

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

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Affiliates

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THE GROWING WORLD REVOLUTION

I

WAR AND REVOLUTION

War has welded the world together, has made the fate of one people vastly dependent upon the people of other nations. Each link of the capitalist chain has become more and more indissoluble from the rest of the chain. No nation, for instance, can "withdraw" from the war. France is an excellent example. Despite her surrender to the German imperialists she is despoiled and wrecked by allied bombs and she lives under the lash of a Nazi overlordship. Despite all the wishes of the French people for peace, the problem of France cannot be resolved in a vacuum, by itself. It will be resolved as a PART - only a part - of the general WORLD problem.

This "welding", or this integration of the problems, tasks and destinies of the nations and peoples, is more pronounced than in the first world war. It explains, in part, the failure of the present struggle to conform to the time-table of the first struggle. In the fourth year of the first war we already had a successful Revolution.

Time must be measured in its dynamic sense, rather than in days and weeks and years. From that point of view we will find that World War two is more advanced than World War one. The molecular processes of World Revolution are more visible and more deeply entrenched than in the first World War, although as yet there has been no successful MANIFESTATION of these processes. But the decay of capitalism and the level of the class struggle ON A WORLD SCALE is further progressed than in the same period of the first War, although nowhere have we yet reached the level of October 1917. Everywhere there are prolonged and persistent struggles, guerrilla warfare, strikes, class violence. From the first period of this war we have had mass uprisings. The proletariat of Warsaw seized power in the first few days after the German invasion and defended that city. The French bourgeoisie called in the German imperialists because of the inexorable signs of a pre-revolutionary situation in France. India witnessed the beginnings of its Social Revolution in 1942. The Revolution in India still continues, although slowly. In China the class struggle is so pitched that over a million troops of the Kuo-min-Tang are deployed for the sole purpose of keeping tabs on the peasant armies. The stupendous inflation and the misery of the masses threatens to burst forth again.

Guerrilla warfare stalks throughout Europe, and it is a struggle not to "defend democracy" as the American press would have us believe, but it is a struggle - as far as the workers fighting the battles are concerned - against capitalism, against Fascism. De Gaulle and Mikhailovitch may TAKE ADVANTAGE of these movements and may corral them into bourgeois channels, but essentially they are CLASS manifestations against the ruling powers.

The European and Asiatic continents are shot full of Revolutionary manifestations. There has, as yet, been no successful Social Revolution ; but the forces within society are mounting to the greatest explosion in all history. And the "shots" will be not only more intense and deep-rooted, but placed much more closely together from the point of time. The Revolution in one country will be (is) far more closely connected with the Revolution elsewhere ; and to a larger measure than hitherto its success will depend on the fate of that Revolution elsewhere.

At the outset of the war, many liberals, many petty bourgeois elements, noticed the integration of world events as far as the war is concerned, but they failed to note that the war itself was inseparably connected with Revolution. The integration of political and military events escaped the overwhelming majority of humanity.

The Revolutionary Workers League pointed to this phenomenon from the outset. We emphasized and re-emphasized that the War will be ended only by Revolution ; that the War MUST bring on Social Revolution. The correctness of this position is already confirmed by history. But it is confirmed just as well by the very military plans of the imperialist powers. The political and military aspects of the war are going hand in hand. The Allies refuse to accept Stalin's concept of a MILITARY "second front". They are choosing POLITICAL second fronts ; they are choosing precisely the moments of social upheaval to make their military thrusts. The imminent surrender of Italy, for instance, is much more the result of defeatism amongst the masses than of Allied military strength.

Just as the world has become more closely knit together - both geographically and politically, so has the political and military aspects of this war been welded almost into one. Here and there the interrelationship of the two may lag. As far as the United States is concerned, for instance, there are no decisive signs as yet of Social Revolution or of a Revolutionary Situation. The "War" appears to be ONLY a military war as far as most people are concerned. But in reality molecular processes are going on within the United States as well as within Europe. Hostility of the masses to the war effort is growing, despite all

propaganda. Disillusionment with the slogans of "fighting for democracy" is - a little later, it is true, - building towards precisely such explosions as have occurred in India, in Italy and elsewhere.

The same people who in 1939 ridiculed us for predicting that the War will end in Revolution, are today willing to admit that that is true - - - but only insofar as Europe is concerned. America they say, is free from the vicissitudes of decadent Europe.

These people are wrong. America is filled with the same contradictions as Europe and Asia, only more so. It is not yet as advanced along the road to Revolution as the others, but it is catching up rapidly.

II

REVOLUTION TODAY IN EUROPE

The first World War lasted for four and a half years. It was ended by the Russian, German, Hungarian and other Social Revolutions. The internecine struggle for world empire amongst the imperialists lasted a much shorter period than the struggle of ALL world capitalism against the Proletarian Revolution. If it took them 4 1/2 years to try to settle their disputes between each other, it took them all combined seven long years, from 1917 to 1924, before they were able to gain even a small measure of stability. World capitalism had to unite to fight the Civil War of 1918-21 in Russia; they united to smash the Finnish Revolution; they united (although they used puppets) to smash the Hungarian Revolution; allied aid went out lavishly (Dawes plan, J.P. Morgan aid to Mussolini, etc.) to stabilize German and Italian capitalism against the Revolutions in those countries. Despite all this however the Revolution - set back in one spot after another - continued to flare forth. Only in 1924, with the second major defeat in Germany, were the imperialists able to gain an upper hand, were they able to feel temporarily safe.

But even then, Revolutions continued to plague world capitalism. Nineteen twenty-five saw the Chinese Revolution, embracing four hundred million people. Nineteen twenty-six saw the great British general strike; 1930-33 a new German Revolution; 1934 a Revolution in Austria and a pre-Revolutionary situation in France; 1936-38, finally the Revolution in Spain. With the defeat of the Spanish Revolution we finally witness the ebb-tide of the Revolutionary wave begun in 1917. After defeating the proletariat in 30 Revolutions, or thereabouts, the imperialists are again able in 1939 to resume their internecine battles.

But India, Italy, Denmark are the handwritings on the wall, the beginnings of a new, more volatile, more world-embracing, more intense wave of Proletarian Revolution. If Spain is the ebb-tide, then these countries represent the RESURGENCE, the beginnings of a new upsurge, a tidal wave.

The bourgeois press minimizes the Italian Revolution. They tend to picture it as a "palace putsch". Why shouldn't they? Revolutions are contagious; that aspect of Italy MUST be played down. The Nazis too know how to play such things down. For instance, the Miners Strikes in America were represented here as of benefit only to Hitler - "Hitler's strikes". But Hitler was smart enough not to capitalize on such dubious advantages. Not a single word of the miners strike was publicized in Germany. Strikes are contagious and Hitler does not want to put thoughts in the minds of the German people. Neither do the American capitalists wish to put thoughts in the minds of the American working class; that is why they play down the Italian Revolution.

But Italy definitely is in the first stages of a Proletarian Revolution. Probably that Revolution will be arrested by Allied intervention, although we hope it will not be arrested for long. But that does not change the general characteristics of the Revolution.

What are the characteristics of a Revolutionary Situation? First, economic decay; secondly, the inability of the ruling class to rule by the old means; and third, the readiness of the masses to struggle for their needs. All three factors were present in Italy. The country's basically weak economy was further injured by the military defeats in North Africa, Ethiopia and Sicily. The bourgeoisie were unable to rule by the old methods - Fascism. The temper of the masses was too "dangerous". When finally the masses went over from "readiness" to ACTION, when for two weeks before Mussolini was overthrown the country was wracked by "riots", demonstrations and strikes, the Italian capitalists had to concede to the masses and make a change.

Let no one be fooled that Badoglio and Victor Emmanuel merely summoned Mussolini and dismissed him. The dismissal was concurred in by the overwhelming section of the capitalists, and even of the Fascist Party leaders. No rule, so deeply rooted and so long imposed upon the people, can possibly be changed by a mere summons to the King's palace. The Italian capitalists certainly must know that only a rigid Fascist regime, with its demagoguery and its tight dictatorship, can keep the masses in subjection. If then they eliminate the open Fascist rule and substitute a military dictatorship, semi-legalize the liberal parties, etc., it must obviously be (as in February 1917 in Russia), only as a result of a proletarian upsurge, a Revolution.

It is quite true that the Revolution in Italy is unorganized, it lacks conscious leadership. But it is a Revolution only in its beginning stages. ALL Revolutions have such stages, all of them start more or less spontaneously, without direction, without leadership. Only in the short course of the Revolution does the leadership, the aims, and the program of the Revolution manifest itself. That is precisely the case in Italy. We are only at the beginnings of the Revolution, but the threshold has been crossed.

The events in Denmark at the end of August were likewise a full scale Revolution (in its early stages). Strikes, armed revolt, demonstrations of the proletariat which took days to suppress - these are not mere incidents. It took the Nazi military machine to smash this Revolution - or rather to arrest it. But that does not change its character.

Here again, we must not be misled by the statements in the bourgeois press that the Danish people were merely trying to show their loyalty to their king. Masses do not strike, scuttle ships, take up arms for something so intangible and unimportant as a king. Their motives are far more realistic and material - bread and peace. Only desperation can move whole populations to armed revolt. That was and is the situation in Denmark as well as Italy.

This setback in Denmark is another indication that no Revolution in Europe can possibly by-pass Germany. So long as the German state and army are intact, so long as the Revolution has not yet disintegrated the effectiveness of that State and Army, so long will Revolution elsewhere start under a massive handicap. Germany is the rotting core of Europe. It holds the enslaved masses of 22 countries tightly in its grasp, with millions of their nationals working in Germany proper. Bursting of the Nazi hold on Germany - and there are many many signs that this is not too far off - will act as the spark not only to the German Revolution, but to Revolution elsewhere. Next to the Soviet Union, Germany is the main link in the tightly integrated thread of the European Revolution.

III

REVOLUTIONARY STRATEGY

In applying Revolutionary Strategy to the present situation it is necessary first of all to note the limitations and the needs of the bourgeois society. All too many liberals, pacifists and reformists (even centrists) are patiently waiting for the "restoration of democracy". Once the war is over, they feel, bourgeois democracy can be re-introduced throughout the world (including sections where it never existed).

This concept is false from beginning to end. Bourgeois democracy has outlived its usefulness for the bourgeoisie EVERYWHERE on earth. Nowhere can the capitalist system be sustained by the "democratic" method. The enormous expenditures for war, the extensiveness of the battlefront, the cost in lives and materiel, all superimposed upon the decadent capitalism immediately before the war, makes it impossible for the Capitalist state to rule by any other means but the harshest and most naked dictatorship. Roosevelt and Churchill recognize this fact as clearly as does Hitler ; and the capitalists who sustain all three regimes are unanimous on this score. It is no accident that the Allies have placed in power the extreme rightist Darlan, the reactionary monarchist Giraud, the militarist Mikhailovitch, the various Fascists in Sicily who serve under J.P. Morgan's errand boy, Lord Rennel. The willingness to deal with the Fascist bed-mate, Badoglio, is likewise not accidental. Despite all the protestations of the propaganda machines in America and Britain, these incidents are the general line, the basic core of Allied foreign policy. The Allies have no intention of putting a democrat (liberal) into power ANYWHERE ON EARTH. Their main concern is for "law and order" ; and for that only a Fascist or semi-Fascist regime can do even for a moment.

If, despite this, "democratic" regimes do come into being, it will be first of all, against the real wishes of the Allied powers (although they may pay lip service to it) and secondly, it will be only the result of class action by the proletariat. Rather than lose the whole loaf, capitalism will yield temporarily to a "democratic" regime in order to check the Revolutionary uprisings. But such "concessions" are only temporary, extremely temporary. They will last only until that moment - and no longer - when the extreme rightist elements can be reorganized to assume power.

Historically bourgeois rule is possible only through Fascism - and then only on an unstable basis for a relatively short period. "Leftist" regimes are only aberrations, slight interruptions.

What then is our reaction to the "new nationalism" ? Many forces, including the Trotskyites, are proposing that we must support the nationalist movements in Europe. The Trotskyites maintain that this will be the first stage in the coming events ; and they give it their usual "support with criticism". Such support is unadulterated treachery ! New nationalist regimes, whether De Gaullist, Constituent Assemblies, Peoples Fronts, or what have you, will be the first stage not of the Revolution, but of the Counter-Revolution. There must be no confusion on that score. The role of nationalism all over the world is outlived ; nationalism and bourgeois democracy can not take humanity one step further ; they can not solve a single important problem ; their only role is to channelize the independent working class action

demoralize the proletariat, pave the way for Fascism. The "new nationalism", the new "liberal" regimes will be imposed only to check independent working class action. And the bourgeoisie will agree to them (as they agreed in Italy to the military dictatorship on Badoglio) only as a stumbling block to a successful proletarian Revolution.

All of recent history has indicated that once a Revolutionary wave begins the biggest danger, within the framework of capitalism, is from "compromisism" - attempts to compromise the interests of the proletariat with that of the bourgeoisie. Compromisism manifested itself in Russia in 1917 in the willingness of the mensheviks to support the imperialist war and the "liberal" Kerensky regime. The attempt of the Bolshevik temporary leaders, Stalin and Kamenev to pursue the same policy would have doomed the Russian Revolution, had Lenin not emphatically condemned and defeated that policy.

Compromisism manifested itself in Germany in 1918-19 in the government of the Socialists and Independent Socialists (Kautskyites). This bourgeois regime, which was composed exclusively of so-called working class leaders was responsible for the murder of Luxemburg and Liebknecht and helped slaughter the German Revolution. Compromisism manifested itself in China in the famous stalinist "bloc of four classes" - subordination of the Communists to the nationalist Kuo-min-Tang ; in Britain in 1926 it manifested itself in support of the Anglo-Russian committee ; in France in 1934-35 in the infamous Peoples Front ; in Spain in 1936-38, the Peoples Front ; in Britain, the Labor Party. Compromisism has manifested itself everywhere at different times, and wherever it has reared its head it has been fatal for the interests of the working class - except in the one case of the Soviet Union in 1917 where Lenin and the Bolsheviks by their uncompromising struggle defeated this bourgeois weapon garbed in "socialistic" words.

Compromisism has cost the proletariat rivers of blood. By tying the masses to the bourgeois state it has been in the position of executioner's helper: Compromisism held the proletariat victim while the extreme right plunged the dagger into the proletarian heart. Between the two there is only a division of labor ; one demoralizes and weakens the working class, confuses and divides it, while the other finishes off the job with brute force.

If we Marxists in the United States are so strongly opposed to the "Labor" Party it is only because we understand so well and we have seen so often the evil effects of Compromisism.

In Italy, and the rest of Europe, the proletariat must guard against this scourge, lest new rivers of proletarian blood flow

through the city streets of the major countries. The proletariat must not give support to either the Badoglio government or the "liberal" Bloc of Five Parties. The relation of the two is very much like the relation of Miliukov and Guchkov to Kerensky and Dan, in 1917. Both Badoglio and the Bloc of Five Parties support capitalism and the war ; they differ from the people they replaced only in that they are for an alliance with the other group of imperialists, the Allies. We must not replace Badoglio with the Bloc of Five Parties, or even a left wing section of this bloc. The Badoglio regime must be replaced - if the Italian Revolution is to come out victorious - only by a Proletarian Dictatorship.

Against the divided loyalties of the divided Italian bourgeoisie, the proletariat (and their Revolutionary Vanguard) must counterpose the unity of the proletariat and poor peasantry to establish a Workers Council Republic, a Socialist Republic of the oppressed. One group of capitalists will want to march together with the Allies against the Axis ; the other group will want to march together with the Axis against the Allies. Similar things happened in France.

But the proletariat must not march with either imperialist camp. We do not "march separately" and strike together either with the Allies against the Axis or vice-versa. Such behavior is shameful capitulation to the imperialist war and a blow against the Revolution. The proletariat of Italy must take the independent road of absolutely no support to either Imperialist alignment and no support to their "allies" within Italy, the Italian capitalist groupings around Badoglio and around Farinacci-Mussolini.

AMGOT has already shown the basic similarities between the Allied imperialist role and that of the Axis. The similarity stretches to the similarity of puppets used, as well as the ravaging character of the new "currency", which is pure and simple slow despoilation.

Support to compromisism in Italy will lead only to defeat. It will bring neither democracy nor peace - it can bring only a brutal imperialist occupation. Although the names and titles may be changed, the basic fundamentals will remain the same.

The proletariat of Italy favors a real peace. It will demand of ALL belligerents a peace based on :

- 1- No annexations, no indemnities.
- 2- Immediate liberation of all colonial peoples, withdrawal of troops, economic "advisers" and other imperialist instruments; and granting of the right of self-determination to all peoples.

3- No attempts by any power to occupy any other nation and an unequivocal pledge that no police force - world police force or national police force - will be organized or used against any peoples.

On such a program Peace could be established. But precisely such a program would be unacceptable to the imperialists of the "new order" and to the imperialists of the "four freedoms" both. The belligerents, with the exception of the Soviet Union, must impose a peace of conquest, must pauperize and despoil the conquered territories if Capitalism is to continue to exist. Only by the big nations swallowing and ravaging the small nations can Capitalism even gain a breathing spell.

The proletariat of Italy in proposing such a Peace as outlined above will no doubt be called dreamers and utopians. But Peace - real Peace - is possible only on the basis of an overthrow of capitalism and the elimination thereby of imperialist ambitions. Many petty bourgeois have now become tired of war (although the petty bourgeoisie is usually the most patriotic at the outset) and are hoping for "peace, any kind of peace". Unfortunately there can be only ONE kind of Peace. The proletariat of Italy and elsewhere must not be deterred by promises of the Allies (or of the Germans). They must demand and struggle for real Peace. Their proposals for such a peace will, naturally, not be met; they can not be met because these proposals are PART of the Proletarian Revolution; they can not be reconciled with the Imperialist War or Imperialism. The proposals will have to remain propaganda and will have to be used to expose the imperialist aims of the capitalist powers.

In the sphere of action, the masses of Italy must fraternize with the soldiers and proletariat of all belligerent powers. They must continue along the road just begun - strikes, demonstrations, establishment of factory committees, later Soviets, Red Guards, and eventually the armed insurrection for Workers Power.

These matters have been dealt with elsewhere. If we deal with them skimpily, it is not because they are not important, but purely because they have been put forth in great detail in our Program and elsewhere.

Against unity with the capitalists - liberal or otherwise - we counterpose independent working class action. We refuse to march separately and strike together with the capitalists of Italy or their Parties, either against the Axis or against the Allies. The role of the proletariat must be to fight ALL warring powers, and particularly the home power. No support to either Badoglio, Amgot, nor the Bloc of Five Parties! We are defensists only AFTER the seizure of state power by the proletariat.

The bourgeoisie is extremely realistic. It has organized a "second" front which is a political second front far more than it is a military one ; its timetable corresponds far more to the timetable of Revolution than to the timetable of military necessity and opportunity.

The bourgeoisie flings forth phrases about irreconcilable enmity to Germany, Japan, etc. The German and Japanese imperialists shout with equal fervor against the Allied imperialists. But both groups are realistic. They know who the REAL enemy is !

The Allied concept of "unconditional surrender" is an extremely flexible one. It can mean many things, depending on the level of the proletarian Revolution and the ability of the native bourgeoisie to hold that proletariat in check. Where the conquered bourgeoisie can place a halter around the working class, "unconditional surrender" will mean one thing ; most likely the victors would do business with, make minor concessions, and even protect such a government. But with a proletarian government the term "unconditional surrender" will mean the most rash conquest and extermination of the militants, complete elimination of every vestige of proletarian power.

"Unconditional Surrender" is an abstract term whose content will be filled by the class struggle and the class needs of the imperialists - just as Second Front is filled with such content. Should the danger of victorious Revolution (danger to capitalism) increase, then we may even witness an armistice or a truce and a world-wide unity of the opposing powers directed exclusively against the world proletariat. It happened thus after the First World War ; it may - and probably will - happen again, either during or after this war.

Above everything else the Imperialists recognize class solidarity - the solidarity of the robber brigands, of international capitalism against international proletarian Revolution. The proletariat must gain an even higher consciousness of solidarity with the rest of the oppressed in other nations.

IV

THE SOVIET UNION

In the complicated fabric of world relationships, the role of the Soviet Union is and will continue to be of decisive importance. Russia continues to play a dual role - a progressive instrument (a Workers State), with a reactionary leadership.

The nationalist policy of the Stalinist leadership has forced the country to make two more important steps backward, giving

up of co-education and relegating the woman back to her capitalist domestic slavery, and the new recognition of the Orthodox Church. These are indications that Stalinism is shifting its social base still further to the right. The pressure of world capitalism on the one hand, and the disillusionment of the masses on the other, forces it to broaden its social base by making concessions to the capitalist element within Russia.

Despite all the victories in the military field the Stalinist position within the Soviet Union is not strong. Otherwise such concessions would not be made. Even the "criticism" of the Allies for their failure to launch a "real" second front is an indication that the masses are considerably dissatisfied with the Stalinist foreign policy, are growing weary of dying and suffering for the alliance with the Allied imperialists. Stalinist nationalism is exacting its price from the Russian proletariat and the result is a greater cleavage in the population, with the base of the bureaucracy being constantly narrowed.

Within the Red Army, just as within the rest of the Soviet structure, this cleavage is growing. Contact with an active Revolution somewhere in Europe (perhaps in the Balkans, or Germany) will bring this situation to a boiling point, with the rank and file consolidating to immediately give aid to the Revolution, and small cliques of Stalinists and pro-capitalist elements consolidating at the opposite pole to fight not only the Revolution abroad, but also to begin the counter-revolution at home, the reestablishment of capitalism. Unlike the capitalist armies, however, the tendency in the Red Army will be not to disintegrate, but to consolidate, at the first contact with Social Revolution. Stalinism as a bonapartist regime is being pressed both from the right and the left. The day is soon coming when the issue must be resolved ; Stalinism is entering its 1871 - either a political Revolution will re-establish full democracy and eliminate Soviet nationalism, or the counter-revolution will impose capitalism once again.

That is basic. Within its framework, however, Stalinism does continue to function, and it continues to function by the old methods of power politics and bourgeois alliances. The present talk of "separate peace" is part of this general procedure. The building of a "Free German" movement on Russian soil, as well as the building of a Polish Army, under Soviet control, are both measures of defense against an inevitable attack by her erstwhile "allies".

Separate peace, however, at the present moment and between the Stalin and the Hitler regimes is excluded. Stalinism could not conclude such a peace on the basis of present frontiers and Hitler could not conclude it on the basis of 1938 frontiers.

Neither could compromise because of the volatile internal situations. What advantage would there be to Stalin to agree to peace on present frontiers? That would only make the task of the imperialist victors so many hundred miles closer. Hitlerism, on the other hand, would certainly face Revolution at home if its main antagonist were to be given so generous a peace as restoration of the 1938 borders. Compromise between the two different states, involved as they are at present, is out of the question. The battle will have to be fought out to different ends.

There is a slight possibility, of course, that Stalinism will make peace with a liberal German state - should Germany have a Revolution and should a liberal government be placed at its head to check that Revolution. In such a case, however, it would be a thousand times more likely that a "separate" peace would exclude the Soviet Union, would be between Germany and the Allies. It is only on a slim possibility that Stalinism operates today - the possibility that the Allies will continue to be hard and refuse anything but complete capitulation, thus giving Stalinism another hope to divide the imperialists. But such possibilities are very slight indeed.

Relations between nations have proceeded in these last few years, with diplomacy being replaced by military force. We are now reaching the stage where both power politics and military force will be secondary factors; and history will occur on the basis of the RELATIONS BETWEEN CLASSES, the class struggle and civil war. All other weapons will be futile. The imperialists - both Allied and Axis - are much more understanding of this fact than the all-wise Stalin. They are at least thinking in terms of "civil war", rather than just diplomacy or military. But Stalin is playing a losing card - and sooner than is generally anticipated. With the victories of the Soviet Union most people feel that the regime is now stronger than ever. That is untrue.

Victories have brought out now fissures and deepened the old fissures in the Soviet regime. Just as at the outset of the war, however, when few people could recognize these fissures in the capitalist world, so today few people can see them in the Warped Workers State. But they are there and they will manifest themselves quite convincingly before long. We hope and expect that when the pot boils over the proletariat of Russia, aided by the proletariat elsewhere, will be able to restore democracy and Internationalist policy in the Workers State, and extend the October Revolution.

V

THE UNITED STATES

So much for the situation abroad. Here in the United States reigns the most powerful capitalist regime of all, and it is a

thoroughly class conscious capitalist government which is prepared to prop up every other bourgeois regime, large or small, in order to preserve an American-dominated world capitalist order. To the average man on the street America looks strong and imposing, far stronger and far more imposing than ever. Its factories, machines, planes, transportation, and economy is no match for any other power. In fact American production almost equals that of the rest of the world combined.

But underneath the surface American capitalism is cancerous. Its very strength is its greatest weakness. The greater its productivity the more idle men, idle capital, and idle machines will it have to account for after the war. Just as its production of machines of death is greater today than that of any other power, so will its "dead production" be greater than that of its competitors in a few years from now (despite the lies and demagoguery dished out by Wallace and Willkie). American economy is doomed to gigantic retrenchment and crisis.

In the political sphere, too, however the molecular processes are going on. The American worker and poor section of the middle class supports the war today because they think it is a "war against Fascism". But disillusionment is growing. What kind of "democracy" is it that freezes wages, freezes jobs, makes deals with Fascists and semi-Fascists, lowers the standards of living, condones Jim Crowism and lynchings of Negro soldiers? American capitalism MUST tell the working class about a "glorious" future at the same time that it takes away rights and privileges in the present. The conflict is creating doubts in the minds of the American workers.

Militarization of civilian life is having profound effects. We hear more and more often - and not only in civilian life - "what are we fighting for"? The same molecular processes which, after four years, have brought Revolution to Europe and Asia will bring it to America, and most likely sooner. Each Revolution in Europe weakens the internal fabric of American capitalism; and the fabric is already very weak.

A great cleavage exists between two major sections of the American bourgeoisie - the "internationalists" and the nationalists. The disagreements cover not only alliances with foreign powers, but how to deal with the proletariat at home. A great cleavage exists and is growing between the labor "leaders" (fakers) and the masses in the Unions and out. We have seen some of it during the miners strike. We are seeing the spirit of resentment amongst the auto workers and we will no doubt see more of it at the Auto Workers Convention.

Revolution abroad will hasten these processes. The movement will not be without its zig-zags. Very likely victory of a Revolution in Europe or Asia, or an attack by the Allies against the Soviet Union will bring severe repressions here in the United States, illegalization of workers' papers, arrests, trials, etc. After the last war and after the Russian Revolution we had the Palmer raids and repressions.

But we also had the strikes on the west coast, and a Soviet in Washington. We shall have those things again, but more so. American capitalism is sicker than it has ever been. The colossus of world capitalism when it totters will bring the rest of capitalism down with it.

We repeat - the molecular processes that will lay American capitalism asunder are already well advanced. The missing link is only in the political arena, the necessity for the American proletariat, as well as the workers in other countries to build New Communist Parties, sections of a New World Fourth Communist International.

September 5, 1943.

(Editor's note : This document is a summary of a report made at the fifteenth plenum of the central committee of the Revolutionary Workers League, U.S. In many respects it is necessarily incomplete. But it is rounded out in a series of other documents, primarily the document on Germany in the October INTERNATIONAL NEWS, the document on Unconditional Surrender in the October FIGHTING WORKER, the manifesto on Italy published in the September FIGHTING WORKER, and an article on Separate Peace in the October issue of the FIGHTING WORKER. All of these documents were considered part of the present report).

MANIFESTO OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONTACT COMMISSION
FOR A FOURTH (COMMUNIST) INTERNATIONAL ON THE
OCCASION OF THE TWENTY-SIXTH ANNIVERSARY
OF THE BOLSHEVIK REVOLUTION.

TO THE PROLETARIAT OF ALL COUNTRIES !

TO THE OPPRESSED COLONIAL PEOPLE !

TO THE RED ARMY !

TO THE SOLDIERS ON BOTH SIDES OF THE LINE !

Twenty six years ago, November 7, 1917, the workers of Russia, leading behind them the vast masses of the peasantry, and under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, took power and established a Workers Council or Soviet government.

What were the first acts of this government ? The expropriation of the capitalists, the decreeing of workers control of production, the confiscation of the lands of the Czar, the nobility, the church and their utilization by the peasantry, and, above all, appeals and positive steps to the ending of the war that had already devoured millions of the flower of the toiling masses. Peace ! Bread ! Land ! an end to exploitation and war ! These were the slogans that brought the soviets to power. These were the slogans that enabled the Soviet Government to defeat the whole world because these were not "Russian" slogans, but slogans that found a response in the hearts and brains of workers the world over.

And the Russian Revolution was the beginning of the end of the imperialist war. Just a little over a year later German imperialism cracked. The so-called "infection of Bolshevism" spread from country to country. The whole capitalist world launched an attack upon the workers' state. Churchill, Wilson, Mannerheim, Rosenberg, were united in an attempt to smash the workers' challenge to bosses' exploitation and war. But also united, though not sufficiently for decisive triumph, were the toilers. The aid of the workers on a world-wide scale enabled the soviets to emerge victorious from assault from without and counter-revolution from within. The British troops mutinied and refused to fight. The U.S. Army in Siberia did likewise and had to be shipped home, and without the carrying out of the threatened punishments. The French Black Sea Fleet revolted. Not be acting as a tail to one or another rival imperialist power, but by realizing that the

fight of the Soviets was part of the world-wide fight of the proletariat, and acting on that, did the Soviet Government survive.

The bosses, the Churchills, the Wilsons, the Tanakas, were not strong enough to crush the workers' state. But, due partly to the treachery of the social democrats and to the weakness of the revolutionists, the capitalists were able to stifle the first wave of proletarian revolts that stemmed from the war and the Russian revolution. The result is known. Upon the basis of this uncertain stabilization there grew up the forces for a new imperialist war. And within the Soviet Union there grew also the forces that have led to the degeneration of the workers' state. Only when these two parallel conditions had continued for a long time were the capitalists able to once more attempt to solve their problems through another imperialist war.

Today the whole world is in the throes of war. The "mystic union of blood and soil" prated about by the Nazi crackbrains has become an awful reality. Europe, Asia, Africa, are soaked with the blood of the dead and the wounded. Starvation and pestilence, homelessness and slavery are the lot of those at "home". What is the lot of the masses? Standing in queues after long hours of toil to get scraps. Sleepless waiting for bombs. And for what? With the exception of the Soviet Union, to determine what robber gang is going to exploit the whole world. Go ahead and fight, German workers, so that more Himmlers may perpetrate more Lidices! Go ahead and fight, British and Indian workers, so that more Dyers may kill more thousands at more Amritsars, so that more social democrat "Labor" McDonalds may put over more cuts on textile workers in England and bomb more Indian peasants! Go ahead and fight, workers of the USA, so that when you return you may again be shot down on bonus marches by that butcher of women and children, Douglas MacArthur! Fight, all of you, so that your "blood and sweat and tears" may fertilize the rich profits of the Morgans, the Rockefellers, the Krupps, the Mitsuis and Misubishis. Behind all the lying facade of "four freedoms", "blood and soil", "Asia for the Asiatics" and the other shibboleths of the various sections of the world bourgeoisie is the ghastly reality of the modern alchemy that turns the blood of the workers into the gold of the finance capitalists.

German Workers! Hitler and his smirking ape Goebbels tell you of the "revolt against the pluto-democracy", carried out by National Socialism. Look at conditions anywhere. Who is bearing the burdens of this war and who is getting the benefits? You, German worker, do you get the good food, the luxurious apartment, the fine clothing? You know what the answer is. You know it is the Krupps, the Goerings, and their lackeys, the Leys and such scum that profit from this holocaust and that would make all of you

literal slaves if they could. Remember Liebknecht and Luxemburg ! The way of Spartacus is the way to freedom ! You have experienced in the last quarter of a century the "blessings" of both democracy and Fascism. You know that both are forms of rule of the bosses. This time no Hindenburgs or Hitlers or Eberts or Stalinist stooges. For Soviet Germany ! And Soviet Germany means Soviet Europe ! German soldiers should desert, but desert en masse and with a revolutionary program and under revolutionary committees elected by yourselves.

Workers of the USA ! In the last year you have seen how all the boss forces, and all their lackeys, first and foremost the Stalinists, united against the miners. You have seen the flag raised over mine tipples to safeguard the sacred rights of mineowners' profits. Already you have seen a sample of the "post war" brotherly love of the bosses for the workers. Rising prices, taxes that are stolen out of your pay checks before you have a chance to see the money, all this against a background of the steadily increasing wealth of the bankers, the factory owners, the munition makers. With whom do those sterling democrats, Roosevelt, and Willkie, and Hull associate ? With the Darlans, the Badoglio, the Francos, the Peyroutins. Is it for this, soldier of the USA, that you are willing to be maimed in Africa or Italy or the South Pacific ? Are you willing to shed your blood so that AMGOT may replace Fascist regimes in Italy with-----Fascist regimes ?

Workers of England ! Workers of Japan ! What have been the fruits of empire to you ? Not even the crumbs of empire for you now. India brings a billion pounds a year to the City, but what has it brought to you, British worker ? Winston Churchill tells you that you must fight so that India may be preserved for the crown. Down with this representative of Threadneedle Street ! And down too with his lackeys, these Cripps and Bevins, these flunkeys who scour the world to do the dirty work of the bankers, work that the bankers could not do themselves.

Is there a way out ? Yes, there is. Not only do we of the International Contact Commission say so, but the events show that we are right. Last year India. This year Italy. How was the ouster of Mussolini forced ? By the action of the masses, by strikes, by demonstrations, by the growing realization of the Italian masses that the main enemy is at home. The first step has been taken. But by itself, Italian workers, that is by no means enough. You have already seen that Italy has become the theater of war and that not following up the first step has just meant that you are in the center of fire of Nazis and democrats. For Soviet Italy ! Down with Hitler ! Down with Badoglio ! Down with AMGOT !

What is our program ? A very simple one, workers, soldiers, toilers, oppressed colonials ! Stop shooting each other, you

soldiers in the imperialist armies ! Fraternize ! Swap food and tobacco ! Talk to each other and you will find that the problems of the man you have been trained to shoot are your problems ! Form joint committees to join with the workers at home to take over power and put an end to the war ! If your officers try to stop you and make you soldiers shoot each other, arrest them !

Workers in the imperialist countries ! Do not let the bosses use the war as an excuse to take away our hard won gains ! Build your unions and clean out those rats who want to make the unions part of the war machinery of the bosses ! Strike ! Come out in the streets and demonstrate against the war ! We are many, they are few, and once we stop fighting each other, they are doomed ! Let's fight our own war, the war of the oppressed against the oppressor, the war of the starved against the well-fed ! If you want to put an end to this war, revolt ! If you don't then realize that already the representatives of the boss class are talking about the third world war !

Workers of the Soviet Union ! Soldiers of the Red Army ! Now is your chance. Guns are in your hand. The Stalinists, the agents first of Hitler, then of Roosevelt, the slave drivers of the working class, are daily betraying you to world imperialism in order to save their own privileged places. Form your new Communist party ! Revive the Soviets and make them once more the Soviets of October ! Revive workers' democracy in the army ! Kick out Stalin and his gang ! Down with nationalism ! Long live the internationalism of October !

Today in the fifth year of the war we must all go back to the fundamental principles that led to victory twenty six years ago. Vanguard workers, unite, and affiliate to the ICC ! Unite no matter how small your numbers are. Unite on the basis of the immediate fight for revolution against all the slogans of capitalism, whether they be "blood and soil", "return to Weimar", "four freedoms", or the more subtle slogans, such as "for a Labor Party" or "for a democratic republic in Germany" through the latest Stalinist committee of Junkers, generals, bourgeoisie, and seasoned Stalinist bureaucratic betrayers of the workers. The lessons of the last twenty six years prove that the only alternative to capitalist war is proletarian revolution !

Toilers of the oppressed colonial countries ! Now is your opportunity ! While the imperialist beasts gnash at each other, rise ! Cast aside the Gandhis and the Chiang-kai-Sheks, the Nehrus, and the Boses ! Form Workers Councils and Peasant Committees ! Seize the land ! Drive the imperialists into the sea ! Establish your own Workers Council governments that will join with the rising workers of the imperialist countries and put an end to the subjugation of the Asiatic, the African, the South American people ! Put no confidence in your native bosses !

Workers of the world ! Unite ! Unite in the factories ! Unite on the battlefields ! Unite in the streets ! Take the guns they have given you and use them to win your own freedom ! Unite in refusing to pay taxes for this slaughter ! Unite in forming councils of workers, of soldiers, of poor farmers ! Unite and establish your own international party, cleansed of nationalists, of Stalinists, of centrist confusers ! Unite now ! Let not another year of slaughter and exploitation pass ! Unite for world revolution, for putting an end to the exploitation of man by man ! Unite for taking over the world for those who toil ! Unite For the World October !

International Contact Commission