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CONTENTS

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Labor Party Brake on Revolution

Aspects of the Red Army

Thesis on Palestine

International Notes

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LABOR PARTY BRAKE ON REVOLUTION

There is a renewed cry for an "Independent Labor Party" in the United States. Four months after the national elections, just as we Marxists predicted (see the September, October, November 1944 issues of the FIGHTING WORKER, organ of the Revolutionary Workers League) the New Deal regime is moving further to the right, disregarding all its campaign promises of being the friend of the "common man" and of giving more security to the downtrodden.

The CIO Political Action Committee is being repaid for its valiant efforts on behalf of Roosevelt, by the most vicious anti-labor campaign in the history of the New Deal. The Little Steel formula, which imposes a 30% cut in real wages on 55 million American workers, is to be kept intact. The War Labor Board promises few, if any, wage increases in the coming year. In fact hundreds of employers are already petitioning for DEcreases in pay and very likely at least some of them will be granted. Furthermore the new Vinson order that instructs WLB to "clear everything with OPA" (Office of Price Administration) in order to see to it that wage increases will not cause the employers any loss in profits and any request for price boosts - just about emasculates the War Labor Board.

SLAVE LABOR VS. ORGANIZED LAEOR

In other spheres the New Deal is requesting Fascist legislation like the "Work or Jail" bill. It is appointing Wall Street bigwigs to head the State Department. It is laying the basis internationally for slave and conscript labor. A Republican Senator states that he hears on good authority that the peace agreement with Italy provides for two million slave laborers to form conscript workers in foreign lands, 800,000 in Russia, 200,000 in the U.S., 200,000 in Britain, 200,000 in Australia, 200,000 in Brazil and the rest scattered. The Crimean Conference openly called for such slave battalions, when Germany is defeated.

Even the most innocent child knows that no nation can endorse the principle of slave battalions drawn from other countries, without eventually adopting the practice for its own workingclass.

The labor movement is uneasy, under all this pressure. A number of decrees by Jimmy Byrnes make the reaction even more pronounced. Union conventions will, for the most part, be outlawed this year. Places of entertainment and relaxation for the working class will be closed after 12 midnight. (The rich who don't work the swing or night shift have "private" saloons and clubs that will not be affected.) Draft boards are to check and see if workers are absent too often from work; if they are, they are to be yanked into the

army. Even before Congress passes the "Work or Jail" bill, the draft boards and WMC are forcing people to quit jobs and be assigned by the government to other jobs under penalty of being drafted into the armed forces.

THE HARVEST OF THE P.A.C.

Under the circumstances it is easy to see why the demand for a Labor Party is again put forth. The dormant Michigan Commonwealth Federation - which practically died during the campaign - is again beginning to bustle. A CIO official in New Jersey shows how great is the pressure of the working class for a change. He writes ("The Retail Organizer"):

"Forced (in 1944 elections) to make our choice, as workers, for the Party that will fight for our interests, as opposed to the interests of Big Business, we really go to town. We form the FAC, get millions to register and vote and contribute. We do such an amazing job that we scare the pants off the big fellows.... We flock to the polls, our man is elected and we're all set for a fair break, when the announcement hits us like a bombshell. 'No change in Little Steel Formula'. This punch below the belt staggers us. It's hard to believe. Why that is exactly what we were warned would happen if Dewey was elected. Had F.D.R., the 'greatest friend of Labor' rewarded his enemies and punished his friends? As we slowly rise, after taking the count of nine, we were met with still another foul blow, the rabbit punch - STETTINIUS IS APPOINTED SECRETARY OF STATE. We can hardly believe our eyes. Why this man is only a puppet for Wall Street. He represents the interests of Big Business. And they lost the election! These money changers were to be driven from the Temple. Yes, it looks like they were driven around the block in a big limousine, gathering up the Rockefellers, the Claytons and the Grews, etc. and then right back to the very choicest seats in the Temple."

And this comes from a "leader" who supported the CIO policy.

The cleavage between the working class and the capitalist class is becoming more clearly defined. In the first period of the war social-patriotism swept the workers into "going along" with a great deal of anti-labor legislation and restrictions. But with the progress of the war, the discarding in action of the beautiful promises of the "war against fascism", the "four freedoms", the "Atlantic Charter", the "rights of the common man" the American worker sees clearly that he has again been tricked into supporting the class collaborationists to help the imperialists win their war for markets. As the disillusionment grows it is expressed in action - strike action, protest action, demands for higher living standards and better working conditions, demands for assurance against post-war depression and chaos.

The capitalist class, wide awake to what is coming moves further and further to the right - more and more of the democratic rights of the workers are being taken away, and more and more of government by decree is taking place. Militia is quietly being trained to shoot down the workers when they get on the streets in action. Blue prints are all drawn up for use by the police and armed forces - not against some foreign "enemy" but for use against the workers at home. These actions work two ways - as the bosses institute more repressions the workers fight harder against them. But armed force is the last thing the capitalist class wants to use while it pretends to function as a "democracy".

Under the circumstances American capitalism needs an escape valve. The labor fakers throughout the country show that they understand this, and are getting worried. The pressure of the rank and file seems to be too great for them to disregard it any further.

Emil Rieve, Textile Workers CIO leader, has just announced that he "releases" 100,000 textile workers from their no-strike pledge. (Incidentally that's a bit of joke, since no worker was consulted when Rieve and his ilk gave up the right to strike.)

Lewis Clark, head of the Packinghouse Workers, is issuing mild threats of a strike vote unless the War Labor Board hands down a favorable order in the case of the Big 5 - held up for months, first by the WLB and now by Vinson.

The UAW-CIO board meeting in New Orleans voted to urge the CIO to quit the War Labor Board.

Something like a revolution is going on within the rank and file of these three large unions. Workers are getting sick of the run around. A powerful rank and file group is functioning in the CIO auto workers union. Delegates from Kansas City and elsewhere raised blue murder at a recent packinghouse workers conference and demanded an end to the no-strike run-around. In every basic union in the country, the cry to rescind the no-strike pledge is rising.

It's easy to see, therefore, why Rieve, Clark and Walter Reuther are beginning to yield to this pressure. But the working class can have no truck with these miserable fakers, who sold us out for three long years and are now trying to stop us from going the whole hog. Even if the no-strike pledge is rescinded these gentlemen will fight like tigers against any strike and against any militant policy.

But the big ace in the hole is this Labor Party. When all else fails the Labor Party will be trotted out as the great panacea that will help the American workers overcome the horrible things they are suffering today.

THE AMERICAN FORM OF PEOPLE'S FRONTISM

To any mature worker who understands the class struggle, the Labor Party is the most insidious danger to the American working class. It is such a great danger precisely because of the illusions it fosters.

What difference is there, for instance, between the CIO Political Action Committee of the last elections and a Labor Party? PAC was an "independent" instrument of labor by which the Hillmans, Murrays and Browders helped elect Roosevelt. Without PAC Roosevelt would have been defeated. The only difference between PAC and Labor Party is that instead of the Hillmans, Murrays and Browders supporting Roosevelt in the next election, they will support the.... Hillmans, Murrays and Browders for office. If there is any difference between these two it certainly is negligible.

Of course the Labor Party advocates will tell you in private that they don't want a Labor Party headed by Hillman, Murray and Browder. But any person over 9 years of age who seriously believes that an American Labor Party can circumvent PAC and Sidney Hillman, should be gently encased in a straitjacket and put away with other nice people who have Napoleonic complexes. PAC is THE nucleus for the Labor Party. It is a powerful machine that will not be shunted aside by a prayer. Sidney Hillman knows that. He knows too that eventually he will have to organize a Labor Party nationally to try and take the steam out of a proletarian revolt. He is certainly not against a Labor Party, since he is the chairman of the only meaty Labor Party in the United States, the one in New York.

What is a Labor Party? In 1935 when Browder and the Stalinists first came out for a Labor Party Browder and Stachel wrote a pamphlet advocating "not a reformist Labor Party" with the Lewises, Olsons, Norman Thomases and Greens, but a "Revolutionary Labor Party". Today James P. Cannon and his Trotskyists are likewise talking about a Labor Party which is "not reformist". But both Cannon and Browder know better.

There can be no Labor Party which is NOT reformist! All Labor Parties must be reformist in character. For what is the essence of Labor Partyism? It is a peoples front of most of the labor fakers and some liberals. It is purely a LEGISLATIVE instrument, not an organ of class struggle. It is a machine for taking the workers' fight OUT OF THE FACTORIES AND INTO THE HALLS OF CONGRESS.

In plain English, Labor Partyism is the American form of People's Frontism. And nothing has been more devastating to the Proletarian Revolution and Socialism in these last thirty years than People's Frontism. In Russia in 1917 it was called the "democratic coalition" of the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries. In Germany in 1919 it was called the coalition government of the Socialists and

Independent Socialists. In England it was the Labor Party government. In France and Spain the People's Front. In Germany 1923 it was called the "Workers and Farmers Government" of Saxony and Thuringia. In China it was called the People's Government of the Kuomintang.

COMPROMISE LEADS TO CAPITULATION

Everywhere, the essence of Labor Partyism (People's Frontism) is SUPPORT OF AND CAPITULATION TO bourgeois democracy. When the working class is thoroughly disgusted with the OPEN bourgeois parties, capitalism permits and supports a "Labor" Party, or a Popular Front, to gather the oppressed into a safe capitalist fold.

What basis of unity can there be, for instance, between John L. Lewis, Sidney Hillman, James P. Cannon and Max Schachtman? Certainly it can not be on a program for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism! It can only be on a compromise legislative program which ATTEMPTS TO PATCH UP THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM. It can only be on the basis of support of "progressive" legislation like the Wagner act, the Murray-Dingell Bill, the "\$30 every Thursday" propaganda, etc. But!, say the Cannonites and Schachtmanites, if that is all Hillman and Lewis will agree to we will clean them out of the trade unions, so that the unions can be the basis of an "independent" Labor Party.

But let us see whether on the program of "Labor Partyism" the Hillmans will be cleaned out or will be strengthened.

Labor Partyism is not an accidental or an incidental part of the Trotskyist (centrist) program. It is not a mere tactic to be used today and tossed overboard tomorrow. Labor Partyism, if adopted, alters EVERY ASPECT OF THE PROGRAM OF ANY PROFESSEDLY MARXIST ORGANIZATION.

In the sphere of trade union work, Labor Partyism pushes its protagonists into attempting "BROAD unity" - that means they capitulate to second-rate labor fakers and mild reformists who they know must be in the new Labor Party. They work UNDER such people. They support now Lewis, now Tobin, now Reuther as the "lesser evils".

In the sphere of Labor Defense work, Labor Partyism means dropping all semblance of class protest and class struggle in favor of alliances with the liberals, and compromise and capitulation to the courts and laws of capitalism. This the Cannonites did in their Minneapolis case.

A REFORMIST PATCHING OF DECAY

In politics it means an increasing emphasis on LEGISLATIVE action, rather than action at the point of production and in the streets.

That explains for instance why so many Cannon Trotskyites are refusing to run for Shop Committee posts in the auto factories, but ARE willing to form Labor Party clubs; why they refuse to participate in rank and file progressive groups, but will participate in any labor party conference.

Labor Partyism means such things as support of "trade union conscription", "ham and eggs" and other reformist measures. It means a general watering down of the program of the centrists so that there can be BROAD unity of all the so-called "progressive" (i.e. Labor Party) forces. The Schachtmanites are an excellent example of this process. They have become what Lenin called "economists". The level of their politics is "trade union politics". Their political horizon does not stretch beyond bourgeois democratic demands and legislation.

Labor Partyism means PATCHING UP THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM RATHER THAN OVERTHROWING IT. In the last analysis it leads to giving up class struggle methods. It leads to unity with the opportunists. Both Cannon and Schachtman have GIVEN SUPPORT TO THE SOCIAL-PATRIOTS OF EITHER THE HILLMAN-BROWDER OR THE DUBINSKY-ROSE STAMP, IN THE NEW YORK LABOR PARTY. That is the logical outcome of Labor Partyism: unity with the social patriots. Naturally Cannon's and Schachtman's positions are not yet fully developed. Life hasn't yet forced them to make all the concessions to bourgeois democracy that they will eventually have to make if they really mean what they say about a Labor Party. But the direction they are travelling is quite clear.

Furthermore Cannon and Schachtman know where they are going. Their support of and capitulation to bourgeois democracy is not something new. They favored a Blum-Cachin government in France in 1935-36. They favored a Caballero-CNT ("Left" People's Front) government in Spain a year or two later. They openly called for "support of rotten bourgeois democracy" during the Spanish Revolution.

The program of Labor Partyism does not help to wipe Sidney Hillman or any other labor faker out of the trade union movement because it is in essence a CAPITULATION to Sidney Hillman and the capitalist class, for whom he is an open agent.

Between Roosevelt and PAC (Hillman) and the Labor Party (Wallace-Hillman-Browder-Cannon) there is an inexorable pipe-line. All three are parts of the same thing. And Mr. Hillman is about the best barometer of what is happening in American class relations. In 1940 he supported Mr. Roosevelt without any ands, ifs or buts. In 1944 he had to do it through a PAC. And in 1948 he may support a Wallace or a Hillman on a straight Labor Party ticket. All three are part of the same parade, except that class relations were sharper in 1944 than 1940 and it was necessary to feed the working class much demagogy about "independent" action and "electing our own people". Now that the noble experiment of PAC has solved nothing the left-PAC-ists are already demanding that the next step be

taken. Sooner or later the magnanimous Mr. Hillman will accede to these demands, and such sterling exponents of the Bolshevik Revolution as Mr. Wallace will jump on the bandwagon.

LABOR PARTY PREVENTS WORKERS' INDEPENDENT ACTION

There is no such thing as an "independent" Labor Party. A Labor Party can only be an instrument of capitalism, a THIRD capitalist party. It will NOT make the worker more class-conscious; it will merely lead him into a blind alley, just as PAC led him into a blind alley.

But then, what is the program of the revolutionary Marxists? We are against the organization of a Labor Party. What do we counterpose to it?

Our program has no wild panaceas, quick shortcuts. It is composed primarily of two points:

1- The organization of a Revolutionary Marxian Party based on the principles of Marxism, opposition to the war, (revolutionary defeatism), workers control of socialized production for use instead of for profit under a workers council government (dictatorship of the proletariat).

2- Intensification of action at the point of production and in the streets. A national progressive group is needed inside the labor movement to rescind the no-strike pledge and elevate the level of the working class, through strikes, sitdowns, demonstrations, refusal of shipments for counter-revolution, etc. etc. by a simultaneous struggle against the capitalist, the labor faker and the bourgeois government.

A number of steps in this direction have already been taken. Outstanding among these are the Trade Union Educational League, with its center in Cleveland, and the Rank and File Committee in the auto workers CIO union. The Rank and File group, which has put up an excellent struggle to rescind the no-strike pledge in the present UAW-CIO referendum, is unfortunately saddled with illusions about the Labor Party. Sooner or later the Labor Party elements will attempt to liquidate the militancy of the Rank and File into purely legislative and parliamentary channels. The genuine militants and revolutionists within the Rank and File will eventually be forced into a head-on collision with Labor Partyism - Labor Partyism and a program of class struggle can not exist side by side.

Labor Partyism, like all Popular Frontism, can only pave the way for Fascism. It must be exposed as such! We must not be fooled by the label. Underneath the words "Labor Party" are the same

old treacheries of social-democracy and popular frontism which have caused so many fiascos and betrayed dozens of revolutions.

FIGHT THE LABOR PARTY! - AGENCY OF THE CAPITALIST CLASS

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FOR A REVOLUTIONARY MARXIAN PARTY! ONWARD TO PROLETARIAN
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Feb. 22, 1945.

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THE RED ARMY AND REVOLUTION

SOME SOCIAL ASPECTS OF THE RED ARMY, AND SOME REVOLUTIONARY ASPECTS OF TRANSITION SOCIETY

We have written analyses of the Red Army more than once in the past few years, and there appears little to change our analyses. The Red Army is the defense weapon of the Workers' State in an imperialist world. Were we to assume the existence of a perfectly healthy Workers' State, then we could build a full set of perfect specifications for the role of the Red Army. We would say: the Red Army is more than the defense arm of the Workers' State - it is part of the Army of World Revolution.

But the Soviet Union is considerably less than the perfectly healthy Workers' State. It did not start as a perfectly healthy Workers' State, nor has its development been entirely in that direction. What we have, actually and historically, is a Workers' State in what was one of the most backward capitalist nations, a Workers' State gestated by that very backwardness and born in the labor pains of imperialist war. In the midst of its task of fighting for life against civil war and imperialist intervention, it found it necessary to embark on a policy of carefully planned concessions to capitalism - the New Economic Policy of 1921. Then it had to turn to the rebuilding of its completely shattered resources. This task was complicated by the political success of the Stalinist faction of the Communist Party, a success which proved utterly catastrophic to the socialist revolution outside of the Soviet Union and ultimately turned the social, economic and political course of the Soviet Union itself from the road to socialism back onto the road to capitalism. The results we all know well: a warped, degenerated Workers' State, whose most fundamental merit is negative - the absence of private property relations in the means of production.

With the great changes, theoretical and practical, in the history of the Soviet Union went concomitant changes in the Red Army. It passed from an instrument for furthering the World Revolution by an offensive to an instrument for defending the gains of October, 1918-21. Later it changed into an instrument for defending the geographic borders of the Soviet Union. Finally it has reached the stage of open alliance with imperialist armies for the defeat of imperialist enemies and anti-revolutionary intervention against the masses in the defeated countries.

There is a tremendous political contradiction inherent in this role of the Red Army. On the one hand it remains the armed force of the CLASS in power in the Soviet Union, the working class. But it is also the tool of the administration in the Soviet Union. In this sense, the Stalinist leadership uses the Red Army against the interests of the working class, both within and outside of the Soviet

Union. There can be little doubt of the bargain Stalinism has struck with the allied imperialists. In reward for aid in defeating German imperialism, Stalinism offers to be imperialism's big stick in Central and South-Eastern Europe and in Asia. It will aid in keeping the workers in check whenever they rise to strike off their chains. The events in Spain years ago demonstrated this.

But what about the social background of the Red Army soldiers? Aren't they workers in a Workers' State? Yes, they are. Then won't they refuse to fight against the workers? Well....have they?

IN THE EVENT OF SOCIAL REVOLUTION

It appears that no formula for the Red Army, no label will solve this burning problem for us. What is our approach to the Red Army in the event of social revolution in a European capitalist nation? What is the Red Army's approach to the social revolution?

Let us assume that we are in the midst of a strike situation. A thug-administered boss-controlled union is scabbing on us. Some elements of our line we can lay down unconditionally.

- 1) Under NO conditions will we appeal to the boss for aid in our fight (and this implies the bourgeois police force, too).
- 2) We will NOT say: Our own class brothers are against us - we're licked.
- 3) We will do all we can to prevent the scabs from strike-breaking. We will use working-class persuasion on the scabs. We will attempt to win over the rank-and-file to our side. We will not waste much time "reasoning" with their leadership.
- 4) But will we lay it down as a general line under ALL circumstances that we advance the slogan of "march separately and strike together" with the scab union? No. The slogan is meant to be applied where it can further the interest of the working class, not where it can create illusions in the minds of the strikers about the nature of strike breaking. History is a hard teacher; it will not spare us any grief for our serious mistakes because we meant well. If we do not plan well, then our meaning well is worthless.

It should be evident by now that our approach to the Red Army will depend on the precise situation existing in any given case. It is tactically meaningless to say: There is no private ownership of the means of production in the Soviet Union; THEREFORE the revolutionists will offer to march separately and strike together with the Red Army; or conversely, we will NOT march separately and strike together.

The above mode of "reasoning" (?) is neither historical nor materialistic - it is not even logical. It substitutes a formula for a careful study of the concrete situation necessary in each case. We propose to arrive at a revolutionary approach to the Red Army by examining a number of hypothetical cases which will present the main conceivable variants.

The article "The Red Army and Capitalism" (Sept. 1944 "Fighting Worker") cites one specific variant. Let us start with the situation laid down there. The Rumanian workers have established a "genuine Soviet." "The Red Army, still willing to accept Stalinist orders, now attacks that Soviet. What shall the Rumanian workers do?"...They should march "against every defender of capitalism, whether labeled Soviet or not. But, at the same time, these workers should also use every possible effort not to surrender the economic base of the Soviet Union."

Before going further, let us recognize TWO all-important variants of this illustration. a) Not only the Stalinist controlled Red Army, but also outright imperialist forces are in the field against the Rumanian Soviets. b) As a result of Imperialist defeats (or for other reasons), the imperialist forces are not in the field - i.e., the Stalinist Red Army is the only organized military force against the Rumanian Soviets. The tactical problems confronting the Rumanian Red Guard are different in these two cases.

a) The first variant involves two approaches: The Rumanian workers must fight a war for the SMASHING of the imperialist army. Their propaganda in the ranks of the imperialist armies must advocate mass desertion, fraternization, revolutionary defeatism.

WAR ON TWO FRONTS

But what if the Red Army is fighting on two fronts: against the workers and against an enemy imperialist who is also fighting on two fronts (against the workers and against the Red Army)? Here we arrive at the crux of the problem. Shall we, the Rumanian Red Guard, strike blows at the Red Army at a time when it is fighting an enemy imperialist? The perceptive reader will by this time have realized that the revolutionary Red Guard is also fighting on two fronts.

The revolutionary Red Guard will maintain the same course of conduct toward the imperialist army as above outlined. Now, however, enters a complicating factor. Shall we endanger the economic base of the Soviet Union by participating in the two front war against the Red Army?

Here our tactic must be based entirely upon the specific relations of forces. Certainly we must propagandize the Red Army to break down Stalinist anti-revolutionary discipline. And in this specific circumstance, the proposal "March separately and strike together" MAY be employed. It is not a matter of principle that it must be employed. After all, we cannot base ourselves on the assumption that the defeat of a Stalinist Red Army by a revolutionary force jeopardizes the property relations of the Soviet Union. The maintenance of transition economy property relations démands the political revolution against Stalinism. Moreover, there can be little doubt that the greatest incentive to the anti-Stalinist political revolution will be the social revolution in other countries.

Here then we have arrived at a position based on a careful evaluation of the relevant facts - NOT by use of a magic formula. When the danger appears very great that our attack on the Red army will jeopardize the economic base of the Soviet Union, then we must agitate for the united front against the imperialist forces. But even here, we cannot let the potentially successful Rumanian Soviets go down in blood for the sake of historic sentimentality.

When all is said and done, our analysis thus far had led to no startling innovation in line. We have simply carried to its historical consequence our thesis that the class struggle is ALWAYS first.

REVOLUTIONARY DEFEATISM AND REVOLUTIONARY DEFENSISM

The other variants thus far outlined are much simplified to analyze. Where the Red Army collaborates with the Rumanian bourgeois army against the revolution, we do not tell the Red Army to continue the Front; we must split the forces of the counter-revolution, differentiating, of course, between bourgeois state forces and the Red Army. We have the same line to the bourgeois state soldier as before, i.e. revolutionary defeatism. Now we tell the Red Army soldier: Abandon the front against the Rumanian Red Army. Go to your CLASS front, reelect Soviets! Arrest the Stalinists! Give us aid and we will give you aid against your betrayers at home!

Now assume for the moment that the Red Army is the only active anti-revolutionary military force in the field. In this situation to call for striking together can have only one meaning: the two opposed forces can strike together only as two locomotives travelling toward each other on a single track can strike together!

The foregoing is a detailed study of a variant in the Fighting Worker article. There are many other variants. We do not propose to go into all of them, nor claim the above analysis is exhaustive. It is simply a demonstration of the Marxian approach to a tactical problem: 1) thorough examination of the main variants; 2) a solution based on the line of CLASS STRUGGLE.

To formulate a general line is an accomplishment; but it is only a beginning. The general line is meaningless except in its application. The Marxist cannot divorce theory from practice - neither in the trade union nor in the revolutionary upheaval.

THE APPROACHING OCTOBER AND THE SOVIET UNION

The new October will burst the old society apart with all the force of a fragmentation bomb. The hour of "the final conflict", for which we have worked so long, is indeed at hand. The forces of the explosion will be literally incalculable. There will be so much of hatred, so much of vengeance, so many bloody crimes of capitalism to

expiate, that the revolutionists will have as much work in restraining the masses as in guiding them positively. The flames from the explosion will sweep all Europe into the blaze, and tongues of fire will melt the shackles from the hundreds of millions enslaved in Asia. Even the American worker at home, untouched by the most direct sufferings of the imperialist war, will be drawn into the movement. Is it really to be expected under these circumstances that the degenerated workers' state will remain comatose? Can we not be certain that the masses of the Soviet Union will remember their revolutionary traditions and join in the conflict on the side of the international proletariat?

The revolutionary ferment will grow in the first Workers' State. Here too it will find itself restrained by the bonds of Stalinism. At this stage the internal forces so long undermining the Stalinist regime will attain explosive violence. Stalinism will disintegrate into its components, and the class against class war will break out in the Soviet Union. The Red Army in the field will be as susceptible to revolutionary currents as the workers at home. The political revolution will have a class nature, with class objectives (the showdown will split the Stalinist camp, but that fraction which chooses to fight against the workers must at this stage go over to the world capitalist class).

At precisely this stage, the revolutionists outside the Soviet Union must address the Red Army with their slogans. And what shall those slogans be? Obviously: the only way to defend the Soviet Union is to overthrow Stalinism! Reinstitute proletarian democracy! Arrest the Stalinist officers and commissars! Form Soldiers' Committees and elect officers! March together and strike together with the forces of the world revolution! FOR THE WORLD OCTOBER!

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

TO THE ARABIAN AND JEWISH QUESTION IN PALESTINE

The following article, first published by the Revolutionary Workers League in 1936, reveals a keen insight into the basic problems of the Jews in Palestine. During the modern War hysteria, the so-called democracies are trying to pose as the friends of this harassed and hounded minority. The 1936 article tears the mask from the imperialist hypocrisy. The "friendship" of the imperialists - both British and American - for the Jews, is a pure political manouver. Britain, following the first imperialist carnage, needed a watchdog for its oil pipe lines and its dominance of the Near East. The Zionist movement, cleverly counterposed to the Arabian nationalist movements, permitted Britain to divide, rule and prosper. But it definitely offered nothing to the Jewish people. The Jewish dream of a homeland is just as much of a dream today as ever before.

When British imperialism found it expedient to woo the Arabs, it tossed the high platitudes of a "Jewish Homeland" overboard; it limited and then closed emigration (never absorbing more than an infinitesimal portion of world Jewry) and imposed a number of other restrictions. We Marxists have always pointed out that no minority can escape from the violence of imperialism. There is no haven anywhere on earth. That is true for the Negro Garveyites ("back to Africa") as well as for the Jewish Zionists ("back to the Holy Land"). There are no new vistas, no new homes for the oppressed. No minority people, no small nationality, can escape the dominance of one imperialist power or another. The glorious visions of the Zionists in the 1920's have already evaporated into thin air. The Jew in Palestine, if he is a worker or a farmer, is just as oppressed as the underdog everywhere. And British imperialism exacts a full pound of flesh for its imperialist pot - let no one make any mistake on that score.

Lately American imperialism has joined the "noble cause". With shameless hypocrisy the Wall Street regime which tyrannically rules over Porto Ricans, Central Americans and numerous others, which keeps 13 million Negroes under an iron fist - this "democracy" sheds crocodile tears for the "poor Jews". (The Fascist butchers, incidentally, shed similar tears for the "poor Arabs". The hypocrisy is the same, only Uncle Sam uses one medium, the Nazis use another.)

No one with any political sense will be misled. American imperialism is challenging Britain's dominance over the Near East.

And, like the British Lion, Uncle Sam wants to use the Jews as its watchdog. It is using the Zionist movement as an entry wedge into Near Eastern affairs. It is emulating Lord Balfour - and precisely for the same purposes.

The following article, in our opinion, reveals some of the motives behind the imperialist "humanitarianism". What it says about the Jews and the Arabs can be said equally of countless other oppressed peoples: IMPERIALISM USES CASTES, GROUPS AND NATIONALITIES ONE AGAINST THE OTHER IN ORDER TO DOMINATE THE WHOLE UNIVERSE. If it covers such maneuvers in the convenient cloak of "freedom", we Marxists must tear the cloak aside and expose imperialism in its naked tyranny.

ONLY THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION CAN SOLVE THE MINORITY PROBLEMS.

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THE ARABIAN AND JEWISH QUESTION IN PALESTINE

Palestine which belonged to Turkey for many centuries, was captured by Great Britain in 1917 through an engineered revolt and a promise to the Arabian landowners and bourgeoisie to establish an Arab National State supported directly by British imperialism. By obtaining Palestine Great Britain obtained a position of capital importance. Through Palestine English imperialism has a gateway to the Suez Canal, the great route to India and China. Moreover and particularly, the pipe line for Mosul oil terminates at the seaport of Haifa and with it the railroad to Mesopotamia. Great Britain was thus placed in a position of holding a strategic commercial and military position over the land route to India. Haifa has become one of the most powerful naval bases of the British Empire.

The promise of Great Britain to help the young Arabian bourgeoisie to establish an Arab National state, unleashed a torrent of national sentiment throughout the Islamic territories, Syria, Mesopotamia, etc., which threatened to upset England's equilibrium in Egypt and the Mediterranean. To stifle these aspirations became England's chief problem thereon.

British imperialist policy with respect to Palestine is a part of the general colonial policy of imperialism of bribing certain strata of the colonial population to win its support for its work of super-oppression and exploitation of the colonial masses.

It was chiefly because of these fears that Great Britain began to make overtures to the Jews. Largely for the purpose of introducing another force to play against the growing danger of the Arabian movement for independence. It was with this aim that Lord Balfour made his declaration in 1917 to help the Jews establish their national home in Palestine as a solution to the world Jewish problem, naturally under Zionist domination and harmless to British imperialism. British imperialism now straddles between the two forces, one time favoring one, another time favoring the other.

The international Zionist movement seized upon this opportunity, seeing a possible realization of their hopeless utopian dream, and began calling upon the Jews to leave their homes and settle in Palestine, thus serving two purposes: disrupting the movement for revolution in their native countries and creating a solid support for British imperialism by acting as a buffer between the Arabian movement for independence and British imperialism. We are opposed to the immigration to Palestine as a solution to the Jewish problem. Immigration of oppressed national and racial minorities is no solution of their problems. On the other hand we are opposed to restriction on immigration of refugee politicals and persecuted

racial minorities generally, and of restriction on the immigration of Jews to Palestine as a solution of the conflict engendered there by British imperialism by their Arabian and Zionist agents. The Second International is lending its support to Zionism, and through it to British imperialism.

Lured on by the rosy dreams of the Zionists on the one hand, and greatly aided by the waves of anti-Semitism on the other, tens of thousands of Jewish workers and small business people emigrated to Palestine to colonize it. To provide for the means of colonization, millions of dollars were invested in Palestine by Jewish (and Gentile) capitalists. In addition many Jewish capitalists finding a new field for exploitation settled there too.

It was from then on that a frightful expropriation of the Arabian peasants took place. Their land was bought at an incredibly low price, or seized outright, leaving the Arabian peasants practically without means of existence. Pushed off his land the Arabian peasant would turn to the factory, where he would be paid far lower than the standard wage paid to the Jewish worker. Or in many cases the Jewish employer would refuse to employ him altogether. In this respect his relation to the Jewish worker would be not unlike that of the American Negro to the white worker. The extreme nationalist wing of the Zionist movement, the Zionist Revisionists (Fascists) wish to drive the Arab out of Palestine altogether.

All this natural resentment of the Arabian workers and peasants against the Jewish employers behind which stands British imperialism, is canalized, emasculated by the Arabian landowners and incipient bourgeoisie, and directed against the Jews as such. The Jewish bourgeoisie in its turn, aided by the Zionist movement, directs the Jewish workers natural class-conscious hatred of British imperialism against the Arabs as such, in both cases away from British imperialism, upon which it depends for support. It is as a result of this racial hatred purposely engendered by the two national bourgeoisies that recurrent pogroms and flareups take place. Which is in reality a reflection of the class struggle finding expression in other forms. One important step to overcome this racial antagonism and proceed to consolidate on a class basis is to propagate and organize one trade union center for Jewish and Arabian workers. Build trade unions to be composed of Arabian and Jewish workers.

The workers who migrated to Palestine constitute a majority of the toiling population in industry, but however, a minority of the total population. They are in the main from Russia, Poland, Germany where the revolutionary movement existed for long periods, and are in the main class conscious. But, chiefly because of the Zionist teachings that in order to establish the "national home" it is necessary to seek the support of British imperialism, that warped the militancy of the workers and consequently took on a reformist form,

thus preventing them from finding their solution in revolution. As a result it gave rise to a powerful reformist trade union movement dominated by the Zionists (not unlike the SP Old Guard in the AFL in the U.S.) known as the Histadruth. This movement pales all other movements into insignificance, particularly the Communist Party which totals 300 members, mostly Jewish intellectuals. The CP manages to make itself heard occasionally, however, through its extremely pro-Arabian anti-Jewish nationalism, which by the very nature of its struggle against the Jews as immigrants and as a whole, plays directly into the hands of the Arabian bourgeoisie and consequently fails to struggle against British imperialism.

The Stalinist slogan of "Arabia for the Arabs", and the slogan, "Federation of all Arab Peoples", is a further extension of the Comintern policy of revising Marxism; it is a nationalist slogan, anti-Marxian, it lays the basis for pogrom action against the Jews in Palestine. On the other hand, the nationalist Jewish policy of Zionism must be fought with the same vigor.

The Stalinist role in Palestine is to play against the Zionist pawn of British imperialism. The CP serves Stalin as a card in their game of bargaining with the international bourgeoisie.

The solution of the Jewish and Arabian workers and the peasants of Palestine lies in their united struggle, under the leadership of the proletariat, against British imperialism and their Jewish and Arabian capitalist and landowner agents. Unity of the Jewish and Arabian workers is a prerequisite for the unity with the peasants. An alliance with the peasants is impossible as long as the proletariat are disunited.

The solution of the workers and peasants cannot be fulfilled in the framework of the Stalinist or Zionist slogans, or Arabian nationalist movements. The solution can only be had by carrying the revolution for national and social emancipation, for agrarian and democratic demands over to the dictatorship of the proletariat. This cannot be limited to Palestine as a special Jewish problem. The need for the exploited Jewish and Arabian peoples of the whole Near East calls for their united joint action against imperialism and their local agents.

The proletariat of the Near East, especially the Jewish workers of Palestine, with their peasant allies, must call for: "THE NEAR EAST UNION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS" (Egypt, Palestine, the Arabian States, Syria, Iraq). A solution of the problems of the Jewish minority is possible only within a unit larger than the artificially created Palestine within this Federation.

The "NEAR EAST", embracing Egypt, Palestine, Syria and Iraq, constitutes a definite entity, recognized as such by those both within it and without. Its unity is based on:

(1) A basically similar economic and social structure throughout the area - preponderance of agriculture and the contrast between feudal landlord and the Felaheen.

(2) A common tradition and history - that of Arab peoples under the Turkish yoke.

(3) The fact that today the whole area plays one role in the world politics - that of a corridor between the European imperialist powers and their Asiatic and East African empires.

Practically all social movements within any of these countries have had the tendency of spreading out over the whole area or at least have found a strong echo there - the only important exception being, of course, Zionism.

The Arab states of the Arabian Peninsula proper are still in a far more backward stage of development, but are linked to the other countries by bonds of language and tradition, common aspirations for a unification of all Arab-speaking peoples, and by the fact that they form part of the same area as far as their key position in world politics is concerned.

This Federation will have to give the Jewish and other national minorities full political, economic and social equality with the Arabs. The high political level and class consciousness of the Jewish proletariat assigns to it a leading role in the struggle of the Near East peoples for national and social liberation.

The Arab national revolutionists, including the Arab Proletariat, do not recognize a special "Palestine". They will fight together with the Jewish proletarian revolutionist only on either of the following bases:

1. A national Arabian program, the Stalinist position.
2. A common goal for the Jewish and Arab workers and the whole Arab national revolutionary movement within Palestine and without, for a Near East Soviet Republic.

A decisive defeat of Italian Fascism in the Ethiopian conflict can unleash the colonial masses against world imperialism, especially affecting Great Britain. The exploited Jewish and Arabian peoples must have the full support of the world proletariat, especially the workers of England to overthrow the imperialists. All this presupposes as a prerequisite the creation of a new revolutionary party as a section of the **FOURTH INTERNATIONAL**

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

REPORT FROM BRITAIN

The British ruling class is alarmed. With their world position in jeopardy and trouble looming up at home. Militancy among the workers, at a discount since the betrayal of the General Strike in 1926 and capped by the black treachery of the 1929-31 Labour Government, is coming back on a new wave.

The strike indicator is going up. The main issues are economic and the preservation of trade union principles. But while political issues are not yet on the order of the day, the workers are coming more and more into conflict with the government directly and their interest in political issues is growing.

Chief centres of disturbance are engineering, shipyards and the coalfields, with transport and textiles not far behind. All urban centres are affected, but London is the most backward. This is due to its amorphous character, where proletarian sectors are apt to get isolated in its vast size. Women, brought into industry by war needs are proving stalwart fighters and the youth in the apprenticeship trades are giving leads to their elders.

Outstanding grievances among engineers is redundancy and the switching over from war production. Redundancy is putting large numbers of workers out of jobs and under the Essential Works order they must remain out of work until directed by the Ministry of Labour. Meanwhile they must live as best they can on the dole. Switching over from war production has involved new production jobs and has thus raised the issue of new rates for piece work. Biggest strikes in engineering now are to prevent the employers using the occasion to lower wages.

The coalfields have seen the waging of a bitter struggle for existence on the part of the miners since 1926. The victory of the mineowners then stabilized the miserable conditions of the workers and forced thousands of them out of the industry. It also preserved the chaotic administration and prevented the use of new technique. Today's coal crisis is the outcome and the coldest January in forty years is driving the point home. But the militancy of the miners never disappeared and there can be no disputing that they are the vanguard of the British working class struggle. The Trotskyists in placing their first parliamentary candidate in the field chose Neath, a mining area in Wales. This constituency is normally the gift of the Welsh Miners Union, for the last time it was contested was in 1923 by the Liberals. The result of the election as a barometer and demonstration will be of first importance.

As a consequence of rising class militancy, organisations of the left are growing. This applies equally to the older parties such

as the Independent Labour Party and the Socialist Party of Great Britain, as it does to the newer trotskyite Revolutionary Communist Party and the anarchist Freedom Press. Along with this growth, the counter revolutionaries are also developing, but not openly under the label of fascism. That smells too much even for them. For immediate counter measures the ruling class is using the Special Branch, located at New Scotland Yard. At present Freedom Press is under fire. Last summer they were behind the arrest and prosecution of the four trotskyites. The British section of the I.C.C. has also suffered severely at their hands. Their aim, however, is not yet suppression but intimidation and the making of stool-pigeons.

The position of the parties in Britain is very briefly as follows. The Labour Party, dominated by trade union bureaucrats is firmly wedded to British Imperialism. Although the vast mass of workers care little for the party, remembering 1929-31, there are militants in the ranks who though dismayed, struggle in vain hopes, and because of the lack of a visible alternative for the workers, expect a large support at the next General Election. They have formed a left wing under the leadership of Aneurin Bevan. Through his paper 'Tribune!' they are making an attempt to paint the party Red. Harold Laski, vice-chairman and leading theoretician of the party, is the leader of the intellectual opposition inside the party. His stronghold is the London School of Economics, where his views dominate the minds of the younger intellectuals. Already one conflict has broken into print between Laski and Ernest Bevin, the latter representing the trade union leaders. If Laski and Bevan can come to an agreement the Labour Party may by splitting with the right wing have a new lease of life.

The Independent Labour Party under the leadership of Brockway and Padley want to get back into the Labour Party from which they split in 1931. They have so far been prevented by the militants in their rank and file and by the unaccommodating attitude of Transport House, bureaucratic centre of the Labour Party. Commonwealth, representing the more idealistic section of the professional trades, has also been able to get support from what were backward rural areas. But they cannot formulate policy and apart from wishing for socialism, have been able to accomplish very little and that mainly parliamentary opposition to the government. Since they support the war even this is rendered ineffective. The anarchists have succeeded in establishing a very effective publishing company, Freedom Press, and their paper 'War Commentary for Anarchism' is one of the best left wing papers produced in Britain. Organisationally they have the Anarchist Federation which is perpetually concerned with the problem of how to organise while opposing any authority that organisation produces. However, as they rely upon the spontaneous uprising of the workers to accomplish their ends, they are not worried overmuch. The Socialist Party of Great Britain continue with their socialist education and confidently expect

one day to get a parliamentary majority with which they will introduce socialism. The Communist Party has lost heavily with its support of the war and its open sabotage of the workers' struggles. While they may still remain in existence as a party to propagandize for Stalin there is very little chance of their regaining the confidence of any large section of the workers. Realising this they have gone all out to capture trade union positions and have had a big measure of success, especially among engineers and miners. All the above organizations with the exception of the C.P. and Commonwealth are in opposition to the war.

The Revolutionary Communist Party was created last year by the fusion of the official trotskyist section the Revolutionary Socialist League and the four times bigger Workers International League. The W.I.L., a split away in 1937, had a hard bureaucratic core, plugged away at building a propaganda machine and produced the Workers International News and Youth for Socialism, later it became the Socialist Appeal. The two leaders it has produced Jock Haston and Millie Lee now dominate the R.C.P. They have consistently supported Cannon, whereas the R.S.L. tended to the left. There has not been any large support for Schachtman. The R.S.L. paper the Militant made great headway among the miners in Lanarkshire, outside Glasgow, and it is now officially the Militant Miner. The R.S.L.ites claim to have no connection, but this is probably to prevent the bureaucrats taking it over. This is only one instance of the struggle of the fractions within the R.C.P. But for the prosecutions of the trotskyists last year it is believed by many that the unified organisation would have come to an end. The term Oehlerite is now used among trotskyists as the term trotskyist was used among stalinists, to denote political heresy. While that is a tribute to the activity of the I.C.C. comrades in this country, it should not be accepted that everyone called an Oehlerite is one.

The Oehlerites in this country are few in number, they exist outside the Leninist League as well as in. Their political prestige has risen as a consequence of the distribution of I.C.C. literature. Their weakest link is organisation, but once the measures now in the process of going into action have got well under way, a rapid development can be looked for. There is no doubt that an increasing number of militants are looking towards the British section of the I.C.C. for leadership in the coming period.

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D.L.

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

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