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UNITED STATES AT CROSS ROADS

"The new democracy, the democracy of the common man", said Vice-President Henry A. Wallace in his New York speech commemorating the Russian Revolution, "includes not only the Bill of Rights, but economic democracy, ethnic democracy, educational democracy, and democracy in the treatment of the sexes,"

But these so-called five "democracies", unfortunately were never so much in retreat as they are today. Mr. Wallace holds them forth as a COMPLETE PROMISE for the future. For the moment, however, the "five democracies", like the "four freedoms" and the "Atlantic Charter", remain suspended for the duration.

The Bill of Rights has been tinkered with by the imprisonment of American citizens simply because they are of Japanese ancestry, through censorship, through the extra-legal outlawing of the right to strike, and through a hundred other restrictions of movement and speech.

"Economic democracy" is even worse off than the Bill of Rights. The spread between rich and poor is much greater. Wages have been stabilized at a lower real wage level than 1941, but profits have soared to their highest peaks. An inequitable tax system has placed the main load upon the lower middle class, the oppressed and exploited, while the wealthy and powerful master class suffers only slightly greater taxes because of the war. But over and above all this, rationing, artificial shortages, priorities, etc. are cutting the standard of living more than anything since 1932.

"Ethnic democracy", also seems to be relegated to some distant day in the future. What we note all around us is lynching of Negroes not only in civilian life but also in the armed services. The barriers against the black man in the army and navy have still to be lifted, and anti-semitism in America is growing beneath the surface.

"Educational democracy" is being carried out by the closing of hundreds--probably thousands--of schools, the curtailment of expenditures for education everywhere, the regimentation of education through greater control of reading matter for the youth, various nationalistic practices, etc.

The less said about the "treatment of the sexes", the better.

We wonder as we read the good Vice-President's speech whether he was sitting on the planet Mars smoking a voo-doo pipe, or whether he could have been on the planet Earth with his eyes open. The whole direction of American and World Capitalism is not toward the "five democracies", but very definitely away from it.

Of course, we are assured that all these measures are but temporary expedients to "win the war". But this thinking is absolutely false in three respects:

First, there can be NOTHING BUT IMPERIALIST WAR so long as capitalism exists. "Peace" is only a truce in the present period, a truce that comes about only when internal dangers of revolution become pressing enough so that the Imperialists must temporarily lay aside their own fratricidal problems to take care of the main danger. Notwithstanding all the gibberish of Wallace about "peace with justice", the World will remain an armed camp and wars will come sooner and more devastatingly so long as the profit system prevails.

(It must be recalled that the "restrictions on democracy", particularly this mythical "economic democracy", began in Central Europe through "white terror" at the close of the first war, and in Italy, at least 15 years before the present imperialist carnage. Decree rule started in Germany two years before Hitler came to power, and almost 10 years before the war. Decree rule occurred in France fully two years before the war.)

Secondly, the whole history of capitalism since the turn of the century is one leading not to less but to greater regimentation. Marx revealed this in the last century and Lenin further developed this thesis in the first world war. State interference has become necessary in order to take out at least a few of the bumps in the anarchy of capitalist production; it has become necessary in order to avoid GREATER bankruptcies particularly of the middle classes; it has become necessary in order to effectively fight world competition and the political restrictions of the "have-not" nations who are setting up so-called "closed-in economies"; it has become necessary in order to keep the masses in check, as a result of increased privation.

Thirdly, the whole set-up of American capitalism is such that far from assuring reforms, it precludes them. In the boom times of the golden twenties, when the national debt was comparatively low, when speculators were coining profits, the bourgeoisie could afford "quart of milk" concessions, although they didn't always give it. In the thirties, the system was still able to grant some reforms; the threat of a major revolt in the United States forced Wall Street to fall back on the New Deal and its reformist program. But the situation is vastly changed today. By the end of next year, according to Mr. Roosevelt, the country will be saddled with a 250 billion dollar debt. The country will be in hock to the banks for at least 150 billions. Per capita debt will be somewhere near \$2,200 for each man, woman, and child in the United States. Figured in terms of the 1932 income the debt will amount to EIGHT FULL YEARS OF NATIONAL EARNINGS OF EVERY INDIVIDUAL IN THE COUNTRY. Figured in terms of the 1938 income it

will amount to four years of our total national earnings. Can capitalism grant reforms under these circumstances? Very obviously not! Instead of concessions, the Wall Street moguls must start taking away dozens of the rights gained in a hundred and fifty years of struggle.

But even this does not exhaust the picture. After the war and during it will come the great problem and the great cost of feeding a famine ridden world and of fighting with force of arms the social revolution. After the war the full effect of rationalization of industry these last two years will begin to be felt. Technological unemployment running into millions of men will be added to the millions of demobilized soldiers and the permanent army of unemployed that existed throughout the thirties. The toll will undoubtedly be staggering. The costs of even minimum standards of relief will make the national budget top-heavy. Far from granting reforms--from assuring bottle of milk every day to every person--capitalism must organize fascist mobs to keep the underdogs in line. Victory in war does not assure greater privileges to the masses, or greater "democracy". A victorious Italy in the last war was forced to go over to Fascism. All the victorious powers in this war will have a similar choice, FASCISM OR COMMUNISM, there is no other road, there can be no return to bourgeois democracy after this war, bourgeois democracy as we have known it.

Looked at in this light, America today stands at the crossroads. Things are happening so fast, and promises like those of Wallace are floating around so irresponsible, that we sometimes do not realize the full extent of change of the American social scene. But the change is not only far-reaching, it is permanent.

THE SOCIAL SCENE

Here are just a few of the vast changes in American life in the past twenty-four months; the white pass-port card (draft card) that most people must carry around at every moment, finger printing for war workers, black-listing of militants through the U. S. Employment Services, freezing of wages and the freezing of jobs, rationing of gas, fuel oil, coffee, sugar, and soon meats and other commodities, conscription (people forget that there was no conscription in the U.S. until the world war, except to a limited extent in the Civil War), man power control and wage control, and so on.

From 1929 onward there has been a progressive Europeanization of the American class relations. The early thirties saw veterans marching on Washington, unemployed demonstrations running into the hundreds of thousands. In the middle thirties America witnessed its first nation-wide movement of sit-down strikes, organization of the mass industries into industrial unions, and the birth of a reformist political movement outside of the traditional Socialists and Stalinists. Now in 1942, America has caught up with Europe; American regimentation is equal to--or almost equal to--that of Europe.

The coming months will bring this out in an ever more pronounced fashion. The new Congress means an uphill fight of the New Deal. Even a New Deal Congress would grant less and less "reforms". Henceforth the working class will be on the retreat, so long as its leaders continue to shackle it to the Roosevelt government. An attack is coming on the 40-hour week, on the closed shop, on consumers prices, on the limitation of salaries of the rich (not the poor) and on other New Deal reforms. The Roosevelt machine has one of two choices to make: either it retreats and concedes all these reactionary measures, thus becoming just a tail to the right wing of Wall Street; or it can proceed to rule by decree, ignoring Congress on the grounds that this is a National emergency. Either way, the masses can expect nothing but reaction from Washington. REAL wages will continue to fall, democratic rights will continue to be dissipated and removed.

The working class today is on the defensive. How far the reactionary program of the bourgeois forces now in the halls of government proceeds will depend on how much independent working class opposition develops within the coming period. But the American proletariat has not yet been defeated in a major skirmish. Resentment continues to simmer amongst the rank and file. Slowly and unconsciously the dialectical process leading to social revolt matures and deepens. If the working class soon moves over to independent class action, the present right wing shift in class relations will be checked. If this process takes longer, however, it will take a trained social expert months to discern the differences between "our" system and that which exists in the "dark" countries. The most likely variant is an increase in class struggle against capitalism in the United States.

The American bourgeoisie is preparing for both eventualities. Both the Willkie "liberals" and the semi-fascist groups are being subsidized and nurtured. A reactionary like G. K. Smith in Michigan receives 100 thousand votes. The Coughlan paper has been suspended, but Coughlanism has not been stamped out. The bourgeoisie has merely forced a temporary truce upon them--very much as they did with Mussolini in 1918 and 1919, and very much as they did with Hitler in the early 30's.

At the same time Mr. Willkie, trusted errand boy of the Morgan empire, is mouthing left wing phrases all over the lot, denouncing "imperialism" in China (!), and denouncing Darlan in North Africa. When 1944 rolls around the American capitalists will merely look out the window, see how the proletariat reacts--whether it is in the process of greater class action or is meekly submitting--and then place its main emphasis on the candidate (among its candidates) that is needed. If there is a proletarian movement on the offensive the pressure from below will allow a "liberal" regime to be instituted to quiet the storm and prepare things for the outright reaction of the fascists unless the workers overcome this trap. If the proletariat is still in retreat then a more reactionary regime than the New Deal but not yet a fascist regime will be chosen.

Either way the determining factor in American social life is the PROLETARIAT. Bourgeois Democracy has already outlived its usefulness for the bourgeoisie - that is why we are at the crossroads; but how soon we go over to Fascism (or Communism) depends entirely on the actions of the international working class, of which the American working class will play a major role.

In that connection the main danger today within United States is not from the fascists. The main danger for an American form of the People's Front. That includes the Socialists, the Stalinists, the American Labor Partyites, the trade union bureaucracies, and the two Trotsky groups. Unless the proletariat acts independent of all other classes and all other parties it will merely face another People's Front regime and be "softened up" for the Fascists, as soon as Peoples Frontism has lulled the class to sleep. Therein lies the greatest danger of the moment. The talk about a Labor Party is more harmful to the working class than a dozen mass meetings of a Father Coughlin - at the moment, of course. Tomorrow the situation may be reversed. But at the moment Social reformism is the greatest danger.

America at the crossroads poses many problems for the Revolutionary Marxists. If the danger of Fascism in our times in the United States is to be averted, the Revolutionary Marxian organization must maintain with renewed firmness its political program, must continue an irreconcilable struggle against the bourgeoisie and its agents of both right and left. At the moment that means an especially vigorous struggle against the left-wing bourgeois agents and in particular the objective agents, the centrists. This is only so because they are the ones that pave the way for Fascism.

The rapidity with which the proletariat builds a new Revolutionary Marxian Party in the United States, on a program of independent class action and the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, the rapidity with which this task is completed to a large degree will tell the tale of whether in the present decade we are to have fascism or Communism. There can be no other choice, no other road; neither a long evolutionary waiting period, nor a short cut. The die is cast: America is at the crossroads. The working class must not again be caught napping.

In the next phase of American class relations the danger of the Labor Party will be increased because this ideological and organized force paves the way for Fascism. To fight this effectively we must fight only on the axis of anti-capitalism and pro-communism, with the attack against the social reformist and centrist properly subordinated.

WHEN WILL THE WAR END?

Everybody is interested in the question of the ending of the present imperialist war. But very few people really know when it will end. One guess seems to be as good as another. And least of all should one listen to the "experts" of the different warring governments, who are just putting out propaganda.

However, it is not such a difficult question as one thinks; that is, after one takes into consideration all of the basic factors and gives a scientific analysis.

WHERE DO WE STAND TODAY?

We have reached the stage of war where all of the imperialist powers are involved. Only Turkey, Spain, Sweden, Portugal, Switzerland and Argentina and Chile are important "neutrals". But their neutrality is a joke and they are indirectly up to their necks in the war, even though the form of struggle is different.

In a true sense this is a global war, an international struggle of capitalism for the redivision of the earth. The post war plans of all the powers revolve around the concept that they must dominate and subordinate the economy of the earth to their internal needs. Basically it is a race between the plan to "Americanize" the world, to the needs of the Dollar (as we stated in 1935) or the Hitler "New Order". Even Japanese might come second to these plans, and so does John Bull's.

THE MILITARY PHASE

At the present juncture the effects of the giant productive forces of American imperialism are revealing their impact upon the battle front. The so-called turn from a defensive to an offensive position on the part of the United Nations is to a large extent due to the productive forces of American imperialism and its tremendous reserve of men and material. But even more important than this is the fact that the Soviet Union, despite Stalinism, turned the tide against the Nazi advance at Stalingrad. Without this, the battle in North Africa and in the Pacific would take on a different complexion. The Soviet winter offensive is even more important than the other battles.

WAR AND PEACE

To understand not only what kind of peace we will get but also when we will get it we must first of all understand what caused the war. To repeat what is commonplace to a Marxist but utterly unknown to most others: the

imperialist war is an inevitable outgrowth of the capitalist system of production for markets. It is a struggle for the redivision of the earth among the imperialist powers, who must eliminate other competitors on the capital and commodity market--or else face internal revolution themselves. In other words, it is imperialist war or social revolution. It is both, because although the imperialists must plunge into colonial conquest and imperialist war in order to prevent internal decay at home, they only postpone the fatal day of the social revolution.

WHO WANTS PEACE?

It is wrong to state that because they are making too much profit the exploiters do not want peace. The last part is true, of course. Many are making large profit, but they fear the outcome of the war more than their lucrative returns of the moment. Most intelligent, farsighted exploiters try to plan how to end the war as soon as possible. Not for the sake of lessening slaughter of the workers and oppressed minorities, not for the sake of more profits; but rather because they see the handwriting on the wall, in France, in Italy, in India and in all countries where the exploiters war is CREATING REVOLUTION.

It is not the desires of the exploiters for war or peace that determines their policy. Even though they desire peace, peace will not come at their bidding. Although the exploiters DOMINATE society, they DO NOT control the economic forces once they are let loose in imperialist slaughter. In their own way they are subject to the laws of capitalism just as are the workers.

Under such circumstances it would be only a short time before the other world powers would unite in one form or another against this Colossus. And it would be only a minute in history before the various colonial masses rise up in revolt against the "king of nations".

WHAT KIND OF A PEACE WILL WE GET?

If the Axis wins we know what kind of a peace Germany and her allies will dictate. If the United Nations win, regardless of the so-called Atlantic "World" Charter we also know what kind of a peace we will obtain. This peace will be a mad scramble for the dominant position on the earth among the victors. And the United States, that is Wall Street, has learned much by their mistakes during the Wilson regime in the first world war. This time they will see to it that their world interests are protected. This policy will be carried out by a policy of no annexation, not only for itself but especially FOR OTHER IMPERIALISTS. The United States can control the world by its economic might and the dollar--only if it prevents the other imperialists from land annexation as was the case of Japan, England and France in the last world war.

The United States will want "concessions", not extra-territorial rights, but concessions for AIR and naval bases in all parts of the earth, mainly to control the air routes of the world. With her economic strength and with control of the air routes she will dominate the earth--IF the proletarian and colonial revolutions are defeated.

WAR OR REVOLUTION!

Revolution is the only force that can end this war. Otherwise the economic crises of capitalism must lead to one armed battle after another - assuming always that the revolution is defeated. Should the allies win, it would be only a relatively short time before Britain and America would be at open loggerheads. Should the axis win, similar struggles would come to the surface between Germany and Japan, or Germany and the Latin bloc of Italy, France and Spain, or any one of a number of different combinations. The important thing is that so long as capitalism exists there can be no peace - only a shorter and shorter interim between world wars.

The imperialists must continue to fight incessantly. Only the Social Revolution, or the threat of it, can force the Big Powers to end the imperialist carnage. For 21 years after the First World War the danger of social revolution and the actual outbreak of over 30 proletarian revolts forced the capitalist nations to hold their war in abeyance. It was only with the decisive defeat of the Spanish proletariat in 1938 - following on the heels of the defeats in Austria, Germany and the set-back in France - that the world powers were able to again resume their inner-imperialist antagonisms.

Only the Social Revolution - the overthrow of capitalism - can end the war that is the basic lesson of all modern history.

A NEGOTIATED PEACE, OR SEPARATE PEACE.

The United Nations are pledged to no separate peace. But if economic and military circumstances demand, this will be another scrap of paper. However the American supplies and the disposal of her armed forces is also aimed to take care of this by pump-priming the forces that could be placed in a position for such needs. Naturally they would like to have a separate peace with Italy.

But for the main sections of the United Nations bloc all indications are that a separate peace is excluded. The only alternative that will wreck this plan is the development of social revolutions that effect the countries concerned.

Above all, each side of the conflict desires to defeat the enemy in order that they may not make a come-back, as Germany did. This means invasion and taking over certain basic control of the defeated nations, and even dividing it up.

REAL PEACE IN THIS WAR

The religious fakers of all religions and of all denominations will tell you that death on the battle field, fighting for your country, is real peace, a lasting peace in heaven. But that is just a hypocritical joke.

Real peace cannot exist if either side of the imperialists win. A dictated peace under Fascism is understood by all in advance. But a dictated peace under the United Nations is not understood. Little do the people realize that a United Nations imperialist victory will differ little from the Fascist peace.

Capitalism in decay has brought on this war, but the war has not stopped the decay. It has accelerated the decay. And decay capitalism breeds Fascism and reaction, unemployment, starvation and imperialist war. Fascism will spread after the war, no matter which group of imperialists wins, even though it may not be a Hitler Fascism, (that is, if the workers don't win).

WE know when the war will end. And so do the general staffs of the imperialist armies. The imperialist war will end when the workers and oppressed masses rise in revolt against the exploiting rulers, against the fascists and the other imperialists. When the social revolutions develop the imperialists will be FORCED TO STOP THE WAR AS THEY WERE FORCED TO STOP THE FIRST WORLD WAR OF 1914-18.

Lasting peace, real peace is possible on the basis of a socialist Europe, on the basis of a Soviet Government in the different countries effected, NOT on the basis of ANY military victories.

When will this come? We think this winter will be very important for social unrest and revolutionary development. At the latest, this spring will unleash proletarian and colonial revolts in several important countries.

This will be the beginning of the end of the imperialist war.

LENIN ANSWERS SOME QUESTIONS

The following quotations from Lenin are so apropos of the present times that we could not resist the temptation of re-printing them. We have formulated a few questions and have subdivided the material, but whatever appears in quotation marks is from Lenin's writings during the first World War.

Q.: WHY DO THE LABOR LEADERS, SOCIALISTS, STALINISTS, ETC., SUPPORT THE WAR?

A.: "Monopoly yields super-profit, i.e. a surplus of profit above that capitalist profit which is normal and usual throughout the world. From this super-profit the capitalists are able to set aside a portion (and by no means a small one) in order to bribe their workers, to create ... the union of the workers of this particular nation with their masters against the other countries..."

SOCIAL-CHAUVINISM

Q.: WHAT IS SOCIAL-CHAUVINISM?

A.: "Social chauvinism is adherence to the idea of 'defending the fatherland' in the present war...The social chauvinists follow the bourgeoisie in deceiving the people by saying that the war is conducted for the defense of the freedom and the existence of the nations, thus they put themselves on the side of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat."

WHAT KIND OF WAR

Q.: WHAT IS THE CHARACTER OF THE WAR?

A.: "The present war is of an imperialist character. This war is the outcome of the conditions of an epoch when capitalism has reached the highest stage of its development; when the greatest significance is attached not only to the export of commodities, but also to the export of capital; when the combination of production units cartels, and the internationalization of economic life has assumed considerable dimensions; when colonial politics have brought about an almost total apportionment of the globe among the colonial powers; when the productive forces of world capitalism have outgrown the limited boundaries of national and state divisions, when objective conditions for the realization of Socialism have perfectly ripened."

NEW INTERNATIONAL

Q.: WHAT IS THE CLASS SIGNIFICANCE OF THE FIGHT FOR A NEW INTERNATIONAL AGAINST THE EXISTING TENDENCIES?

A.: "On the one hand, there is a tendency of the bourgeoisie and the op-

portunists to turn a handful of the richest, privileged nations into 'eternal' parasites on the body of the rest of humanity... (for) the exploitation of the Negroes, Indians, etc., keeping them in subjection with the assistance of the well-equipped destructive technique of modern militarism. On the other hand, the tendency of the masses, more oppressed than formerly and bearing all the tortures of imperialist wars, is to throw off that yoke, to overthrow the bourgeoisie. The history of the labor movement will from now on inevitably unfold itself in the struggle between these two tendencies."

"SMALLNESS"

Q.: BUT WHAT ABOUT THE EXISTING PARTIES? AFTER ALL, YOU ARE SO SMALL.

A.: "...it is not so much a question of how many members there are in an organization (as) what is the real objective meaning of its politics; whether these politics represent... (and) serve the masses, i.e. the liberation of the masses from capitalism, or whether it represents the interest of the (bribed) minority, its conciliation with capitalism."

"CENTRISM"

Q.: WHAT IS THE BASE AND ROLE OF CENTRIST GROUPS, SUCH AS THE BRITISH INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY, THE TROTSKYISTS, ETC.?

A.: They "...represent no independent current, having no roots in the masses or in the privileged section which went over to the bourgeoisie... utilizing the ideology of the past, it energetically attempts to reconcile the proletariat with the 'bourgeois labor parties' to maintain their unity, and in this way raise the authority of the latter..." at a time when they begin to lose influence.

MARXIAN TASKS

Q.: WHAT ARE THE TASKS OF MARXISTS TODAY?

A.: "... go lower and deeper to the real masses..." Expose "the fact that the opportunists and social chauvinists betray and sell out the interests of the masses, that they defend the temporary privileges of a minority of the workers;" transmit "bourgeois ideas and influence," act as "allies and agents of the bourgeoisie..." Thereby we "teach the masses to recognize their real political interests, to fight for Socialism and the revolution throughout all the long and painful vicissitudes of imperialist war and imperialist armed truces." "...To utilize the experiences of the war in order to unmask the whole repulsiveness of national liberal labor politics, and not to cover them up--that is the only Marxian line in the working class movement of the world."

Q.: DOESN'T THE FACT THAT THE STALINISTS SAY THEY AGREE WITH YOU, PROVE THEY'RE MARXIST?

A.: "It has always happened in history, that after the death of revolutionary leaders popular amongst the oppressed classes, their enemies attempted to utilize their names, for the deception of the masses."

OTHER QUOTATIONS FROM LENIN

"The bourgeoisie has already begotten, nurtured and made sure of for itself, the "bourgeois labor parties" of the social chauvinists, in all countries. (Ed. note: It must be remembered this was written in the midst of the first world war, and does not apply to today only because the decay of capitalism has made it necessary for the bourgeoisie of some countries to do away with them, Germany, Italy, etc.) The difference, for instance, between the already formed party of Bissolati in Italy, a party wholly social-imperialist, and let us say, a partially - formed semi-party, of the Potresevs (etc.)... is immaterial. The important thing is that the economic breaking away of a section of the labor aristocracy to the bourgeoisie has developed and become completed, and whatever its political form, (Ed. note: For today read: support of the New Dealism, Labor Party, etc.) this economic fact, this shifting in the relations between the classes, can be found without special effort.

REWARDS FOR SOCIAL PATRIOTS

"On the economic basis indicated, the political institutions of modern capitalism--press, parliament, trade unions, congresses, etc., have created, corresponding to the economic privileges and bribes for respectful, meek, reformist and patriotic employees and workers, political privileges and bribes. Lucrative and peaceful berths in the ministries, or the war industry committee (Ed. note: could he have been speaking of Green, Lewis, Murray proposals for "labor participation on government boards"?), in parliament and in various commissions, on the editorial staffs of "solid" legal newspapers, or in the administration of no less solid and "bourgeois-abiding" labor unions--this is how the imperialist bourgeoisie attracts and rewards the representatives and supporters of the "bourgeois labor parties."

LLOYD GEORGE - F D R

Speaking of bourgeois liberalism, such as the New Deal, etc., Lenin analyzed the role of one of their spokesmen in the last war, Lloyd George: "...A first-class bourgeois manipulator and political shark, a popular orator, able to deliver all sorts of speeches, even r-r-revolutionary speeches before a workers audience; capable of giving considerable gifts to the obedient workers in the shape of social reforms, (insurance, etc.) Lloyd George serves the bourgeoisie splendidly. He serves the bourgeoisie precisely amongst the

workers, transmits its influence precisely to the proletariat, there, where it is most needed and where it is most difficult of all to subordinate the masses morally to the bourgeoisie." (ed. note: apropos the British and American national unity of Tories and Liberals, a foot note by Lenin says: "...an article by a Tory, a political opponent of Lloyd George's, entitled 'Lloyd George from the point of view of a Tory.' (showed) the war had opened the eyes of this opponent to a realization of what an excellent assistant of the bourgeoisie this Lloyd George is! The Tories have made peace with him.")

LABOR PARTIES

And is there much difference between the bourgeois liberals and the social-chauvinists, the Socialists, Stalinists, etc.? Wont some of those who have betrayed, come back to the side of actually defending workers interests? "This is impossible, but it is an insignificant difference in degree, if we consider the question on a political, i.e. a mass scale. Individual leaders from the present-day social-chauvinist leaders may return to the proletariat. but the social-chauvinist tendency or (what amounts to the same thing) the opportunist tendency, neither disappears nor returns to the revolutionary proletariat. Wherever Marxism is popular amongst the workers, this political current, this "bourgeois labor party" will swear by the name of Marx. We cannot prevent them from doing this, just as it is impossible to prohibit a trading firm using any label, any sign, any advertisement. It has always happened in history, that after the death of revolutionary leaders popular amongst the oppressed classes, their enemies attempted to utilize their names, for the deception of the oppressed classes."

What of the role of the centrists, such as the British Independent Labor Party, the Trotskyites, etc. who take end the Lewises, Labor Party, etc.? "...without a determined, merciless struggle all along the line, against these parties, or, it is the same thing against groups, tendencies, etc., (our emphasis--Ed.) there can be no talk of a struggle against imperialism, or of Marxism, or of a Socialist Labor Movement..."

Centrism--which took the form of Kautskyism in the first World War, "...represents no independent current, having no roots either in the masses or in the privileged section which went over to the bourgeoisie. The danger of Kautskyism is that, utilizing the ideology of the past (ed.: such as the Trotskyite use of the Marxist period of Trotsky's life), it energetically attempts to reconcile the proletariat with the 'bourgeois labor parties' to maintain their unity, and in this way raise the authority of the latter." And when the old fakers begin to lose influence, "open social-chauvinists are not followed by the masses any longer", then "the concealed defense of social-chauvinism by the Kautskyans is the most dangerous thing of all." "One of the most widely spread sophisms of Kautskyism consists in their references to the masses 'masses.' We do not want, they say, to break away

from the masses and mass organizations..." But even in Marx's and Engels' day the class collaborationist forces dominated the labor movement; nevertheless Marx and Engels did not reconcile themselves to it on these grounds, but exposed it.

UNIONS AND THE LABOR PARTY

As if in answer to the Trotskyist argument that because trade unions will support the Labor Party, Marxists must also, Lenin says, "...and this is the main point, it is not so much a question of how many members there are in an organization, (as) what is the real objective meaning of its politics; whether these politics represent the masses whether they serve the masses, i.e., the liberation of the masses from Capitalism, or whether it represents the interest of the minority, its conciliation with capitalism..."

What is the Marxists task today? It is not to tail end "the defenders of the fatherland" in the imperialist war" who represent only the interests of a minority, but to expose them. "...go lower and deeper to the real masses; this is the meaning and content of the struggle against opportunism. Exposing the fact that the opportunists and social-chauvinists in reality betray and sell-out the interests of the masses that they defend the temporary privileges of a minority of the workers; that they are transmitting bourgeois ideas and influence, that in practice they are allies and agents of the bourgeoisie, we thereby teach the masses to recognize their real political interests, to fight for socialism and the revolution throughout all the long and painful vicissitudes of imperialist wars and imperialist armed truces." "...to utilize the experiences of the war in order to unmask the whole repulsiveness of national liberal labor politics, and not to cover them up-- that is the only Marxian line in the working class movement of the world."

CORRECTION ON ARTICLE IN LAST ISSUE

The article in the Nov-Dec 1942 issue on the Constituent Assembly has been corrected by omitting the last two paragraphs. These two paragraphs were rejected by the Sixth RWL Convention of January 1-2-3-1943. We therefore present this information for our readers.