

THE MARXIST

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SPECIAL
CONTACT COMMISSION ISSUE

14 Point Program

the Provisional International
Contact Commission for the New
Communist (4th) International.

THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVE-
MENT AFTER SPAIN

CULTURAL «FREEDOM» UNDER
CAPITALISM IN DECA

FOR A NEW COMMUNIST (4TH) INTERNATIONAL

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Revolutionary Workers League

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- For immediate complete independence for the Colonies and protectorates of the U. S.!
- Fight Fascism by Fighting Capitalism!
- For Workers Defense Squads!
- For Workers Control of Production for Use Under a Workers Council Government!
- For a New Communist (4th) International!

THE MARXIST

Theoretical organ of the Revolutionary Workers League of the U. S.

Formerly the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

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Contact Commission Formed

The Fourteen Point Program of the Provisional International Contact Commission for the New Communist (4th) International.

The signatories submit the following political statement which as briefly as possible presents a Marxian position on the basic questions of the day, separating the forces for the New Communist (4th) International from the reformists, centrists, and ultra-lefts. This document is the statement of the groups forming the Provisional Contact Commission for the New Communist (4th) International. The statement shall be the political axis for the International Bulletin which the Contact Commission issues.

1 — IMPERIALISM AND THE TASKS OF THE PROLETARIAT

The decay stage of capitalism is one of wars and revolutions, the violent eruptions of the dying capitalist system revealing the inability of the exploiters to solve their contradictions on the one hand, and on the other hand the inability of the proletariat to fully utilize its powers — because of a lack of leadership — to establish the World Dictatorship of the Proletariat. The basic antagonism of society is between world capitalism and the proletarian revolution (the extension of the October Revolution). The struggles among the imperialists are secondary to this basic antagonism.

2 — THE REVOLUTIONARY MARXIAN ORGANIZATION

The Marxian organization, if it is to unify the proletariat in a struggle against capitalism, must remain politically and organizationally independent of all other organizations, including the reformist and centrist parties, such as

the Labor Party, Social Democracy, Stalinism and the various centrist organizations. The Revolutionary Marxian Party must be international in program and organization, providing democratic discussion and rights in arriving at all policies, but unified in carrying them out, with the decisions of the higher bodies, up to and including the International Buro, remaining in force until over-ruled by still higher bodies.

3 — PARTICIPATION IN THE CLASS STRUGGLE

The Marxian Party fights for the day to day demands of the working class, but at no time separates them from the object and aim of the ultimate demands for the overthrow of capitalism. The immediate needs can be solved finally and conclusively only by the revolutionary over-throw of capitalism.

4 — REVOLUTIONARY DEFEATISM

The Marxian Party fights for against capitalism, and against a wars, no matter which nation appears to be the "aggressor" or the "defender;" no matter whether allied or not allied with the Soviet Union; no matter whether a bourgeois "democracy" or a fascist state. In an imperialist war Marxists on both sides must work through revolutionary class action for the military defeat of their 'own' army and bourgeoisie during the war time, even if this means the temporary "victory" of the "enemy" bourgeoisie. Only on the basis of the disruption of the bourgeois state and apparatus by the strategy of revolutionary defeat-

ism can the proletariat, under the guidance of its vanguard, turn the imperialist war of the capitalist brigands into a civil war of the proletariat to smash the whole capitalist system.

5 — THE USSR AND THE EXTENSION OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

The Dictatorship of the Proletariat still remains in the Soviet Union although in warped form, with a rising bourgeois stratum within the bureaucracy, with enormous inroads of private property, and the liquidation of almost all of the proletarian state forms, Soviets, Workers Militias, etc. The Stalinist bureaucracy is not a separate class. Stalinism today is a social reformist force resting on the material base of the October Revolution and its property relations, objectively aiding the restoration of capitalist rule in the S.U. and counter-revolution on a world scale. The theoretical base of Stalinism is the nationalist concept of Socialism in one country. Marxists will support the Soviet Union no matter in what kind of a war the USSR is involved. But such support and defense of the USSR can be accomplished only on the revolutionary line of the extension of the October Revolution and the re-establishment within the Soviet Union of full workers democracy and the soviets, a political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy. The Soviet Union can be defended only by a struggle against world imperialism and its Stalinist and other agents within the Soviet Union. Revolutionists give their political and material aid within the Soviet Union only to the Marxian 4th Internationalists and to those mass organs, Soviet, Workers Militias, trade unions, etc., in which the masses are able to carry out independent working class action.

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST CAPITALISM

Struggle against capitalism can be waged only on the basis of independent working class action in opposition to all forms of class collaboration, parliamentary cretinism and reliance on bourgeois democracy. The struggle for democratic demands is part of the revolutionary struggle against bourgeois democracy itself, as well as all other forms of bourgeois rule (military dictatorship, constitutional monarchy, fascist state, etc.) Fascism can be defeated only by the defeat of capitalism. Marxists participate in parliament only as an auxiliary to independent class action, as a forum to expose bourgeois democracy, Support

of bourgeois democracy in any of its varieties including the Peoples Front, so-called Labor governments (MacDonald, Bauer), so-called Workers and Peasants governments (Bulgaria, China 1925-1927, Thuringia 1923) helps pave the way for fascism. Under certain conditions where the breakdown of the economy creates an armed struggle on the part of certain sections of the bourgeoisie to crush the rising proletarian threat, certain other sections of the bourgeoisie for their own economic and political interests, may be forced into an armed opposition to the decisive section of the bourgeoisie. The working class may use parallel action with such "democratic" sections of the bourgeoisie as did the Bolsheviks in 1917 in the struggle against Kornilov. "March separately and strike together," unlike Popular Frontism, involves political and organizational independence from the bourgeois democratic forces, independent organizations of the proletariat (the Party, Soviets, Workers Militias, etc.), no support material or political to bourgeois democracy, unrelenting exposure of the bourgeois forces in preparation for armed struggle against them as well.

7 — THE CHARACTER OF THE STATE

The state is the product of irreconcilable class antagonisms. It is the instrument by which the ruling class suppresses other classes. Under capitalism it is the instrument of the capitalists for the exploitation and subjection of the proletariat and oppressed. This is true of the colonial and semi-colonial countries as well. There can be no "anti-imperialist," "non-capitalist," "workers and peasants" state other than the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. There is no state in between the Dictatorship of the Bourgeoisie and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. No matter what the composition of coalition governments under capitalism (POUM, Anarchist, Socialists, left Republicans in Spain, in 1937; Social Democrats and Independent Socialists in Germany in 1918-1919, etc.), they can only serve the interests of the capitalists. Marxists reject all co-operation with or participation in bourgeois ministries.

8 — STATE POWER

The basic question in any revolution is that of state power. Marxists fight for the proletarian revolution which will establish the workers rule, and change decisively the mode of production, replacing the profit system with production for use. But this can only be accom-

plished through the destruction of the bourgeois state and the establishment of the Workers State during the transition period, the Dictatorship of the Proletariat against the bourgeoisie and its remnants.

9 — THE ROAD TO POWER

To overthrow capitalism it is necessary for the working class to defend itself against the forces of counter-revolution by the use of revolutionary force, by armed insurrection. Without a Party, a vanguard on a Marxist program, a successful revolution is impossible. Every proletarian revolution has a certain period where side by side with the government of the bourgeoisie there develops the dual power of the proletariat — the Soviets of Workers and Soldiers Deputies (Workers Councils). The backbone of dual power and later of the Workers State are the Soviets of democratically elected delegates from the factories, mines, mills, battalions, farms, etc, and the Workers Militias. In colonial countries and economically backward countries, the first phase of the social revolution will be bourgeois democratic (agrarian), but this phase will continue into the proletarian phase. The problems of the bourgeois revolution in the present epoch can be solved only by the proletarian dictatorship. There can be no struggle against imperialism without at the same time actual aid to the colonial peoples for their liberation from the yoke of imperialism. Marxists fight for the right of self-determination for the oppressed minorities and national minorities as an auxiliary slogan. They work to win the proletariat of the colonial countries as **workers, for the proletarian revolution.** The oppressed agrarian masses, the colonial masses and sections of the urban middle class must be won over to the proletariat as allies in the proletarian revolution. After power is seized in one country, socialism can be built only by utilizing the isolated Soviet State as a center for world revolution. Only by pursuing the program of the extension of the revolution to one or more countries as the "long lever" and the industrialization of the Soviet State as the "short lever," can the single Soviet State continue its growth and development toward Socialism.

10 — THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT AND WORKERS DEMOCRACY

The ruling organ of the Workers State is not the Party but the Soviets of delegates from

the factories, farms, etc. The Marxian Party is the guiding force of the Soviets. The Soviets are the instruments through which the class exercises its Dictatorship. Workers Democracy under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat is exercised through the organs of the state, the trade unions, and democratic centralism within the Marxian Party, including the right of all factions within the Party at all times, within the framework of democratic centralism. Those parties which after the establishment of the Workers State do not accept basic principles must be suppressed. However, certain parties, groups or factions which in the first period of the Workers State accept its foundation principles will continue to exist with full freedom of expression within the bounds of the new society until they are by a natural process merged with the Marxian Party, or until their policies drive them into fundamental opposition with the new society, at which point they must be suppressed.

11 — THE CONTRADICTIONS OF CAPITALISM

The fundamental contradiction of capitalism is the contradiction between socialized production and capitalist individual appropriation. Having been deprived of the ownership of the means of production, the proletariat owning nothing but its labor power, is forced to sell that labor power at its exchange value. This value is less than the value of the commodities produced by the labor of the proletariat. The difference between the value of labor and the value of the commodities produced by use of that labor power is surplus value. This surplus value is the basis of all capitalist accumulation.

12 — THE NEW COMMUNIST (4th) INTERNATIONAL

The establishment of the New Communist (4th) International is the basic need of the proletariat today. The 2nd and 3rd Internationals are parties of social patriotism, of betrayal. The road to the New Communist International cannot be achieved on the basis of organic unity of these two internationals. Organic unity on an international scale is excluded because the 2nd International is a social reformist force resting on the bourgeois national states, while the 3rd International is a social reformist force resting on a warped Workers State. Organic unity of parties of these two internationals would

only further enmesh the proletariat in the clutches of the bourgeoisie. The Fourth Communist International must be built on the line of independent action in the class struggle, on an anti-capitalist, pro-communist orientation. The 4th International cannot be built on the line of unification with the left centrist groups on a "minimum" program. Revolutionary unity of the Marxists in the New Communist (4th) International can be achieved only by the political and organizational separation from the reformist and centrist organizations—the 2nd and 3rd Internationals, Trotskyites, Brandlerites, London Buro, etc., and by carrying out the Marxian line in the class struggle against world imperialism and its agents in the workers ranks. The "Fourth International" established in an adventurist way by the Trotskyites is a new centrist international built on a centrist program slightly to the left of the IAG. The Fourth MARXIST International, the New Communist (4th) International, is still to be built. Centrist organizations cannot be reformed. Their membership can be won over to Marxism only by a rejection of the centrist organization's whole past course, a purging of its leadership, a re-education of its membership, and a radical reconstruction of its structure and program. Unification is sometimes permissible with a centrist force moving to the left, but only on the basis of a Marxian program and as an auxiliary to the general line of the Marxists for building the revolutionary Marxian Party.

13 — COMMUNISM

The goal of the Marxists is the establishment of a world Communist Society with the principle of "from each according to his ability, according to his needs."

JM

The New Revolutionary World Party must be built on the principles of Marxism. Revolutionary Marxism represents the interests of the international proletariat as a whole, organizing independent class action of the working class, unifying its struggles on a national and an international scale, thereby placing the proletariat at the head of all the oppressed masses against imperialism. Its aim is the forceful overthrow of the capitalist system and the building of a socialist society.

Organizational Proposals for Steps Toward the New Communist (4th) International

1 - The Provisional Contact Commission shall be a provisional commission for the New Communist (4th) International.

2 - Shall take full responsibility for the issuing of the International Bulletin, and shall develop and extend contact with other revolutionary forces. The Bulletin shall be in two sections: that is, the section of the forces responsible for the issuance of the Bulletin, and the section for an international forum where all groups working for the New Communist (4th) International can present their positions.

3 - The International Center shall be in Chicago, Illinois, U. S. A.

4 - Each participating organization which is recognized in its country shall have one vote. The vote may be expressed through representatives or by correspondence if the organization is unable to send representatives.

5 - However, to avoid the serious delays and hampering of functioning which correspondence will entail, the International Center shall be authorized to proceed in its own name with the work of the Commission, subject to the decisions and changes which the Commission may make. As soon as possible the organizations of the Contact Commission shall draw in other forces and establish in International Buro.

6 - All organizations participating in the Commission shall undertake to help finance and spread the Bulletin.

Central Committee of the Red Front of Greater Germany.

Leninist League, Scotland.

Revolutionary Workers League, U.S.A.

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THE FIGHTING WORKER

Central Organ of the
REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS LEAGUE
 1904 W. Division Street
 Chicago, Ill.

The Revolutionary Movement After the Spanish Defeat

Arising out of the disintegrations, regroupments and recrystallizations following in the wake of the defeat in Spain, the establishment of the Provisional International Contact Commission on a Marxian basis is an extraordinary object lesson to the doubters and waverers of the deep sources of reserve strength of the international proletariat.

But the defeat in Spain has been a heavy blow. The profound changes taking place in class relations, with the Franco executions running into the hundreds daily, with over a half million Spanish refugees in France and other countries, only indicate the extent of this debacle. The effects of this are already making themselves felt upon the labor movement of the world, both negatively and positively.

The defeat not only affects those who were wrong and those who betrayed; its material conditions weigh heavily upon those who presented a correct road to power, but who now have additional obstacles to overcome.

One must understand that the crisis in the labor movement which the Spanish defeat has accelerated is not a crisis of Marxism. The fundamental positions of Marxism as a theoretical structure and as it has been developed and pounded out in the heat of the class struggle have stood the test.

GENERAL TREND TO THE RIGHT

The Stalinist and Socialist leaderships, and their "left" supporters of the Peoples' Front, the Anarchist and POUM leaderships, all in their own way helped pave the way for Fascism to triumph, and in one degree or the other played a counter-revolutionary role.

Out of this defeat only the Stalinists are not facing splits. Due to their bureaucratic "homogeneity" they confront a turn-over in membership and a political swing to the right expressed in the most brazen social patriotism yet witnessed. The Socialist Parties in many countries are passing through splits and struggles that take on the form of polemics over the war question — because the Spanish defeat has strengthened the imperialist war-makers. In France the pacifist wing of the SFIO has taken

over control from the outright social-patriotic Blum wing of the party. The CNT-FAI are proceeding through an international crisis with several splits. The main forces in their Spanish Executive Committee whitewash their own role and blame everything on the Stalinists. On the other hand, the Friends of Durrutti state that the real cause of the defeat was the Anarchist leadership and its policies.

Naturally, the Socialist, Anarchist and POUM forces, together with other centrists and reformists, try to shift the whole blame on Stalinism. It is true that Stalinism played the most despicable role of ALL the capitalist agents in the workers ranks; but this in no way wipes out the crimes of these other forces.

The POUM, too, is passing through an internal crisis. At the time the party was declared illegal and driven underground (two days before its national Congress set for June 17, 1937), a split was in process. Now the pent-up underground forces are striving for new outlets. The political position of the POUM left wing was presented in three Internal Bulletins just prior to this Congress, and was later republished by the RWL in English in the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL (Vol. 2, No. 13, Oct. 1937).

THE LONDON (PARIS) BURO

Forced out of London because of strained relations with the I.L.P., the London Buro has now become the "New International Revolutionary Marxian Center." The Brandler-Lovestone group, the right wing POUMists, the Neue Weg (SAP split-off), and part of the ILP, with a number of other names without forces, are doing their best to draw in Pivert and the Holland RSAP. They have learned nothing and forgotten nothing in the Spanish struggle. The regroupment is on such a low level that POLITICAL POSITIONS were not even discussed — the main business revolved within the organizational realm. The only political material they could agree on was the old outworn and well-sounding phrases about war and revolution. Thus, the program of the new Center consists of seven beautiful ambiguities that will de-

light the heart of every centrist. Such questions as revolutionary defeatism, permanent revolution, material aid to Peoples Frontism, socialism in one country, the road to power, etc., etc., are conveniently glossed over.

What is true of the London (Paris) Bureau applies with even more force to its front - the "Congress of International Workers Front against War." As the German Red Front comrades say: "... They are nothing but a new attempt to neutralize the working class in the struggle - in this respect they are striving to gain an equal footing with the 2nd and 3rd Internationals... The IWFAP is a purely pacifist organization which gives itself semi-revolutionary coloration by a few radical sentences... They want to lead the proletariat into the swamp of social patriotism, reformism, pacifism, instead of traveling on the courageous road toward the social revolution, which we hope will lead us... toward the new Communist International..."

The IVKO, the Brandler-Lovestone centrist group, which not so long ago had six parties united with them, is today left with the American Lovestone group and the small emigre German group. Seeing which way the wind was blowing, they led in the international rear-guard retreat of centrism, thereby creating the illusion of "leading" in the new regroupment.

It is rumored that a sharp clash has developed between Lovestone and Brandler as a result of Brandler's desire to continue as a caucus within the new Center, in opposition to Lovestone who wants to submit to the Buro's decision that no fraction work be conducted among the member groups — a decision which these two principled "Bolsheviks" agreed to at the time.

THE TROTSKY INTERNATIONAL

The Trotsky movement, which, liquidated its sections on the eve of the July 1936 uprising, played no active role in Spain, with the exception of a few dozen heroic rank and file comrades from Europe who went to fight Fascism, and who, confronted with realities, were forced into consistent opposition to Trotsky and his Buro, although they too committed the usual Trotsky centrist blunders in action.

The Trotskyite theoretical intervention, although to the "left" of the POUM in words (because they were away from the field of action and could talk after the event), will go down in the annals of the movement as one of the

blackest spots of betrayal: of liquidations of their organizations, thus preventing the building of a new party, of support of the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy (before they were expelled from the SP), of material aid to the capitalist Peoples Front state, of support of "even rotten bourgeois democracy," and a whole series of other crimes with which we have dealt on other occasions.

Since the Spanish defeat, they have accelerated this cycle of degeneration with a new "French turn," attempting to bureaucratically liquidate their French section into the Pivert centrist group. Their American section has already laid the basis politically for liquidation into the Labor Party; the Mexican section supports Cardenas, agent of American imperialism.

Their paper centrist international, established at a six hour conference with 12 sections not invited, is already in the process of disintegration.

THE INTERNATIONAL CONTACT COMMISSION

As against these forces of reformism and centrism, the Contact Commission for the new Communist (4) International is a breath of fresh air to the international proletariat. Small in numbers, but raising high the banner of Marxism, the Contact Commission can become the rallying center for the independent groups in Europe that are working for the creation of a new revolutionary international. The break-up of the centrist internationals, the splits in the socialist and anarchist movements, make a fertile field for a new regroupment. But this must be accomplished against the pressure of the centrist and right wing forces that are driving for a new centrist set-up.

Such opportunities for the crystallization of an international Marxian force come only every so often. We had this opportunity after the German defeat of 1933, with the work toward the Committee of Four, but it was lost. We had the opportunity on the eve of the 1936 uprising, but this time the series of errors culminating with the "French Turn" wiped out the possibility. Again, just before the May uprising in Spain, the conditions were favorable but with no positive outcome. Now, even in the period of defeat, the Marxist groups again stand at the threshold. Let us hope the vision of the leaders of the different groups that are forced to live in isolation from the masses is broad enough for this task. Above all, let us

hope their political clarity will win the day.

THE R.W.L. AND INTERNATIONAL REGROUPMENT

With the birth of the RWL some three and a half years ago, the League has fought hard to maintain its POLITICAL LINE and to develop it. To accomplish this end we have had to fight tendencies that developed within, which, if successful, would have revised our programmatic positions and thrown us off our anti-capitalist pro-communist orientation.

But the key to the understanding of the RWL's development is the fact that for more than a year, since we parted with this baggage carried over from the Trotskyites, the RWL has in addition to political gains, achieved a political consolidation around its DRAFT PROGRAM. On the basis of our anti-capitalist approach we have organizationally begun to grow and **have greatly increased our striking power.** This organizational development, together with our steady political development on the SAME FUNDAMENTAL POLITICAL LINE of over a dozen points upon which we split from the Trotskyites, reveals that we have

internally stabilized our basic cadre on our program.

This political and organizational growth properly applied in the United States, in Latin America and on a world scale, will enable us to play our part with other forces for the FIRST ORGANIZATIONAL STEPS TOWARD A NEW COMMUNIST (4th) INTERNATIONAL.

The Marxists on an international scale must accomplish these first steps BEFORE THE IMPERIALIST WAR BREAKS OUT. Only a small beginning has been made. But such an international force clearly grounded on Marxism and presenting the line of REVOLUTIONARY DEFEATISM WILL BE THE DECISIVE VANGUARD INSTRUMENT OF THE CLASS FOR THE OVERTHROW OF CAPITALISM AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT. In the name of the revolutionary proletariat the new International Contact Commission needs the unity of all revolutionary Marxian forces in this task.

"HAVE THE WILL TO BUILD A PARTY AND THE OPPRESSED OF THE EARTH WILL COME TO YOU!"

Cultural «Freedom» under Capitalism in Decay

The onmarch of reaction and fascism, arising out of the crisis of world capitalism, delivers its blows in the first instance against the working class. The scientists, writers and artists are following the proletarian revolutionists into exile, and although their lives are not threatened as with the radicals, the fact remains that they have been uprooted and are bewildered.

This situation is reflected in the United States with the various Cultural Committees that are springing up in an attempt to meet the problem. Significantly enough, each group reflects, consciously or not, a definite political tendency. Through the books and articles of prominent writers, the Committees are becoming powerful machines for the dissemination of political propaganda.

THREE COMMITTEES AND THREE TENDENCIES

At the P.E.N. Congress held in May at the N.Y. World's Fair, writers of all countries united - not in denouncing or attempting to smash their chains - but, in the name of intellectual freedom under bourgeois democracy, for the purpose of rallying the cultural exiles for Wall Street's war preparations. Under the guiding hand of the "World Congress of Writers," two United States Committees present their positions. The Committee for Cultural Freedom, including such figures as John Dewey, Eastman, Hook, Norman Thomas, raises the banner of intellectual freedom in the U.S. against "the tide of totalitarianism rising throughout the world." "The totalitarian idea is already enthroned in Germany, Italy, Russia and Spain." With its dangerous confusion of Stalinism with

Bolshevism, this Committee which is against "all" dictatorships, provides an ideal formula for those who want to fight the "Red" and "Black" dictatorships. Here is the program of the genuine 100% American forces. Politically speaking, this group presents the position of bourgeois reformism.

The Stalinist forces separate themselves from this group, although they have some people within it, but present the SAME POLITICAL POSITION, with the modifications necessary to satisfy their special bureaucratic needs. The Stalinist dominated League of American Writers calls for "the defense of democracy in the U.S., cooperation of this country with other nations and peoples opposed to fascism, including the Soviet Union..." The League seeks "to enlist writers in all parts of the United States in a national cultural organization for peace and democracy and against fascism and reaction."

To the "left" of these two is the League for Cultural Freedom and Socialism, dominated by the Trotskyists, with the Lovestonites as a tail. In the statement signed by James Burnham, James T. Farrell, Bertram D. Wolfe, etc., we read: "To the deification of Hitler and Mussolini they (that is, the Stalinists - Editor) counterpose deification of Stalin, the unqualified support of Roosevelt." The word "unqualified" was left in advisedly, since many of the committee favor QUALIFIED support of Roosevelt, that is, of the New Deal in one form or another.

FETISH OF DEMOCRACY

Likewise, we find here typical centrist POLITICAL FORMULATIONS on the question of democracy. Nowhere do they clearly state that workers rights can be maintained and extended only by a struggle AGAINST bourgeois democracy. The almost universal fetish of "democracy" has infected these people too, who can write that "the idea of democracy must come to flower in a socialist democracy." What has become of the social revolution? Workers democracy will **destroy** capitalist "democracy" - there can be no "flowering" or "growing over" into the proletarian dictatorship.

They likewise, with most of the P.E.N. speakers, demand "complete freedom for art and science, no dictation by party or government." In opposing Fascism and Stalinism the Trotskyite-Lovestone committee swings to the other extreme and presents an idealist position

on "freedom," ignoring completely the whole question of historical materialism, the present stage of decay capitalism, the needs of the proletarian dictatorship fighting for its life against world imperialism. The writer, like the worker, must be given the fullest guarantee of democratic rights under the workers state, but always within the framework of the workers state.

In opposition to these false positions, the statement issued by Florence Becker and John Hutchinson, and since signed by several more writers, presents a scientific approach to this whole question. (Write Demos Press, 1904 W. Division St., Chicago, for copies of this statement.)

A SCIENTIFIC APPROACH

"... This is not to support the totalitarian attitude toward freedom, which is a conscious, wilful negation of it. Nor is it to say that writers must hew to the party line. It is to say that literary creation parallels social creation, that old forms must be destroyed before they can give birth to new. Freedom means freedom to create new forms.

"But culture has a physical basis. Capitalist culture brought an immense extension of freedom (as, for example, the printing press), compared with feudal culture, because it had a physical base that could support an enlargement of freedom. The breakdown of feudal patterns, owing to the growth of production and distribution on a world scale, created a broader base for cultural development and freedom. In the same way a new form for human society is necessary before a greater cultural freedom can come to birth...

"Form and content are unified in literature, in culture generally and in social institutions. Capitalism in form as in content is no longer creative; in fact, since it is in decay, we are committed to a new form of society which shall be creative culturally...

"Meanwhile, to support "democracy" as against fascism is to dissipate our strength and misdirect our efforts. Democracy today is bourgeois democracy - in decay. Culture at the service of "democracy" is culture in decay. History and creative culture agree: we demand new forms, politically, socially, culturally, economically.

"Writers too have nothing to lose but their chains."

Documents

Revolutionary Workers League of the U. S.

A Special document of the left wing of the POUM and an analysis by the RWL, will be published in English and in Spanish very soon. Write now and ask us to mail you a copy when these are ready.

* * *

A special document selling for five cents containing some documents of the Third Convention which have not yet been published has just been issued. This series also contains the Third Convention amendment to the DRAFT PROGRAM.

Help the Victims Of Fascism

In the Fascist countries of Europe there are an increased number of class war victims and Jewish People who need the help of the working class of the United States. In behalf of these comrades the Revolutionary Workers League calls upon its members and sympathizers and the working class to give to this Red Aid.

The Austrian section of the International Anti-Fascist Red Aid has written us, pointing out the terror and great need to help the large number of working class revolutionists caught in the Hitler trap.

Funds are needed for women and children of revolutionists who have entered concentration camps and have not been heard of since.

Funds are needed to get as many as possible of these victims out of Germany (and Austria and Czechoslovakia).

Some of the revolutionists have escaped out of the German hell and are living precarious lives in the "democratic" capitalist countries, but the majority are still in Germany and need your aid to get out and to enable others to organize their fight against Fascism.

Announcing

The First Issue

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

Theoretical Organ

Provisional Contact Commission

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