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CIVIL WAR AND IMPERIALIST WAR

1- The Imperialist War is entering a "new" phase. Without a conscious leadership giving guidance to the oppressed the war is nevertheless being "turned into a Civil War". Properly speaking of course the term "imperialist" war never did exhaust the subject - it was merely a general, abstract (although correct) name for the present bloodbath. But the Imperialist War always had some ELEMENTS of Civil War. It would be wrong, as the Stalinists have done, to speak of the war as a "progressive" war simply because there were elements of the class struggle in the war from the outset (Warsaw, France, etc.) The present war is in its decisive aspects an attempt by the imperialists to solve their own contradictions each at the expense of the other. Underlying the whole thing, of course, is the fundamental contradiction of capitalism. Obviously, therefore, there will always be CIVIL WAR ELEMENTS in every imperialist war, just as there were IMPERIALIST ELEMENTS in the Civil War in Spain 1936-38. The ultra-lefts (and the reformists who were all-out for the Loyalists because it was a "progressive" war) can never understand this dialectical relationship which presents not two but four factors in the war process, with two (the opposing imperialist forces) being dominant TEMPORARILY, and two (the class forces, bourgeois and proletarian) being temporarily secondary. In the broad, historical sense the latter struggle is the primary struggle of our epoch, and the imperialist fratricidal battle only a reflection of the main struggle, but in the period between 1939-43 the IMPERIALIST ASPECT has been dominant due to the failure of the workers to seize power in the Spanish, German, Austrian and other Revolutions and to continue the Civil War.

2- Now, however, we are reaching the stage where the war will be changed. We are reaching a stage similar to 1917-24, a giant international civil war between classes. Each successive month of the war has seen the addition of more civil war elements. The seizure of "power" by the Warsaw proletariat and their heroic defense against the German imperialists in 1939; the mass defeatism of the French proletariat in 1940; the entry of the Workers State in 1941, which marked a big increase of the Revolutionary element into the general maelstrom; the struggles in India and China; the Italian Revolution; the Danish strikes; Lebanon; the mass sabotage and guerrilla battles - all these things are ELEMENTS OF CIVIL WAR. Only the tightly-knit counter-revolutionary forces of German Imperialism on the continent of Europe (aided in Italy, at least, by the Allies who collaborated in the checking of the Italian Revolution) and of the Allied forces in Asia have held these elements of civil war within safe imperialist channels. But the tempo of the class struggle has

increased. It has penetrated deeply even into the British Isles where strikes and class consciousness are growing. We are on the eve of big events in Europe and Asia. Instead of being secondary, the civil war elements in the present carnage will soon become dominant, and the purely intra-imperialist struggle will recede into the background. The whole Allied strategy of a "second front" is based on this proposition. The Allies are timing their entry into the European fortress as a counter-revolutionary stroke against the proletariat, more than as a military stroke against the imperialist "enemy". And Germany on its part is equipped with at least 600,000 troops and gestapo men whose only purpose is as a counter-force to the Revolution.

COUNTER-REVOLUTION

3- All the conferences and strategies of the imperialists (in all camps) must be understood in this light. They are all organized around a strategy which reads: "we expect the imperialist war inevitably to be converted into another civil war, but we ourselves must arrest that development at its first sign by turning the imperialist war into a counter-revolutionary war." In the very near future we may witness in all of Europe and possibly in Asia some new and strange alliances. Against the proletarian revolution in Italy, the Allies united with their former Fascist and semi-Fascist "enemies", like Badoglio and King Victor Emmanuel. They bombed the working class sections of Milan into ruins, but studiously avoided bombing of the main spheres of their allies in the class struggle, the Italian bourgeoisie. Prior to that the Allies made a deal with semi-Fascist Darlan, and prior to that with Petain. When the Revolution threatens the imperialists will ally themselves with their former "enemies" against the proletariat. We shall undoubtedly witness - in the near future an alliance between Allied imperialism and a section of the German capitalists against the rising proletarian revolution in Europe. The proletariat must be forewarned against this inevitability. Like our class enemies we too must extend a fraternal hand to the workers and soldiers of the so-called enemy nations.

4- The whole significance of the Moscow and Teheran conferences was this: that the Allied imperialists at one and the same time are utilizing Stalin against the Revolution in Europe and Asia, while encircling the Soviet Union itself because they fear that it will be a major bulwark of support for the coming workers upsurge. Stalin has implemented the 20 year pact with Britain and is now completely tied to the policy of "status-quo". He has agreed specifically to the status-quo in Persia, in Italy, (support of the Eisenhower agreement with Badoglio), in Czechoslovakia, (the treaty with Benes), and elsewhere he has agreed to the machinery for preserving the status-quo (the Mediterranean and London committee of the allies). At the same time, however,

the Anglo-American bloc by its agreements with Turkey and Iraq and by its plans to invade central Europe, added to its present territorial control is closing a semi-circle around the Soviet Union for an inevitable attack against the Red workers and soldiers once they throw off Stalinism and re-establish the relations of October - a political revolution which is likewise inevitable in the near future. There is no real alliance between Anglo-American imperialism and the Soviet Union. That must be obvious. If there were the Russians would already be at the gates of Berlin - five or ten billion dollars more of lend-lease planes and tanks would have given Russia enough of a balance to smash German imperialism. But the Allies do not want a victorious Soviet Union. Their aid has been based on the strategy that we are dealing here with a basic enemy, whom we must watch carefully and just as carefully undermine. Of course the alliance with Britain is not an alliance of "friends" either. America continues to fight its British fellow-capitalists, and to undermine it; but there is a fundamental difference: it is possible to make agreements, to have understanding, and to lay down relatively long-term strategy with the British. With the Soviet Union it is different. The alliance of the Anglo-American capitalists is not with the Soviet Union as such; it is with the Stalinist misleadership of the Soviet Union, and it is directed against the proletarian revolution. On this question both Stalin and Churchill and Roosevelt have similar views - all are opposed to Revolution because victory would mean the end of all three. The only difference between the three gentlemen is that Stalinism will be smashed even if the counter-revolution of the imperialists is successful. Once the social revolution is given a decisive setback (so the imperialists hope) they will no longer need the services of Uncle Joe. Just as the German capitalists dumped the Socialists who served them so well for fifteen years, in favor of the Fascists (and even put hundreds of Socialists in concentration camps), so on an international scale the imperialists are attempting to use the prestige of the October Revolution (abused by Stalin) as a reformist whip against the impending Civil War, only to dispense with this whip as soon as class relations are sufficiently stabilized for the open Fascists to ascend to power.

MEETING OF ENEMIES

5- Essentially the Moscow and Teheran conferences were sparrings between the powers relative to future conflicts. America and Britain are anxious to keep the spheres of influence of the Soviet Union down to as little as possible. But the mighty victories of the Red Army forces the "Allies" to give some concessions. The main aim, however, of Anglo-American diplomacy is to gain as much political and territorial concessions for "safe" forces of the United Nations such as the Polish Government -in-exile, or other reactionary pro-capitalist groups of this sort. Probably

the allies are not having easy sailing with the kremlin. The Soviet bureaucracy knows enough at least to take advantage of its position and of the friction amongst the other "United" Nations. But this does not alter the decisive fact that in the struggle against the Proletarian Revolution Stalinism has lined up 100% with the Allies - and this victory for the Anglo-American bloc is a thousand times more important than the minor concessions and promises that America and Britain must give Stalin (such as for instance, more aid to the Stalinist stooge, Tito, of Jugoslavia, etc.).

6- A massive behind-the-scenes struggle goes on between various nations and national and international groupings of capitalists. It would be impossible in a short report to deal with any of these at length. But we must evaluate the present and potential role of all the powers:

The U.S.S.R.

a- Despite Stalinism, the Soviet Union is the most important nation in this war, as far as the proletariat is concerned. Obviously if the Soviet Union were not hampered by Stalinism it would be making even now a gigantic contribution to world revolution. Obviously, too, if Stalinism were not in the saddle in Russia, the imperialists would not even think of dealing with the Workers State. The effectiveness of the Soviet Union on the side of the world proletariat is considerably weakened by the cancerous growth within it; nevertheless - just like a reformist led trade union or demonstration, but on a far more imposing scale - the Soviet Union represents the greatest POTENTIAL danger to World capitalism because of its property relations, its elimination of the capitalist class, its traditions, education, etc.

The U.S.A.

b- American capitalism is the main prop of the tottering bourgeois system. With its gold and its resources, and with its almost untouched army it will be the hand behind every counter-revolution on earth. The success of any Revolution anywhere will depend to a large extent on the ability of the American workers on all fronts to weaken and at least neutralize the strength of Wall Street. In the midst of the war the United States continues to increase its power - at the expense of its allies, primarily Great Britain. The old Anglo-American antagonism continues to flourish, although not as openly as before. America is challenging Britain's mastery in the Middle East, in Australia, in India and even in Europe. America wants a relatively intact Germany but a completely demolished Japan. Britain wants just the opposite, a demolished Germany, and a Japan capable of allying with Britain to keep the United States from swallowing up all of Asia. The Battle continues to rage.

BRITAIN

c- The sun has definitely set on the British Empire. The empire will not only crack as a result of flank attacks by Britain's "ally", America, but as a result of the internal dynamics of the Empire. Great Britain is fighting desperately to hold her own, but it is a losing battle. Not only does Britain face colonial revolutions in India, Arabia and elsewhere, but class relations at home (particularly in Scotland) are deteriorating rapidly. The strain of war economy, plus the incessant pressure of American Imperialism is reducing Britain to the role of a second rate power. Unless Britain can hold the line against Revolution and form a formidable alliance of powers against the American colossus, she will play a role relative to America similar to the role France played relative to Britain before the war. It is exceedingly doubtful that Britain can accomplish this task.

JAPAN

d- Japanese Imperialism is in an exceptionally favorable position. It is not true to state that the Allies will turn on Japan right after they defeat Germany - assuming such a defeat is forthcoming. Japan expects that the Anglo-American forces will have their hands full fighting the Social Revolution in Europe and Western Asia to be able to concentrate too much on Japan. There is certainly much merit to this concept. Japan herself is taking measures of a "reformist" character to dull the blade of revolt in the newly conquered territories of the rising sun. She is giving nominal "independence" similar to that granted by America to - say Brazil, in an attempt to stabilize class relationships. Japan thus is given a respite to exploit a gigantic new empire.

CHINA AND INDIA

e- In both these countries social revolt has been simmering for years. It continues to simmer and may boil over at any time. Inflation and starvation are wracking both countries. In India the impetus of the upsurge of 1942 still continues, although not quite so spectacularly as in the past. In China, the puppet of Anglo-American (and particularly of American) Imperialism is forced to deploy over a million troops to watch over the "Red Army" of peasants, presently under control of the Stalinists. The order of the day in both nations is the Proletarian Revolution, with the peasantry allied to the working class. Revolution in these two countries - with 800 million population, close to 40% of the total world population - would be a major and irreparable catastrophe for the capitalist world. It would cause a far-reaching economic and political crisis in Britain, the U.S. and Japan. Next to a Social Revolution in Germany and America, the uprising of these semi-colonial people would bring to the world working class the greatest results.

FRANCE AND ITALY

e- These two defeated powers are now in a hopeless position. They must hope for: 1- A decisive defeat of the world revolution; and 2- a new alliance of have-nots to immediately challenge the powers that be; The situation of France and Italy shows that in the present crisis of world capitalism the victors can permit no latitude to the defeated (except for agreements to use native rulers to curb the proletarian "menace"). France and Italy are both instructive only insofar as the Allies are using Fascists and semi-Fascists as "Allies". The list includes Petain, Darlan, Giraud, the monarchist LeGaulle, Badoglio, and others. Where the situation is critical, as in Italy, the Allies prepare the "liberals" Sforza and Croce to replace Badoglio once he falls.

GERMANY

f- Germany is the cementing force of the counter-revolution in Europe at the moment. When the fabric of German capitalism is smashed or even shaken it will release revolutionary energies such as the world has never seen before. The millions of oppressed now under the lash of German Imperialism will become a tidal wave for revolt. The Allies are not unmindful of this, despite all the TALK of unconditional surrender. At the strategic moment they will utilize Stalinism and reactionary forces within Germany to keep this tidal wave within bounds. But Germany is today the key to the European movement (excluding of course the Soviet Union).

7- The manifestations of ELEMENTS of civil war must be analysed in all cases very carefully, so as to discover the specific means for converting the "elements of civil war" into a civil war against the bourgeoisie. The League has dealt with many of these problems in recent months. We take here only some of the outstanding ones:

ITALY

a- A Revolutionary situation has been temporarily checked by the combined forces of the Axis - who are terrorizing the Italians in the North, and the Allies who dominate the scene in the South. The Italian revolution in reality is caught between the revolutionary lethargy of the German and American working class. Had the workers of these countries been able to enforce the demand of "Hands off Italy" it is fairly certain that the Italian Revolution would already have reached a stage close to the actual seizure of power. History knows of many instances where the failure of workers in other countries to give aid has resulted in defeats of the proletariat: i.e. Finland in 1918, Hungary

in 1919, etc. The Italian Revolution, however, is not yet defeated. Its fate merely has been consolidated with the fate of the other workers of Europe. The Italian masses, long disillusioned with the German "new order" are now learning at first hand the truth of the Allied "new order". When the explosion comes it will be clearer and more sustained. The situation in Italy imposes a very great task on the American working class. The slogan "Hands off the Italian Revolution" must be shouted from the housetops and the American working class must see to it that no aid is given to the counter-revolutionary efforts in Italy.

GUERRILLA WARFARE THROUGHOUT EUROPE

b- Guerrilla movements are not new in recent history. Thousands of guerrillas, for instance, functioned during the Civil War in Russia, 1918-21. These guerrillas supplemented the work of the regular Red Army.

Each Guerrilla movement, however, must be judged from its class aims. During the present war there are four prominent types of guerrilla forces. There is, first of all, the Red Guerrillas in Russia. There are Guerrilla (or underground) movements in the large imperialist countries like France, Germany, and Italy. These forces must be judged separately in each instance. Most of them, however, are reactionary IN CONTENT because they are definitely linked with one imperialist group or another. Then there are the Guerrilla forces in the small capitalist countries. They all aim at a Nationalist solution, or are linked with definite nationalist groups. Some of these Guerrilla forces, like Tito's Partisans, are definitely subordinated to one group of imperialists. There are less publicized groups, however, who are opposed to all imperialism. With the latter forces the Marxists will have to work closely on specific issues on a united front-basis, maintaining independent working class instruments and attempting through comradely criticism, etc. to bring these groups away from their Nationalism to a proletarian solution. As time goes on we will witness splits in all the Guerrilla forces, because class tension within them is even higher than in the regular army.

The Guerrilla fighters are motivated, to a far greater extent than the regular army soldiers, by revolutionary aims. The average soldier is slothful in his patriotism and believes very little in the talk about "fighting" Fascism. The Guerrilla fighter, however, is fighting to expel a conqueror and trying to regain some of his rights. Unfortunately the leadership of the Guerrilla fighters is today in the hands of agents of Allied Imperialism and is fighting on the side of the imperialists. The whole movement therefore is a reactionary one, despite the

revolutionary aspirations of the rank and file. We must distinguish between the rank and file social aims and the imperialist aims of the leadership, and we must take advantage of this cleavage. Revolutionary Marxian Organizations will give no support whatsoever to the present guerrilla movements, such as Tito, the Greek Partisans, etc. But we will work amongst the rank and file, and even side by side with them on the following program:

- 1- Expel all imperialists from our country, No support to either group.
- 2- Extend and base the struggle on mass action at the point of production, factories, mines, mills, in the countryside, etc.
- 3- Re-organize the guerrilla forces on the basis of a democratic election of officers subject to the will of soldiers' councils.
- 4- For immediate and unconditional expropriation of the large landlords and capitalists.

Wherever the Marxists or militants are in control of mass forces they should offer united fronts to the Guerrillas on this program, but under no circumstances must they liquidate their groups into the Guerrilla armies.

The only Guerrilla force today that plays a progressive role is the Russian Guerrillas. They are helping to defend the Soviet Union. As the German army retreats, the Guerrillas of the U.S.S.R. will give aid to the revolutionary upsurges in about to be liberated countries, although their efforts - like that of the regular Red Army, but to a slightly lesser extent - will be warped by Stalinism.

8- All the nationalist movements of Europe (and elsewhere) today are in the service of either the Allies or Axis imperialism. It could not be otherwise, for nationalism as a historic factor is reactionary to the core. Here, too however, we will find that on the part of the masses of small and oppressed countries there are still enormous illusions concerning Nationalism. We can not turn our back to this position of the masses, but it would only be giving aid to the imperialists and to reaction if we supported in any shape or form the Nationalist MOVEMENTS. We must counterpose to the program of the bourgeois Nationalists, the program of the Right of Self-Determination and for a Union of Socialist Soviet Republics of Europe with autonomous rights for the various oppressed nationalities. Only the Revolution will solve the Nationalist problem.

SABOTAGE AND STRIKES

a- The question that is posed to every Revolutionary Marxist in Europe today is: shall we oppose individual sabotage? And our answer must be firm and unequivocal: in principle, definitely yes. But the answer is not quite so simple. We are in favor of MASS action, even if such action takes longer to develop and is more difficult. We must attempt to correlate the individual actions of individual people into a mass activity. But we do not on that account expose and betray individual saboteurs, nor do we treat them as enemies; we attempt to show them the uselessness of uncoordinated activity and attempt to enroll them as organizers and activists in mass action. We must patiently explain and prepare for mass political strikes and demonstrations. We must patiently work for the arming of the masses (which by the way will involve many individual bits of action). We are for organization, not anarchy.

The difference between mass action and individual sabotage is hard for some people to define. Individual sabotage may involve dozens and even hundreds of people. On the other hand, mass actions may sometimes - as an auxiliary - involve the actions of only one or two individuals. The difference, however, rests on whether the aim of the whole activity or series of activities is to be a SECRET or OPEN challenge against the class enemy. In mass action the masses openly come out on the picket lines, or in the streets, and struggle directly, in a frontal attack, against the oppressors and their agents. Individual actions may be auxiliary in the line of mass action. Individual sabotage, on the other hand, is a SECRET action, which involves only limited forces in a flank attack, a harrassing attack, against the exploiters. It can not possibly change class relations appreciably and in part leads to repressions and defeat.

e- In a whole series of documents the League has taken up many other vital questions of the Revolution, Constituent Assembly, Soviets, Germany the Key to the European Revolution, etc. We have an outline on the Moscow conferences which will be appended to this document, which also deals with this question in part, particularly relative to Stalinism. Our position on a Union of Socialist Soviet Republics of Europe, as opposed to the British plan of balance of power alliances in Europe, and the German plan of full "unity" under the heel of German imperialism, has been dealt with in other documents.

8- The forces of the International Contact Commission are quite weak in face of the present imposing world problems. In the last few months, however, we have had heartening news from Europe. Contact between the I.C.C. forces is becoming firmer. We can feel quite certain that as soon as the present clouds are lifted our preparatory work for four years now as an I.C.C. will

pay great dividends. We must emphasize that the I.C.C. as an embryo International force for the Creation of a New Fourth Communist International is more important today than the Marxian force of the last war - more important not because of subjective factors, because we do not have Lenins all around us, but because of the objective fact that international unity is a hundred times more necessary in order to defeat the class enemy today, than in the past.

CLASS RELATIONS IN U.S.

9- The situation within the United States. American Imperialism is wracked with internal difficulties and problems:

a- The danger of Inflation. Subsidies, as presented by Roosevelt can only ameliorate the problem but can not solve anything basic. The fact that 200 billions in debts are outstanding and that there is twice the currency in circulation today as there was a few years ago, is inflationary, since the gold backing for all this remains constant. The fact that the inflation is not immediately apparent is only the result of stern political measures, which only postpone the debacle but will make it worse when it does come. America knows that it must devalue its currency (bondholders, please note), but they hope to devalue it together with other powers and in such a manner that while it will shift an enormous burden on the masses it will leave foreign trade and capital investment relatively stable. Inflation, too, will manifest itself by the withdrawal of commodities from the market.

b- Overproduction in the midst of the war, and growing unemployment during wartime "prosperity".

c- The internal fissures of the bourgeoisie. Friction within both major parties to a far greater degree than in 1940, and the growth of crystallizations both to the left (Labor Party, Hillman Committee) and to the right (Gerald Smith's Party, which may mushroom, and other forces).

d- The cleavage between the rank and file of the Unions and their leaders, which also reflects the present weakness of "civil peace" in America.

e- The army. 700,000 veterans of this war already exist and as yet there has been no provisions whatsoever made for these unfortunates. The morale of the army itself is none too good. Hundreds of thousands of soldiers are expressing sentiments, which they themselves do not yet understand clearly, but which are embryonic thoughts of social revolution none-the-less.

f- Congress. The present Congress has shown the same types of inaction and confusion that characterize all parliamentary bodies before they relapse into impotence. Whoever is victorious in the next elections, government by decree will rapidly replace government by Congressional action.

9- Reformism and centrism. Both these points have been dealt with extensively in other documents. Note, for instance, the December International News on Trotskyism.

10- The whole present period is one of great social tension. Humanity is poised on the edge of a knife as the imperialist war is being turned into a civil war. The upsurge of the oppressed is absolutely certain and within a very short period. It remains only for the conscious vanguard of the masses to consciously give guidance to this movement and direct it into correct scientific channels. The tasks confronting the Marxists are great indeed. But the opportunities facing the working class in the coming period are even greater - greater, in fact, than at any time in the history of humanity.

Dec. 18, 1943.

THE COMING UNEMPLOYMENT

Thomas R. Amlie, former Congressman from Wisconsin, recently wrote a long article for The Nation. Mr. Amlie states, "By July, 1944, it is expected that 11,300,000 men will be in the armed forces and 54,600,000 workers employed in industry and agriculture—a total of 65,900,000. In 1939 we had 44,200,000 workers employed in industry and agriculture, with perhaps 500,000 in war work and the armed forces. Thus a return to the conditions of 1939 would provide no place for 21,200,000 persons."

Mr. Amlie's estimate of the unemployment after the war is somewhat smaller than the estimate of CIO research directors, but even if we assume the figures of "optimists in the Department of Labor," there will be at least 12 million unemployed.

One way or another the unemployed problem is here with us again. Hundreds of thousands of workers are already being laid off. Whole factories are shutting down. It is becoming increasingly difficult for certain types of workers to find employment, although the problem is not yet acute.

THE TERRIBLE THIRTIES

The American social scene is poised for new 1930's and '32's. Sometime in the next 4 or 5 years, millions and millions of people will be left without work and consequently without adequate food, shelter or clothing. The glowing promises of the profit-hungry capitalists of full employment after the war, are poppycock.

Only the proletariat can find a solution to the problem of unemployment. Generally speaking, the solution lies only in the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a workers' council government based on production for use. Along the road to this solution we will some day in the near future be faced with the problem of re-establishing unemployed organizations closely linked up with or part of a trade union movement.

THIRTY HOUR WEEK

Meanwhile, however, what shall be done in this next period, the period of increasing lay-offs? What shall be done to stave off the catastrophe and to defend the interests of working people?

One of the things suggested is a struggle for a 30 hour week. That struggle must begin not tomorrow, after the war, when trade union strength is at a low ebb, but it must be forced out of the greedy maw of capitalism today through the instrumentality of general strikes, demonstrations and other political action.

The 30-hour week by itself, however, will only absorb a relatively small portion of the unemployed. Even if we were to assume that capitalist production would be around 100 billion dollars level (21 Billions above the 1929 peak year), at least 40 per cent of the working class would still be unemployed. And from year to year, due to new inventions and other technological improvements, that figure would continue to increase.

No, the working class cannot depend on minor palliatives or mere economic reforms. In the coming period the question of life and bread will be sharply posed to the working classes of the United States. Either we will keep the factories open and enforce production for use and full employment or the capitalists will "re-organize" society on the basis of a frightful scarcity and hunger program.

DOOMED TO STARVATION

Dozens of millions of people are doomed to starvation and premature death unless in this coming period the working class decides to defend itself. It may be necessary to keep the factories open at the point of a machine gun, but if it is necessary it must be done. The working class must prepare today to establish councils in every city and in every locality to **KEEP THE FACTORIES OPEN; STOP** the capitalists from spreading unemployment! It must prepare to convert the factories and instruments of imperialist war to instruments for producing for the needs and use of humanity. This struggle must begin, not tomorrow, after the war, but today while the lay-offs and unemployment are beginning.

PRODUCTION FOR USE

Obviously a struggle of this sort will almost from the outset pose the question to the American workers of who shall control state-power—the capitalists with their program of scarcity or the working class with their program of production for use. A period in which 21 million people are losing their jobs, in which humanity must pick up its tattered body from the ravages of war, such a period is in itself a pre-revolutionary period; a period in which all questions of bread and butter resolve themselves into the fundamental question: "Who shall control state power?"

Many people, of course, will object to the program of working class seizure of the factories but there is no other solution. The idea, far from being "adventurous," is the only practical solution.

For workers' seizure of the factories to check unemployment!

For workers' councils to organize production for use!

OPEN LETTER

TO ALL HONEST WORKERS, MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY USA.

Fellow Workers:

All of you who possess any political understanding have been aware for sometime of the existence of three categories in the Communist Party USA. The first, composed of the Browders, the Minors, the Stachels, etc., with their following of pie-card stooges and dupes, is the leading core of the party. For years this unprincipled and bureaucratized group has been nothing but an American representative of the Stalinist bureaucracy. Then, there is a small group of veterans extending back to the old days of 1919 and thereabouts who have been disgusted with the antics of the Browders, etc., but have remained in the party, naively hoping against hope that it would some day justify its name of "Communist". And finally there is a third category, fairly large in number, of workers who came into the party because of its name and because they thought it was really a revolutionary working class party. It is to these two latter groups that we address ourselves.

WHO ARE WE?

In commencing any conversation, political or otherwise, it is customary and proper for the parties to be introduced. We know you, but the bureaucracy of your party has taken extra pains to keep you from knowing us, sometimes by silence, sometimes by lies of the most shameless variety. The Revolutionary Workers League is a group of Marxists in the U.S.A. connected with the Leninist League of Great Britain and the Red Front of Germany in an International Contact Commission for a Fourth International. We stand for proletarian revolution, for the extension of the October revolution, for the turning of the present imperialist war into a civil war for socialism. We stand for the establishment of workers' council or real soviets' governments all over the world. In other words, we stand for the things that many of you thought you were going to find in the Communist Party. We do not ask you to accept our words either for our program or for our actions. If you want to find out about both write for our literature to Demos Press, 708 North Clark Street, Chicago, Illinois. And then check it any way you want against objective reality, and you will find that during the same period that you were floundering around in the net of the Stalinist bureaucracy, our program clearly foretold events and our actions carried out our program to the limit of our forces. Now, having introduced ourselves, let us engage in a little conversation about your party.

U.S.A. STALINISM

We know that many of you were terribly shocked when you heard over the radio the night of Sunday, January 10, 1944, and saw in the Daily Worker, January 11, the announcement that the name of your party was going to be changed. But this shock, we also know, was only the culmination of a series of previous shocks. Either as still hoping veterans or as honest worker recruits, you have been shocked when the Hitler-Stalin pact was sprung upon you; that other time when you were suddenly left floundering on June 21, 1941, at the time of the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union; that time when you found the Communist International had been dissolved. These were big shocks on an international scale. And then you, honest workers, had your shocks when you found your whole party machinery lined up as a scab outfit against the miners' strike. You had your shocks when William Z. Foster, who was at one time known for his leadership of the steel strike of 1919, came out with demands for the doing away with strikes and for the workers to speed themselves up to American imperialism. Reeling under these blows many of you just became disgusted and dropped out. Others of you still stuck on until every vestige of hope was taken away from you when even the Y.C.L. name and program was abandoned and the name of "Communist" was stolen from under your noses. What are you going to do? In this period you can't just sit back and forget about war and revolution, because the war and revolution don't forget about you. We are of the opinion that the first thing that you have to do, as an honest worker, is to analyze the nature of Stalinism and see just what kind of party and what kind of International the working class really needs to effect its emancipation. This is a considerable task, but your own experience must have convinced you of its necessity. Below we give just a short outline of our views. We trust that it will stimulate you into a further investigation and will enable you to purge yourselves of every vestige of Stalinism and to join with us in the struggle for the world October.

NATURE OF STALINISM

The political leadership of your party is nothing but a stooge leadership. We do not use this term to be calling names, but as an accurate scientific description. When your leadership took up the third period tactics, when it dropped the third period for the popular front, when it was for a labor party and against a labor party and then later on for a labor party again, when it characterized the role of the U.S.A. as imperialist, and then later suddenly characterized it as non-imperialist, in all of these instances, these sudden, sometimes overnight, changes were dictated solely by the interests of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union and at the direct orders of that bureaucracy. No matter what their wishes, and despite their actions, the bureaucrats

of the U.S.S.R. have still not been able to alter the basic economy of the Soviet Union. To date it still remains a Workers' State, with socialized property relations as its predominant economic form, and this we defend. So, an analysis of the nature of the leadership of the CPUSA is primarily concerned with the national and international basis of Stalinism.

Before the fall of 1924, not even Stalin was a Stalinist. In the beginning of that year Stalin wrote a book called "The Foundations of Leninism" in which he specifically disclaimed the theory of socialism in one country and specifically asserted the international need of a proletarian revolution. There was nothing surprising about this. Prior to the fall of 1924, no professing Marxist had ever seriously questioned it. But in the following edition of the same pamphlet Stalin asserted the exact contrary. It is from this theory of socialism in one country (which becomes support of capitalism in every other country) that the whole fatal line of Stalinism has flowed. But this theory itself did not have its origin in a vacuum, nor did it fall down from the skies already made. It was an expression of the material interests of a growing bureaucracy in the Soviet Union. This is fundamental to remember. From this false program, that is false from the interests of the working class, there flowed the increasing degeneration of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist International. There flowed such decisive events as the shooting of revolting Chinese peasants by so-called communist ministers of the Kuomintang government. There followed the terrible events of 1923 in Germany when a revolutionary situation was completely missed. There followed the betrayal of the British general strike aided and abetted by the Communist Party of Great Britain. There followed the ignoble capitulation to Hitler in 1933, which itself had followed the notorious third period. There followed Austria and France and Spain. In India the C.P. opposed the attempted Revolution, in Italy they support Badoglio and praise the King, - but why go on? You can fill in the details yourselves.

And what was going on in the Soviet Union? The Stalinist bureaucracy is a bureaucracy based on socialized property relations, being a parasitic growth on the same. It therefore endeavored to maintain itself between the germs of a rising new capitalist class and a terrified working class. But since it is a parasitic growth within a framework of a degenerated workers' state, its zig-zags steadily lead it to the right. The soviets as organizations have been liquidated in the Soviet Union. Marxist teaching and practice with regard to the state have been outlawed. Economic concession after economic concession has been made to the embryonic capitalist forces. The position of the vast masses of workers steadily worsened even before 1941. Particularly was the condition of women worsened. Every effort was made to reduce women again to the position of shield bearing machines.

You have all seen the reflection of these international and Russian events in the United States. You have also seen how this was accentuated and raised to the nth degree by the war. From 1918 to 1922, the just born Soviet Republic was able to defeat the entire capitalist world, by the application of revolutionary Marxism. Yes, the Bolsheviks took advantage of the antagonisms within the capitalist ranks, but they always based themselves upon the solid fact that their struggle was a part of the proletarian revolutionary struggle throughout the world. The Stalinist bureaucracy, and its Browder stooges, have based themselves on the support of one or another branch of imperialism against the international working class, inclusive of their own. That is the main lesson to be learned. Take, for instance the present situation. At the very time when decaying capitalism reached the stage of open war and of open attack on the Soviet Union, what does the Stalinist bureaucracy do? It liquidates what it has called the general staff of the world revolution in times of peace. It liquidates the Third International. And now it proposes to give up any pretense to being a Communist Party, to liquidate programatically, and to some extent organizationally, into an amorphous popular front bourgeois party, kissing Roosevelt's foot in the U.S.A. as Stalin did at Teheran.

It is no accident that the name of your party was changed shortly after Teheran. Revolution is approaching in Europe as well as in India. It is the purpose of the United Nation imperialists to stifle this and they want to make use of the Stalinist machinery to aid them in this. From the very beginning of the war (Warsaw) up to now the imperialist war has called forth its dialectical opposite, revolutionary struggle. In the endeavor to crush the gigantic revolutionary struggles that are approaching, the Stalinist bureaucracy and the imperialists block for counter-revolution. Are you workers going to allow yourself to be used as open tools of world-wide counter-revolution?

What are you going to do, you hoping veterans of 1919, and you honest workers who thought you were going into a real workers' party? Are you going to continue to stay with this imperialistic scab-herding outfit? Are you just going to let your tails drop between your legs and slink home? Or are you going to wake up, rub your eyes, look around, find out the betrayals that have been perpetrated upon you, and join with us in the struggle for a workers' world? Do not be misled by the argument that we are a small group. We are, but we remember the old saying of Lenin: "Have the will to build a revolutionary party and the masses will come to you". The choice is yours. The same choice that is given in the case of every strike, of every demonstration, of every fight against oppression. If you now consciously want to be on the side of the Roosevelts, Churchills, the Stalins, the Chiang-Kai-Sheks, then have the honesty to openly say so, and realize what you are doing. If, on the other hand, you want to

fight the battle of the workers, the oppressed colonial people, the Negroes, the Jews and other minority groups, then you should and will find that your place is with us, the only group that proposes not reliance upon the capitalist class or any section of it, not the formation of a third capitalist party in the form of a labor party, but independent working class action at all times for the establishment of a World Soviet Republic. The Stalinist bureaucracy may substitute all they want some nationalist tripe for that great song of the working class, "The International". We expect them to do that. But we shall carry on not only the words but the spirit of the concluding lines: "It is the final conflict, let each stand in his place, the International Soviet shall be the human race". What about you?

Fraternally,

Political Committee

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