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Affiliates

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STACK 3

TO THE EXPLOITED AND OPPRESSED:**COMRADES:**

The battlefields of the world are strewn with the mutilated bodies of hundreds of thousands of the healthiest and most talented of the world's youth. The great powers are vying with each other to see which power can better tint the rivers and fields of the world with the red blood of the "enemy" youth. After three and a half years millions are already dead and missing; millions more have been maimed for life, their ambitions and dreams snuffed out in this one mad enterprise of the capitalist world.

And for what? For what do the oppressed and exploited masses of humanity fight? Whose interests do they serve in the armies of their masters?

The second, like the first, World War is a war for imperialist gain, a war for markets and riches, a war for colonies - directly or indirectly controlled - a war in which the capitalists of all nations fight only for control of the world's investments and profits. How can any person doubt this? How can anyone believe that the Morgans, the Rockefellers, the Grenfells, the Mistubishis, the Krupps, and the other finance capitalists have suddenly been imbued with noble desires for the "Four Freedoms", or "lebensraum"?

We Communists - (Not Stalinists!) - have long predicted this war. From the very day that the first war ended we pointed out that either the World Revolution will be victorious, or capitalism will again one day resume the fratricidal struggle, amongst the powers for markets and spheres of influence. We were proven 100% correct. History has verified our every prediction. Dying capitalism tried for 20 years to stave off the results of its sicknesses. For twenty long years it fought off the proletarian revolution, on the one hand, and it tried to bolster its moribund economy on the other. But it could not be. Production continued - and continues to this day - to outstrip world markets. Competition between individual capitalists mounts to political competition between states; capitalist inventions and technological improvements result only in greater scarcity, in plowing under, in closed-in "self-sufficient" economies. The individual states engage in political warfare, tariffs, aski-marks, trade pacts, etc. But even this stop gap gains nothing. The inevitable result, the inevitable end of this whole capitalist tragedy, can only be War. The first war leads to a second and the second to a third, unless the forces of progress and stability, the forces of proletarian revolution can destroy the capitalist monster-system of war, unemployment and colonial oppression.

The masses of the world stand today engulfed in the greatest madness of all history, filled with the lies of church, press, schools, and radio, filled with the blatant demagogy of apologists for Capitalism. Not

only in the Fascist countries; but in the so-called Democratic countries as well.

In the name of "Democracy", economic want is reaching a twentieth century high. In the name of "Democracy" the working masses have been tied into one knot of regimentation after another, wage freezing, job freezing, restrictions on movement, elimination of all democratic rights, onslaughts against the trade union movement, censorship and repression.

In the name of "Democracy" a thousand Indian workers and peasants are slaughtered by the British Imperialists, for the sole crime of demanding bread, land and freedom. In the name of "Democracy", the Allied Imperialists impose a semi-fascist regime on the "liberated" North African colonies. In the name of "Democracy" the Porto Rican colonial masses are reduced to universal starvation.

What a sham! What an evil joke! In all "Democratic" countries the forces of open reaction and Fascism are growing with seven league boots. In all "Democratic" countries, Workers Rights are being taken away with a breathless and embarrassing haste. Thus again the words of the Marxists are confirmed - bourgeois democracy and fascism are children of the same mother, capitalism; bourgeois democracy merely paves the way for fascism. The brutality and evils of fascism are too well known to bear repetition; but the lies of the "Democracies" becloud the fact that here too the death throes of capitalism is breeding more open repression and brutality. The Revolutionary Marxists denounce German and Italian Fascism; and Japanese totalitarianism, for their imperialist ambitions, for their gruesome attacks against the living standards of the working class, for their barbaric persecution of oppressed minorities such as the Jews. But we denounce equally the so-called Democratic powers, who share the same imperialist ambitions, who are fighting a death struggle to defend their gloated empires, who are not quite as barbaric and not quite as repressive as yet only because of their super-profits which for the time being still permit minor reforms and concessions.

All over the world Fascist tendencies are growing, and not just temporarily either. The "economy of scarcity" of dying capitalism permits of no other outcome. Either a lower and still lower standard of living, and its political concomitant, Fascism, or the complete destruction of capitalism, in all its forms (Fascist and "Democratic" both) and creation of a Workers Council Republic.

Comrades and fellow workers, in this hour of misery and despoilation, there is no need to despair. The forces of world revolution are growing unheralded and almost unseen; but they are growing by leaps and bounds nonetheless.

That the masses will soon revolt is a foregone conclusion. Every war period in all history has had a revolutionary climax. The first World

War ended with the victorious Russian Revolution and the defeated Revolutions in Germany, Austria, Hungary, Finland, Bulgaria, and other lands. The second War will end in the same way - in fact there can be no other conclusions. The revolt of the masses in India, the rumblings in France and central Europe and in fact even the small strike of the anthracite miners in the United States, all point to a coming Revolutionary storm - not in the distant but in the very near future.

The Revolution, the struggle for the liberation of mankind will come soon of that there can be no doubt whatsoever. But our task, as proletarians and revolutionists is to see to it that the Revolution is successful, that it destroys capitalism and the capitalist state once and for all.

The Second World War like the first demands an uncompromising struggle against the social-patriotic and centrist elements within the Labor Movement itself. Without a struggle against opportunism in all its forms, victory is impossible. Without a relentless exposure of the social imperialist role of the Stalinists, and the trade union bureaucrats, of the semi-pacifist pre-war role of the Socialists and of the centrist fulminations of the Trotsky organizations - without a clear cut opposition to these organizations, a struggle against the Imperialist War is impossible.

The Second War, even more than the first, has seen the abject capitulation of all the major organizations of the working class, to the "defense of the fatherland". Stalinism has not only become a tail to the "Democratic" war effort, but it has pledged itself to a ruthless struggle against proletarian revolution for at least 20 years. Social-Democracy in Europe has repeated its role as a pawn of the imperialist governments. In America, far removed from the seats of power, the Second International supports the war effort but with "criticism" of its administration. The Old London Bureau, the Independent Labor Party, the Pivot Group, and the various Trotsky organizations continue to mouthe harmless pacifist phrases, harmless and automatic words of "opposition to the war", but constantly propose actions and strategies that give comfort and aid to the bourgeois war effort, but confuse, demoralize, and retard the development of the masses. It is impossible to "fight" the war and at the same time propose "trade union control of military training". It is impossible to "fight" the war and at the same time (with "left" criticism) support pacifist organizations, labor parties, rationing nationalist movements in the capitalist countries, etc. It is impossible to "fight" the war on the program of centrism that "democracy" is a lesser evil than Fascism.

Yes, the masses of the world must soon revolt against the monstrous blood-letting. But in their path will be hurled the demagoguery, and confusion of these reformist and centrist elements

within their own ranks, as well as the open repression of the Fascist, military and other reactionary forces.

Now as never before Proletarian Revolution means the building of a Revolutionary World Party of Marxism, a New Communist Fourth International. Without such a Party, based on the scientific teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin, victory is impossible.

Just as the victory of the Russian Revolution was predicated on the existence of the Bolshevik Party and its center for a Third International, so the victory of the working class in the present war is predicated on the building of a Fourth Communist International.

The forces for such an International today are very small - centered primarily around the International Contact Commission. But the Program of these forces is all important. On the program of turning the imperialist war into a civil war, of the main enemy is at home, of continuing the Class Struggle in all phases of the total war effort - on such a program a new movement will eventually gain recruits by the thousands.

In every Revolutionary Period the masses have shifted far to the left of their leadership. The English Revolution had its "Diggers"; the French Revolution had its "egalitarians" and its Babeef; the American Revolution had its "levellers and agrarians"; the masses in the Russian Revolution were sometimes far ahead of the Bolsheviks. Driven by despair the masses must always move to the extreme left.

But that revolutionary energy will be dissipated and destroyed unless a new Marxian Party is born to direct it into useful channels.

Three and a half years after the start of the second World War we are again moving to a new October. In that and in that only lies the salvation of mankind.

LONG LIVE THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION.

DEFEND THE SOVIET UNION

LONG LIVE THE COMMUNIST FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

International Contact Commission
(Provisional)

AFFILIATES:

Red Front of Germany
Revolutionary Workers League of the United States
Leninist League of Scotland

FASCISM A PRODUCT OF DECAY CAPITALISM

Bourgeois writers, as well as the opportunists, and the Marxists, recognize that we are at a turning point in world history. However, with typical class blindness, they refuse to recognize that the turning point consists in the fact that it is a period in which their class rule is coming to an end. They recognize, with the Marxists, that our epoch is one of wars and revolutions. But they distort it in various ways, depending upon whether they are Fascists, reactionaries, liberals, or social-reformists or centrists.

The Class State

The Fascists state the end of the democratic "plutocratic" state is at hand, and the era of the super-class, or non-class, or corporative state, which stands above all classes has begun. The basic idea which Marxists point out underlies the *reality* of all states, that all states rest on class rule, that the state is the political instrument of the dominant economic class, applies also to the Fascist state. It is the instrument of the capitalist class, within which the dominant strata (dominant by virtue of the inner-organization of capitalist economy) is the finance capital group, who stand above the commercial and industrial capitalists. The class tensions of decay capitalism, the antagonism between the bourgeoisie and proletariat, the circumscribed environment of the hemmed-in petty bourgeoisie, under fascism, are not mitigated by the defeat of the proletariat, which is always and everywhere a pre-requisite for the triumph of fascism. On the contrary, despite the defeat, whether, as in Germany there has been no civil war, or in Spain, there has; the class struggle continues in a repressed form that is only kept from breaking out into the most violent outbursts, thru the maximum use of force (in the first period with the aid of the most desperate elements of the petty-bourgeoisie and lumpenproletariat, later primarily with the army and police forces.).

State Serves Class Interest

Under such circumstances, in which the state's repressive force is constantly brought into play, now against petty-bourgeois elements (such as the Jewish Masses in Germany), now against bourgeois (Thyssen), and always against the proletariat and peasant masses, the Fascist ideology seems to have a base in reality. The state apparently punishes all classes with equal impartiality. But as with the bourgeois democratic state, this appearance belies reality. What takes place is that the bourgeois state, Fascist in political form, as the executive arm, the representative of the historic interests of the capitalist class as a whole, "punishes" various elements in order to maintain the economic structure as a whole. With the world markets restricted, with the home market increasingly limited by the depression of the masses' living standards, there is less profits to go around among the bourgeoisie, and the eternal reorganization of capitalist economy continues, with the weaker capitalists being driven to the wall. Naturally they attempt to resist, and either conquer or are wiped out.

In the interests of maintaining capitalism, finance capital cuts the rations of all the other exploiters, as well as of the toilers. The political machine (Nazi, fascists, etc.) has its own organizational needs and naturally devours a sizable slice of the bourgeois profits, as did the "democratic" politicians of bourgeois democracy. Where the "democratic" politicians were changed, or cut off the payroll, according to the changing political needs of the bourgeois democratic state, with much attendant public outcry, and flimflamery about "throwing out the crooked politicians", the fascists are merely silently purged from the payroll, or even jailed or occasionally even shot. The contraction of capitalist economy, the falling absolute profits as well as the *RATE* of profits, affects the Nazi machine no less than other sections of the population. (The "June purges" are in a different category: they are the crushing of the "radical" petty-bourgeois who finance capital used to crush the proletariat, who thought *THEY* were determining fascist policy, and who were smashed in the process of reconsolidation of the position of the big bourgeoisie after the subsiding of the petty-bourgeois wave of mass discontent.)

National Form of Fascist State

Fascism in different countries varies according to national peculiarities, economic development, and class struggle. It is not a "pure" phenomenon, which everywhere assumes identical forms. The more developed the country, however, the more clear become the main outlines with less "complicating" features. In content it is everywhere the same: counter-revolution against the proletarian revolution; whether the latter exists in the form of open civil war, or in the existence of a pre-revolutionary situation which the class conscious workers and Marxists either fail or are incapable of utilizing.

In Germany Fascism assumes a more "classic" form than in less developed Italy, despite the fact that Hitler's accession to power followed Mussolini by eleven years. This is not due to the German's having the Italian experience to draw upon, but because class relations are far more developed in Germany: bourgeoisie, proletariat, and petty-bourgeoisie of town and country stand in their interrelations nowhere sharper outside of the United States.

SPAIN

In Spain, fascism appears a phenomenon which has less of a mass base "proportionately" than in Germany OR Italy. In fact, its mass base is very small, and from the outset, it has had to resort to the police and armed forces of the state as the primary force of suppression. Spanish fascism appears as a caricature of Nazism and Mussolini's fascism. This is because of the enormous class struggles, which were defeated only with the greatest amount of foreign help, direct and indirect (such as denial of food, credits war materials); and the effect of these gigantic struggles added to the backwardness of Spanish economy, plus the decay of world capitalism, has placed

immediately before the Spanish bourgeoisie the task of retaining power under conditions of mass semi-starvation from the very first moment of its reconsolidation of power.

FRANCE

In France, fascism appears even more ridiculous than in Spain, despite the more advanced economic development of France. French fascism several years ago began to acquire a mass base, but due to the retarding effect which the Spanish Civil war had upon the development of French fascism, it lost ground. The opening of the second imperialist war caught the French bourgeoisie in a precarious position. Having thrust the bayonet point of a Bonapartist government at the heart of bourgeois democracy, the exploiters has not yet developed a sufficiently powerful mass base for the Fascists to seize power, and thus reconsolidate (for a period) their rule against the looming threat of proletarian revolution. In this condition, where class relations had not broken out into civil war only due to the passivity of the proletariat after the People's Front betrayal (1936-38), on the Left, and the preparations for reorganization of the Fascist forces, on the Right, and the Bourgeois State maintained status-quo by army and police rule, and by decree -- in this condition, the French bourgeoisie were thrust willy-nilly into the second imperialist war.

Recognizing their inability to wage a pro-longed war without the danger of proletarian revolution, the bourgeoisie first played "waiting", supposedly preparing its forces for titanic battles with the German armed forces. Actually, they were vacillating on the question, not of waging war against Germany, but *AGAINST THE FRENCH PROLETARIAT*. With Hitler's conquest of Poland (made easy thanks to the Hitler-Stalik Pact) and of the Low Countries, the French bourgeoisie made their decision: *bourgeois defeatism*. Their repressive measures against the proletariat having been made as far as possible under the Daladier-Bonapartist rule, they flung themselves upon Hitler's mercy, for protection against the French masses. Hitler obliged, taking heavy toll not only of the masses in repression and taxes and living necessities, but also of the French bourgeoisie.

France Under German Conquest

The French fascists, were thus caught in a contradictory situation. Not having yet acquired a powerful mass base, or even a "popular" ideology (a la "National Socialism", the "Fascist Revolution" etc) these ultra Nationalists were reduced at once to the most contemptible apologists for the Nazi conquerors. The Petain government, a bon-apartist regime, existing only with the aid of German bayonets, lacking even a pretense of an army of its own, borrowed from Fascist ideology by speaking of the "national" "French Revolution" against obsolete "plutocratic democracy", etc., etc. But the needs of the German imperialist war machine, the absolute

bankruptcy of French capitalism, the most shameless servility of the Petainist bourgeoisie before Hitler, has deprived both Petain and the Fascists (Doriot, & Co.) of any serious possibility of retaining such masses as they had in the past, or acquiring a new mass base in the near future. All that remains is "re-organizations" (as to the "Chief of State", the cabinet, etc) which arouses from the masses only new contemptuous guffaws, even if repressed. Sabotage, terrorism, and increased cooperation with the DeGaullist bourgeoisie is the reply of the French masses.

The DeGaullist bourgeoisie are in a very remarkable position. While DeGaulle is a royalist, and his entourage in ludes known right-wingers as well as elements who have cooperated with the Cagoulards, he maintains working relationships with the Socialists and Stalinists and other opportunists of the French labor movement. DeGaullism has given platonic support to the position of a return bourgeois democracy in France, which is none too concrete, and has aroused considerable suspicion among the reformist camp-followers of the liberal bourgeoisie. They maintain, as good imperialists, relationships with the French colonial administration who have not yet disavowed Vichy.

Altho French fascists (and the same applies to the Belgian Rexists and the Italian Fascists) appear today as agents of Hitler, they are fundamentally agents of native capital. Once the German military occupation of France is withdrawn (which is by-and-large inevitable, even if Hitler would win the war) French fascism would assert itself, against *all* foreign bourgeoisies -- including the German -- as well as against the French toilers. Their collaboration with Hitler, like the Social-Democrats of Finland, merely reflects the difficult position of their "own" bourgeoisie, *AT THIS JUNCTURE IN THE IMPERIALIST WAR AND THE CLASS STRUGGLE.*

Fascism As A Product Of Decay Capitalism

To understand this, is of first rate importance for Marxists everywhere. This fact is a potent weapon against social-chauvinism, which echoes the bourgeois democrat's lie that fascism is the product of Hitler Germany. The complicated European situation today, after the Spanish (as the latest pre-war) betrayal by the opportunists, has helped to confuse the fact that *FASCISM IS THE PRODUCT OF DECAY CAPITALISM*, the weapon of the bourgeoisie of every country against its own proletariat.

Marxists state that Fascism is the final form of the class rule of the bourgeoisie, it is ideal political form in the period of decay capitalism; as bourgeois-democracy befitted developing capitalism. This does not mean that bourgeois democracy cannot appear as a form of state rule again, in the countries now under fascist rule. They can, and undoubtedly will. But it must be clear, that such an appearance can only be an episode of limited duration, a juncture in the rapid developing class struggle. It will occur as a result of military defeat, economic and political breakdown,

and a social revolution which is in the first stages, the period of developing dual power. If the Marxists do not lead the workers to a successful seizure of power, then fascism will again, in one form or another, *INEVITABLY REAPPEAR.*

Capitalist Democracy At Different Stages

This bourgeois democracy of which we speak here, is not comparable to the bourgeois democracy of developing capitalism. In that period also, it is true, open dictatorships, monarchical and bonapartist regimes alternately appeared as economic developments proceeded and the class struggle ebbed and flowed. It is also true that bourgeois democracy under developing imperialism reached its height *after* the bloodiest defeat of the proletariat up to that time (the Paris Commune). But these alternations found bourgeois democracy ever stronger and capitalism ever expanding. The proletariat, growing in size and moving from a subordinate motive force in the bourgeois revolution, to an attempt to seize power in its own right --prematurely (as Marx indicated to the French workers). But the dominant struggle was between decaying feudalism and rising capitalism, the whole of world politics was colored by this fact.

Today, however, the position and objective tasks of bourgeois democracy, insofar as the class rule of the bourgeoisie is concerned, are different. Since fascism is the best form to maintain capitalist rule in *THIS* period of *DECAYING* world capitalism, and there is *no economic base* for bourgeois democracy to exist upon as a stable rule, bourgeois democracy can only serve to stem the tide of proletarian revolutions until the exploiters can reorganize the forces to institute fascist rule. Between the desires of the bourgeois democrats and the petty bourgeois who follow them --and the objective reality--the political needs of decay capitalism there is a wide gap. Many such elements oppressed by fascism, sincerely believe they can find solution to their problems in a return of bourgeois democracy, a release from "the tyrannical rule" of the "madman", "power-crazy" Hitler, or Mussolini, or Franco. Unfortunately for them, they have no place in the contracting world of bourgeois economy. Not absorbed into the proletariat, they are too large for the fascist bourgeoisie and bureaucrats to "purge" (execute) entirely.

Tie Workers to Bourgeois Democratic Needs

Let the Marxists win hegemony, and the worthy gentlemen will turn on the proletariat with all the ferocity of a Hitler or a Franco. Thiers in the rise of capitalism would find his "democratic" counterpart *TODAY*, who would outdo Scheidemann and company and Thiers *combined*. The "liberal" socialist and stalinist gentry fulminate against fascism not to free the proletariat *AND* petty bourgeois masses from the oppression and slaughters of a dying economic system, but only in order to reinstitute an historically

outlived political form of that rule. They dream of winning back fine parliamentary and other governmental jobs, trade union officialdom positions, journalistic careers, etc. ad nauseam, while the masses remain exploited by the "liberal" "democratic" bourgeoisie who have "seen the errors of their ways" -- a la Herr Thyssen. And while monopoly capital tightens its grip on the whole of society and the bourgeois state (through increasing governmental control and subsidy of "private enterprise"), our worthy friends can write whole libraries and countless newspapers and radio broadcasts about the "new" "democratic" "collectivist" world, against sectarian Marxism which calls for "unnecessary violent revolution", etc.

Can The Capitalist Democrats Overthrow Fascism

Such bourgeois democracy as would follow the overthrow of fascist rule would be a shorter prelude to the reappearance of fascist rule, even than the Weimar Republic after the overthrow of "Kaiser Wilhelm's" monarchy, was for Hitler's "Third Reich". In point of time, it would be most comparable to the Kerensky Republic (in which Lenin and the Bolsheviks' intervention avoided a Kornilov white terror military dictatorship); the Spanish Republic after Alfonso's overthrow and during the People's front, etc.

It would represent a period in which the bourgeois democrats, with friendly foreign help (Wall St. and London) would organize their apparatus - Provisional Government or what have you - while the masses having overthrown the Fascist regime, would have set up their Soviets, with the petty-bourgeoisie's speakers dominating. Inevitably, these people (Socialists, Stalinists, Centrists, etc.) would seek to unite the Soviets with the bourgeois democratic state, against reaction, "to keep the Right from regaining power." While the Marxists, recognizing that the decisive factor in the situation is the development of the social revolution of which this transient condition is but the first stage, and would seek to wean the Soviets away from the petty-bourgeois agents of finance capital, to lead them toward the seizure of power, the opportunists would insist on channelizing the mass upsurge into support of the exploiters. We have not yet guaranteed our position, will be their cry. "First let us wipe out all fascist and pro-fascist elements, by supporting this People's Front (or Democratic Bloc or Democratic-Socialist-Communist Coalition, or what have you) and THEN when the "democratic" forces are consolidated, we can think about the fight for Socialism.

This course which will inevitably be the policy of the opportunists, would if followed, lead directly to the restoration of the Fascist regime in one form or another,

Communism Or Fascism

Under this bourgeois republic, the road back to fascism would lead along the following path: 1) the overthrow of fascism and the setting up of the two powers, the bourgeois-democratic provisional government, and the soviets, with a general "honeymoon" period of lofty democratic phrases -- and illusions about the nature of the "triumph", both as to its class character and its stability; 2) sharpening class struggles with the bourgeois democrats working to consolidate their power, and the breaking of promises; backhanded maneuvers with the "Right", coming together of liberal exploiters with those "rights who have seen their mistakes" (let us not be revengeful - all make mistakes, the left has been guilty of excesses as well as the right); the main thing to assure the permanent victory of "democracy" -- and on the other hand, growing sections of the workers falling into apathy, a growing shift towards the left, strikes, lockouts; 3) the fight against economic breakdown, against "anarchy" i.e. the proletarian revolution; 4) punitive actions against strikers, attack on the Soviets by bourgeois armed forces (cries of "down with anarchism", "down with Trotsky agents of fascism"; "against sectarian disrupters who objectively aid fascism", etc.) 5) IF THE MARXISTS DON'T INTERVENE ON A CORRECT POLICY (win hegemony in the Soviets, prepare for seizure of power, etc.) -- mass, sporadic risings of various strata, conflict with the bourgeois democrats and with Fascists will lead to possible repetition of the Spanish defeated civil war; 6) reinstatement of Fascism, now that the exploiters have reconsolidated sufficient forces to defeat the proletariat, - the bourgeois democrats and opportunists blaming each other ("lack of cooperation, personal intrigue, lack of initiative in repressing all disruptive forces) and blaming the proletariat; white terror.

INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNION UNITY

Trade Union Unity is not an abstraction to be thrown around as a clever move against opposing forces. It is a vital necessity for the defense of the democratic rights of the working class and to further the workers economic ends. In the case of International trade union unity it is of highest political significance and must result in more than a mere post-office relationship. It must represent unity of action to defend and advance the trade unionists and workers and peasants cause wherever the struggle may take place.

The Anglo-Russian "Unity"

We are now confronted with a "Unity" plan within the country between the factions of the A.F.ofL. and the C.I.O. as well as the proposals of the Anglo-Soviet Trade Union Committee to the Unions of the United States to join hands in international solidarity against the Axis powers and to defend the economic needs of the workers. So far the Internationals of the United States have kept a post-office relationship with the British trade unionists and, to an extent, with the socialist trade unionists of some European countries. Both the A.F. of L. and the C.I.O. have fished in the waters of Latin America for Pan-American relations. The A.F.ofL. has carried out the structures of the state department of American imperialism, while John L. Lewis has at least flirted with the Peoples Front element in the Latin American trade unions.

Now the Greens, Hilms, Tobins, Lewises, and Murrays are confronted with the proposals to join hands with the British and Russian Unions in a Powerful international union movement. But as yet to no avail. They have not reached the stage of "political" independence where they can take even such a mild step without the consent of their Wall Street bosses.

The Old Anglo-Soviet Committee

Just before the 1927 British General Strike the unions of Britain and the Soviet Union worked out Unity proposals and certain working agreements. The revolutionary Marxists worked for the program of class struggle to aid the British workers in their show-down struggle with British imperialism. The British agents of imperialism in the ranks of labor hoped to go along with this gigantic strike movement, which was taking on world significance, in order to at the right moment stab it in the back. First these British labor agents tried to stop the movement, and when this failed they "joined" it. History already reveals the treacherous role of the British trade union leaders. And history also records the betrayal of Stalinism, its capitulation to these labor agents of British imperialism. That was a costly lesson, but at least it should be a lesson, well worth re-reading and studying.

The Purpose of the New Anglo-Russian-American "Unity"

Above all the new steps toward international trade union unity under British and Stalinist leadership is an attempt to line up greater support to the imperialist war, on the side of the Anglo-American imperialists. For greater social-patriotic support of the exploiters of these countries in their struggle against the Axis. How shall revolutionary Marxists answer this complex question of unity? How shall we expose the support of the imperialist slaughter and at the same time help materially the defense of the Soviet Union and for genuine international trade union unity?

For International Trade Union Unity

The International Contact Commission (provisional) stands for trade union unity. Trade union unity within countries and on an international scale, if consummated on a correct program can move the working class forward. The fight for trade union unity on the basis of a class struggle program and the organization of progressive groups in all unions on this basis with rank and file control and union democracy are progressive steps that help our class--even if the final goal is not reached at once.

OUR PROGRAM

The present steps toward international trade union unity comes in the midst of an imperialist war causing the greatest devastation of men and material that the earth has yet seen. This unity must be used for agitation in the trade union movement throughout the world where revolutionary Marxists are functioning to take the preliminary day to day steps of orientating the working class on an *INDEPENDENT WORKING CLASS LINE* against both camps of the imperialists, against decadent bourgeois-democracy which paves the way for its most hideous form - Fascism.

With the underground movement developing and organizing in "Fortress" Europe, with the Stalinists flirting with a new form of the Peoples Front to placate the more reactionary exploiters, with the British Labor Leaders doing everything possible to save the British Empire, with social revolutions developing in Asia and Europe, there is no time for half way measures. The solution for the problem that confronts the working class and its needs, to burn out the disease of social-patriotism, demands a realistic program against the imperialist war and the exploiters of the earth.

- Such a program will have to revolve around the problems of:
- 1-Fight Against the Imperialist war - for a Socialist solution.
 - 2-For Workers Control of Production under a Workers Council Government
 - 3-For the defense of the colonial masses against imperialism, and for the liberation of all colonies and for the right of self-determination of these countries.

- 4-For the Defense of the Soviet Union.
- 5-Fight every war attempt to curtail any of the democratic rights of the masses.
- 6-For independent working class action.
- 7-For the right to strike and against state control of the unions in ALL countries.
- 8-Fight Fascism by fighting Capitalism.

Trade union unity based upon social-patriotism will only lead to greater slaughter and more misery for the whole world. Trade union unity based upon support of any imperialist powers in war will only lead to the use of the trade union movement in the coming proletarian revolutions to beat back the workers advance.

The fight for trade union unity within each country and on an international scale, based upon concrete tactics for the local situation, firmly rooted in a class struggle policy will rally progressive elements in the trade union movement for the coming struggles ahead. The trade union movement, under proper class leadership can play a most important role in the historic battle now reaching a climax - a battle of classes to eliminate once and for all the robber systems of exploitation of man by man; to free mankind from wage slavery, and to establish production for use. To utilize mankind and its vast resources and materials for *SOCIAL NEEDS* rather than gigantic social *WASTE* in imperialist wars and capitalist disintegration.

JAN 29, 1942

DEMOCRATIC RIGHT IN THE SOVIET UNION

1-So long as classes exist the working class must have its own independent class instruments. This includes not only the Revolutionary Marxian Party and the Councils and Workers Militia during and after dual power, but the trade union movement.

2-After the Working Class has seized power and set up the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, the trade unions gain a much wider function in the operation of industry and production. Their voice is heard in planning production limits, in a hundred and one social security measures, in checking on the books and behaviour of "management" in the plants, etc. The Unions are an integral, although not decisive part of Workers Control of Production.

3-But, despite these added functions, the basic structure of the trade unions must remain what the progressives and militants conceive of the structure to be in capitalist countries. This is in order to assure an adequate check on the inevitable bureaucratic *tendencies*, but not bureaucracy, that must continue to exist even under a Workers State. The Trade Unions under a Workers State must be permitted to function without state interference, except where they are utilized to openly and directly challenge state power. Revolutionists within the Unions must fight for local autonomy, rank and file control, Workers Democracy, and freedom from state supervision - just as in the Capitalist states.

4-The Marxists within the trade Union movement in a Workers State must continue to function as a fraction and to bring the rank and file militants ever closer to a full Marxian program, and to propose and argue for the basic policies of the workers state. The Marxists must demand the Right of the Trade Unions to strike even under a Workers State, although as Marxists they will counsel that the Unions exhaust all remedies within the State Apparatus first. Unless the strike is directed against State *POWER* - (not necessarily just against the State, because all strikes in a workers State are directed against a section of the State) - Marxists will also observe working class ethics and refuse to cross the picket line, etc. Even in a Workers State there can be progressive and justified strikes to correct bureaucratic excesses here and there, etc. This Democratic Right of the working class must be sternly defended.

CORRECTIONS

1- In the January issue of the International News we carried a correction of the article on Constituent Assembly of the previous issue, pointing out that the RWL convention had rejected the last two paragraphs. We failed to state that we endorsed the rest of the article. Any article unsigned or not specified otherwise is the position of the Editorial Board of the publication. In this case, in rejecting the two paragraphs, the convention endorsed the remainder of the article.

The convention also added a sentence on Page 2 paragraph 5-

"But even should a Constituent Assembly be established temporarily, its inability to cope with the needs of society and to hold down the masses would soon force the imperialists and their native stooges, to resort to open dictatorship."

2- In the January 1943 issue on page 5 the second paragraph presents a false position on the question of the main danger at present. The position adopted at the RWL convention is presented at the bottom of page 5.

These two corrections are presented as material of the RWL Convention because it is the highest body of the affiliate doing most of the work of the International News. The Editorial Board of the I.N. is in full agreement with these corrections.