should the struggle with Germany seriously sharpen, Britain will soon begin to demand "un stinted sacrifices" from the Dominions, will require unqualified agreement in practice with the theory that Empire defense must center around what suits London best. Consequently the underlying divergence between the interests of British imperialism and Australian capitalism would soon become apparent.

In this regard, it seems probable that the recent developments in Norway are the prelude to an accentuation of the struggle between Britain and Germany for the hegemony of Europe.

#### LONDON OR WALL STREET

On the other hand conflict with Russia would bring the war dangerously close to home (as a glance at the map will show). Also Russian strategy would certainly include a drive against the British in India, by direct military action coupled with pseudo-revolutionary agitation from inside. Differences with Britain would go into abeyance and the war would become an all-in-fight, so far as the local capitalists are concerned.

Above all we must remember that overseas capital supports Australia. Should this support fail, the whole pretentious edifice of Australian capitalist economy must inevitably collapse.

In the event of a clash with the interests of British imperialism, the best that Australian capitalists can hope for, would be to exchange the domination of London for that of Wall St. And taking class factors into consideration for a moment, it is evident that a revolutionary upsurge, especially within the Empire, would have momentous repercussions in Australia. Australia is not likely to be first in revolution, but the workers of this country will not be slow

to follow a lead from overseas.

So far the war has made little difference to the everyday life of the people. We are a long way from the location of hostilities, and there is a widespread feeling of immunity. Food rationing is unthought of; there is shortage of some commodities due to shipping difficulties and import cuts, but on the whole no real privations. Statistics show that the rise in the cost of living is very slight, the lowest of the group comprising Britain and the Dominions, and this is borne out by ordinary experience. There are more soldiers about than usual, but men in civilian clothes are still far in the majority. There is of course no A.R.P. save as a romantic hobby for society women and lime-lighters. Up to the present there has been little interference with civil liberties, save through censorship of mails. Newspapers and radio stations are cooperating with the authorities in an unobtrusive censorship, that has hardly any different result from that of peacetime editing.

#### STRIKES ON INCREASE

There have been numerous strikes since the outbreak of war, even successful strikes as for example at the South Melbourne Rolling Mill last month. Seamen have demanded increased rates or refused to go into war zones. Many of these were Lascars who made contact with the local unions.

The most significant event in the labor movement since the outbreak of the war is the coal strike affecting about 25,000 miners, and many others indirectly. (The Broken Hill Proprietary and the Australian Iron and Steel Co. at Newcastle and Pt. Kembla are practically closed down through lack of coal.)

Late in 1938 there was a six weeks general strike on the coalfields which was called off on an agreement that the economic demands should go to the Arbitration Court. Judge Drake-Brockman giving judgement on June 29, '39, decided in favor of certain demands. This award operated in Wonthaggi (Victoria) from July '39, and should have operated in N.S.W. but the employers filed an application for review by the Full Arbitration Court. This resulted on Oct. 4th, '39 in a judgement unfavorable to the men. During the hearing Judge Piper stated that he "would not know a coalmine if he fell into one."

Early in March this year the men came out for a 40 hour week throughout the industry without loss of wages and higher pay for overtime and contract workers.

By now the position has become acute. The government has issued an ultimatum to the miners, and threatens to work the mines by "free labor" under "some form of protection".

Simultaneously with the anti-strike campaign an anti-red drive is being fostered. The government has declared its intention of "dealing with the menace of Communism", has introduced an almost complete censorship of certain papers, including the principal organs of the Communist Party; they are forbidden to discuss or comment on such subjects as the war, Russia, the coal strike, etc. Further measures are expected.

The Labor Party has suffered a split. Jack Lang, one time famous as the "Red" Premier of N.S.W. has led a break-away from the Federal Labor Party, on an anti-Communist basis. This might give the impression that the major-

ity section of the Party is under Stalinist influence. However, the majority section is in reality entirely "respectable". There are some Stalinists who have taken advantage of the apathy of the rank and file, to slip into prominent positions in the union movement, but the extent of their influence is more apparent than real. All the same, should the government intensify the anti-Communist drive the result will be that the Stalinists will gain in prestige, and will receive considerable rank-and-file support. They are of course making all the capital they can from the coal mine strike.

It remains to be seen whether the miners will continue the strike in defiance of the government, in which case a sharp conflict of class forces may be expected. The government ultimatum is up next Monday. We will write you again after this point has been decided.

April 24, 1940.

Militant Workers League of Australia.

## Appearance and Reality - a Study in Dialectics

The confusion between appearance and reality has had in recent years a profound effect on the revolutionary movement. With the defeats of the revolution the eminent revisionists have "gone back" to "realism" — very much like the eminent revisionists of 1907 went back to "god-building".

Oddly enough the opportunists and the ultra-lefts meet on common ground in this confusionism. We propose to deal with four of the outstanding theoretical questions of recent years and to show this confusion of appearance and reality as an underlying factor in revisionism.

Let us deal with the attitude in America towards the Congress for Industrial Organization; the Spanish Civil War; the question of the Trotskyite French Turn; and the Soviet Union.

### I. — THE C. I. O.

The appearance of the CIO in 1935 was hailed in the United States by the opportunist

Socialists, Lovestoneites, Stalinists and Trotskyites as a progressive step of "momentous" importance. The ultra-lefts, on the other hand, mechanically dismissed it as a new form of AFL and continued their absenteeist role in the trade union movement — no participation.

IN APPEARANCE it seemed to the opportunists that John L. Lewis and his coterie had turned over a new leaf and were now ready to organize millions of mass industry workers in a struggle against capitalist wage conditions. IN REALITY, however, the basic factor behind the CIO was the objective material conditions — the depression, mass unemployment, lower living standards, etc., — which were driving the masses spontaneously into industrial forms of union organization. The advent of the Lewis CIO machinery was merely to shackle this movement and keep it within the bourgeois framework, on the old reactionary policy of class collaboration.

For 2 or 3 years Lewis was unable to gain

complete control of this giant movement inherent in the decay of capitalism. The opportunists, still enamoured of APPEARANCES, pointed to the militant strikes in auto, steel, etc., as proof of the progressiveness of the CIO. As soon as Lewis, however, was able to place his bureaucratic strait-jacket on the mass movement, in 1938 or thereabouts, the relationship between the rank and file and Lewis became crystal clear. The "progressiveness" of the CIO was in REALITY no different than that of the AFL; it merely had to contend in its early years with a powerful class pressure underneath, which forced it to take on militant APPEARANCES.

The opportunists confused the real progressiveness of class relations, of the class pressure of the proletariat, with the role of the labor faker to behead that movement. The ultra-lefts, on the other hand, are so blinded by the reactionary role of the leadership they disregard the REALITY of the class forces underneath. Having found a parasite feeding on a healthy working class instrument — an elementary organization of workers for economic purposes — they propose to relieve the union of parasitism by relieving the union of itself, by abstaining from work in the mass trade unions, by condemning the UNIONS (THE REALITY) because of the reactionary policies of the leadership: the superficial APPEARANCE of the Union in its day to day acts — without understanding the dialectical relationship of these two factors.

## II. — SPANISH CIVIL WAR

Similar errors were made in the Spanish Civil War of 1936-38. The opportunists persisted in considering the struggle as one between "democracy" — bourgeois democracy — and fascism. They could not for the life of them understand the BASIC factors underneath the struggle. Since Azana was the NOMINAL head of the government and Negrin the administrative head, since both gentlemen were confirmed bourgeois democrats, the struggle was merely between them and the confirmed fascists in the other general headquarters. They based their whole strategy on APPEARANCES.

The REALITY, however, was infinitely more significant. Spanish capitalism had reached a stage of complete breakdown. It could now exist only by complete suppression of the proletarian organizations. The Spanish

form of fascism took the offensive (in the absence of a Marxian policy by the proletarian leadership) to carry out precisely this task. But in the crisis there appeared conflicting bourgeois economic interests and conflicting methods of keeping the working class in check. The Azanas and the Negrins and the Caballeros were forced by the underlying REALITY of a MATURING PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION to take on the APPEARANCE of fighting Fascism, precisely in order to suppress, check, behead the revolution. Those who were not blinded by appearances, like the former left wing of the POUM and the Friends of Durrutti, were able amply to show at every stage how the aims of the Loyalist agents of Anglo-French Imperialism and the Franco agents of German-Italian Imperialism coincided, that only the methods differed and only to a slight degree.

The opportunists, from Negrin down to the Trotskyists, who saw only the appearances, who conceived of the struggle as one between bourgeois democracy and fascism, helped bury the REALITY, the underlying proletarian revolution, by supporting capitalist democracy in its notorious deeds. (Naturally the degree and method of support differed, but the result was the same).

The good ultra-lefts, with their usual abstentionism, took one look at the CURRENT LEADERSHIP of the struggle and hid their heads in the sand. So long as Azana and Negrin were at the top and so long as they were supported by Anglo-French Imperialism the war could be nothing but a reactionary imperialist war. The objective REALITY, the embryo soviets, workers militias, the profound crisis of capitalism — to all these things the ultra-lefts were blind. Like the bourgeois historians they explained history merely in terms of the names of the ruling monarchs.

## III. — THE FRENCH TURN.

That even our most "eminent" students of Dialectics, our "best" ABSTRACT "defenders" of Dialectics, have fallen into the same traps, is evident by the strange gyrations of Trotsky and Trotskyism in the last 6 or 7 years.

Trotsky became so worshipful of the "new" APPEARANCES of social-democracy after the 1934 defeat of the working class in Austria, that he proclaimed the need for entry into the 2nd International. Furthermore: "The fate of the proletariat depends on the rapidity with which social democracy breaks from the bour-

geists state". A truly amazing sentence! Social democracy had so changed that the fate of the whole proletariat, of the proletarian revolution, depends on its making a few additional changes.

What actually happened? Under the pressure of the lethargy and treachery of Austrian Social-Democracy, which controlled more than half of the Austrian people, the majority was disarmed and slaughtered by a semi-fascist small minority. On the heels of the defeat in Germany, rank and file socialists throughout the world became disillusioned with the role of their party. They began to read Lenin (and even Trotsky) and to search for a REVOLUTIONARY, not a REFORMIST way out.

Sensitive of this REALITY the socialist leaders, precisely in order to keep the development within reins, began to give lip service to many revolutionary PHRASES — an identical phenomenon with what happened during the first World War when the social-chauvinists began to vote against war credits only when mass pressure against the war had begun to reach decisive importance.

Trotsky confused the REAL pressure of the rank and file socialists, based on the OBJECTIVE events, with the hypocritical cloak of the socialist traitors. Instead of taking this real development of the rank and file and cutting its umbilical cord from the fakers WHO NOW APPEARED in a left or semi-left garb, he further wedded the disillusioned militants to the rotten bureaucracies, to the treacherous errors of social-democracy.

The Marxists at the time pointed out—what events confirmed 1000% — that social democracy, or any reformist or centrist grouping, cannot be reformed; that to win over its members it was necessary to smash the apparatus, program and leadership of the degenerate International, to expose the hypocritical "leftness" of its Leon Blums and Caballeros. The Marxists dealt with the underlying REALITY and took APPEARANCES only as a guide to secondary strategy—such as sending in small groups into the Socialist Parties, the tactics of exposing the leadership, etc.

The ultra-lefts, recoiling from Trotsky opportunism, again brought forward their abstentionist politics. Nothing had changed for them. Blum was still Blum and Vandervelde, Vandervelde. In the vulgar empirical sense this is true. But in the relationship of class pressure

to the leadership of the proletariat these words have no meaning; they do not explain dynamic events, the leftward ferment inside the ranks of social-democracy. The ultra-lefts proclaimed that negotiations with a left-centrist group or any other is "anti-Marxian"; that a Party can not be built TO ANY DEGREE through unification with any splinters, groups, or other groups — only by individual recruitment.

Trotsky overemphasized and distorted the role of social-democracy; the ultra-lefts completely disregard the pressure of the rank and file revolutionists. For both the APPEARANCES, the role of Social-Democracy is decisive; only each in his own way gives a different interpretation of that role.

#### IV. — THE SOVIET UNION.

The confusionism of appearances and reality is probably most pronounced in relation to the question of the Soviet Union. The ultra-left position (shared by the way by the reformists and many London Buro centrists, as well as many of the new Schachtman-Burnham-Trotsky centrists) is that the Soviet Union is not a Workers State because at the helm is the counter-revolutionary force of Stalinism. The opportunists, on the other hand (we are speaking of opportunists and ultra-lefts just on this one position) claim that because the Soviet Union is progressive, because Stalinism has its roots in the Soviet property relations, Stalinism, too, plays a progressive role — at least on many occasions. This second position is shared only by the official Trotskyists and their near of kin.

It might be pointed out in passing that the overwhelming majority of the labor movement have an ultra-left position on this one point. And that is not at all strange; because starting on the same METHOD of confusing appearances with reality, on this most difficult question they all manage to disregard the fundamental questions of the October Revolution and its new mode of production.

Let's examine it a little more closely.

The basic property relations of October are brought into relation with the rest of the world through the parasitic bureaucracy—Stalinism — which is undermining it. Every single act of this bureaucracy is reactionary. The APPEARANCE that the Soviet Union makes is thus limited to the reactionary method of Stalinism. In its relations with the proletariat in-

side the Soviet Union and its relationship outside, Stalinism has an anti-working class method and role. It warps the development of the Soviet Union towards socialism, as well as the development of the world proletariat toward revolution.

A HEALTHY Workers State and the present DEGENERATED Workers State have enormous differences. The warpings by Stalinism cause it to take on different forms, appearances; bring on the development of anti-working class measures. But the basic REAL characteristics still obtain. The elimination of the contradiction between socialized production and individual appropriation; the elimination of the social relations of capitalism; the substitution of state ownership and appropriation, planned production, etc., constitutes a new REALITY as counterposed to capitalism.

True, that reality has no opportunity of playing the salutary role in world politics and even within Russia that we Marxists expected from a healthy Workers State. But we are dealing here with an underlying reality, with a POTENTIAL which is deeply rooted and can be eliminated only by the counter-revolution of the bourgeoisie against the present regime.

Capitalism can never be developed peacefully into Socialism. It has nothing in common with it EXCEPT IN CERTAIN APPEARANCES, such as its large trusts, post-offices run by the government, etc. The Soviet Union, however, even under Stalinism has the basic elements that can be transformed continuously towards socialism, even though in many APPEARANCES (i. e. its frame-up trials) it seems capitalist. And it is precisely this POTEN-

TIAL, this basic UNDERLYING characteristic of the Soviet Union which the Marxists are concerned in defending.

The vulgar empiricists of the ultra-lefts and reformists — who are united on this major point — are concerned only with the temporary APPEARANCE in which the Soviet Union presents itself, the Stalinist usurpations, excesses, and counter-revolutionary acts.

On the other hand the opportunists of the Trotsky type again see in Stalinism the progressive traits which in reality belong only to the Soviet Union. They confuse, as usual, the revolutionary character of the Workers State with some of the acts of Stalinism. "Insofar" as Stalinism "defends" the Soviet Union, they claim it is progressive. As if Stalinism can ever be progressive; as if, again as in the case of Social Democracy, the labor fakers of the CIO, etc., it were not the social characteristics of the October Revolution that is progressive and causes Stalinism to take on in certain instances an APPEARANCE of "defending" the Soviets, whereas in reality its acts objectively in every instance undermine the Workers State, continue its warping, check the world revolution, strengthen imperialism, etc.

The confusionism of the opportunists thus complements the confusionism of the ultra-lefts. For Marxian dialectics — the study of the contradictions in phenomena and their development — these people have substituted purely empirical criteria, the superficial study of tiny facts in a vacuum, without their relationship to OBJECTIVE REALITY, to basic material conditions.



# Parliamentary Activity - Revolutionary Participation

## I.

History has placed before the working class today a situation which must be met with the application of Marxist revolutionary tactics. We speak specifically about the present Presidential election campaign in the U. S. A.

This election campaign occurs in this period when the greater part of the world is involved in the economic, political and military spread and developments of the second world war. Campaigning goes on in this period when the masses of the workers and other toilers and oppressed people find themselves disoriented from a revolutionary road.

Everywhere reformism serves its ends by further demoralization of the working class; further shackles placed on it by the trade unions and other workers organizations with false and deadly bureaucratic leadership which leaves the workers in growing confusion imbued with a growing spirit of defeatism.

Open and naked reaction everywhere is making headway and consolidating its gains. This is clearly seen in the more or less successful drive against the trade unions by the use of such shiboleths as "trust busting" and purification of the labor movement" and the various drives against so-called "Labor" racketeering. It is seen in the drive against the civil rights of the people in the matter of free speech, free press and peaceable assemblage and particularly in the drive against workers democratic rights.

### THE WORKERS VOTE TACTIC

In order to properly meet this situation the Revolutionary Workers League has decided to enter into this election campaign by means of a workers vote tactic involving the actual running of national candidates for president and vice president and attempting, where-ever possible, to get the League candidates on the ballot and, where such cannot be accomplished, to conduct a campaign to secure write-ins of the names of the League's candidates on the regular ballots in the fall election.

This action of the League's will be met with various criticism from the "Gentlemen" of the "Right", and from the camp of the ultra-lefts as well as by certain doubts and misgivings among some of the more class-conscious and developed workers who, as yet, are not too clear on just what role participation in parliamentary action plays in the application of Marxist revolutionary tactics. It is our purpose here to answer our critics from the right and from the ultra-left and to generally clarify the League's position on the question.

We begin by quoting a portion of paragraph two — section four — of the Communist Manifesto: "The Communist fight for the attainment of the immediate aims, for the enforcement of momentary interests of the working class; but in the movement of the present, they also represent and take care of the future of that movement". In this quotation is found the correct theory governing the application of the Marxist line to revolutionary practice and also in it is found the exposure of the reformists and opportunists of all stripes.

What, then, are the immediate aims of the working masses? They are to wage a fight against unemployment; to build and defend their labor unions, etc.; to fight for higher wages and better working conditions, shorter hours, etc.; to struggle for larger work pro- employedgkaaxS 123456 7890\$. 123456 1234 gram appropriations for greater numbers of the unemployed at trade union rates of pay; to fight for higher standards of direct relief for greater numbers and wider categories of the jobless; to extend and defend their civil and democratic rights against the growing hordes of reaction as well as against the open drives of local and national government against those rights; to prevent the involving of the American working class and the other oppressed and toiling peoples in the slaughter of the second world war. Yes, all of these are among the major immediate aims of the working masses.

## EXPOSE REFORMISTS

Are the above immediate aims before the class today involved as issues in the current national election campaign? It only needs a glance at the campaign material of the Republican and Democratic parties; of the Socialist and Communist parties; of the so-called Third and Communist parties; of the so-called Third Party or "Labor Party" camp in order to realize that these issues are paramount in the current circus of Capitalist class politics. Each of these political camps realize that these issues are the immediate aims of the masses of exploited and oppressed and realize clearly that these issues cannot be ignored in the field of politics. Each camp, therefore, works out its own method of approaching the masses on these issues. Methods which, each in its own way, hides the essential fact that the OBJECTIVES of the methods are to enhance and protect the interests of the capitalist class and their prostitute lackeys.

The Marxists CANNOT IGNORE THESE ISSUES which constitute the immediate aims of the working class. The Marxists, also, must work out methods of meeting these issues and apply these methods IN THAT ARENA WHERE THE MASSES OF THE WORKERS WILL BE FOUND; in the arena of capitalist politics, in this particular election period.

With their control, of press and radio, with their control of public forums and speakers platforms, etc., as well as with the able assistance of the pulpit and the open and concealed support of the agents of capitalism in the ranks

of labor—the Labor Fakers and the reformists; the general staff of the capitalists have injected their election campaign into every walk of life. The election campaign has become the theme of the trade unions; of the youth organizations; of the unemployed on and off the WPA; of the farmers organizations and tenant and share-croppers unions; of the organizations of the Negroes. To be a Marxist is to be of and among the working class. Marxists cannot, therefore, evade the election campaign. They must meet it; expose its poison and fight against it. Methods to that end must be devised.

But the Marxists methods of participation in the capitalist election campaign must have as their main and ultimate objectives not the enhancement and protection of the interests of the capitalist system and of its bribed and paid lackeys, but the objective of exposure of the whole bourgeois camp, including the electoral process and the mobilization of the workers to BREAK UP and DESTROY that camp and everything it represents. The means to that end is the struggle for the maximum possible realization of the immediate and momentary interests.

It is not enough for the League to enter the election campaign with only the presentation of its own program. The League must also familiarize itself thoroughly with the positions of the various camps and expose those camps. It must expose the policies in the arena of life itself.

(The second installment of this article by the Revolutionary Workers League will appear in the next issue of this magazine.)