

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

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Social Revolution and Stalinism

**ON THE INVASIONS OF POLAND
AND FINLAND**

**Against a New
November;
FOR A GERMAN OCTOBER**

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SOCIAL REVOLUTION AND STALINISM

THE INVASION OF POLAND AND FINLAND

Since the invasion of Poland and Finland by the Soviets the question of what does and what does not constitute a social revolution has again become an important disputed question. In the recent Spanish Civil War, to take a recent example of this dispute, the POUM and the Anarchists stated that a social revolution had taken place in Spain, even though the bourgeois state still existed. For many Socialists the accession of Socialist Ministers to the head of the bourgeois state constitutes a social revolution. The so-called Workers and Peasants government in Finland is considered a new form of society, or at least a transition to a new - Socialist - form.

Ever since Stalinism rose to power in the Soviet Union many ultra-lefts, who admit that a social-revolution took place in Russia in October, 1917, that a new - a working class - society was born, nevertheless insist that capitalism now exists in the Soviet Union. When and how the transformation (social revolution) back to capitalism took place these people are at a loss to say. So what looks on the surface as a "truly radical" concept ends up, upon analysis, merely as the old Social-Democratic reformist theory that a social revolution can take place peacefully, without the smashing of the old social forms and without the need for armed insurrection.

In an effort to justify their invasion of Poland and Finland, the Stalinites today resort to just the opposite argument - an argument equally false - that the social revolution in the present epoch can take place without the mass upsurge of the population, especially the proletariat; that the revolution can be "imposed" by purely military and administrative methods.

The invasion of Poland and its incorporation into the U.S.S.R., it is true, brought in its train a fundamental overturn of the property relations of the occupied area. This transformation of the basic relations - social revolution - was accomplished in spite of Stalinism, by virtue of the sheer weight of Soviet economy bearing down upon a small, economically backward and undeveloped neighbor. Stalinism, however, has performed the function of throttling the further development of the revolutionary consciousness and independent class activity of the masses, as well as the further development of the economy towards socialism.

Sad to say, many people are falling for the Stalinite arguments. Old

Third Period Stalinites have become re-imbued with the Stalin virus. They think Stalinism has given up its support of "democratic" capitalist countries and is now for the proletarian revolution.

The matter doesn't rest here, either. The Trotskyites have again brought forth their theory of the dual role of Stalinism: that it plays at one and the same time both a reactionary and a progressive role. The obvious conclusion from this position is that despite all the crimes of Stalinism, it must now be supported by material aid. The vitriolic anti-Stalinism of the Trotskyites thus ends up as a pale left cover for Stalin and company.

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Before analyzing the concrete developments it is first necessary to define terms. What do we mean by the term "Social Revolution"?

Generally speaking the term is used in two different senses, in the historic and in the immediate sense. A social revolution is historically complete when the new class has obtained hegemony over the decisive parts of the world economy and political structure, by displacing the previous mode of production; and can now develop progressively beyond the former economic level.

Specifically in relation to our social (proletarian) revolution, this means the extension of the revolution to more than one advanced capitalist nations, and the proletarian control of the decisive part of world economy. Upon this base, the world division of labor and the participation of the masses toward the reconstruction of society, the Soviets will be able to surpass the level of capitalist development in every aspect, and the process of the withering away of the state gets into full swing.

From the standpoint of a social revolution in the "immediate" sense, we refer to the overthrow of the exploiters in one country and the successful seizure and holding of power by the working class.

Let us consider the dynamics of a social (proletarian) revolution from the above immediate aspects.

A - The first phase is the development of the revolutionary situation.

B- The second phase of the revolution is the further development of mass action against the exploiters, where the working class instruments for the struggle (Soviets and their organs of force, etc.) are developed and Dual Power exists.

C - The third phase is the armed conflict between the rising

Dual Power and the exploiters' state, and the establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. (Note: Dictatorship of the Proletariat includes workers control, economy, political, social, as well as military aspects.)

This, however, does not exhaust the matter. Since the proletarian revolution is **WORLD-WIDE IN CHARACTER**, and since a successful revolution in one or another country is merely **ONE STAGE** of the World Revolution, there are many stages which may fluctuate from the norm in one or two or all the factors enumerated above. History, and especially social revolution, is not a blueprint that can be mapped out and predicted with divine infallibility. What is important is to lay down the **DECISIVE ASPECTS** of the process.

But as Marxists we can not answer the false theory of Stalinism that a social revolution can be completed without the mass initiative of the working class, by swinging to the opposite extreme of denying that a social revolution **CAN BE STARTED** without such mass initiative and purely as a subordinate strategical move in the drive for **WORLD** revolution.

HUNGARY, POLAND, FINLAND

In 1919, for instance, in the Hungarian revolution, when world imperialism organized a blockade around this small country, the Red Army invaded Rumania - even though there was no revolution in process in that country - in an attempt to break this blockade and save central Europe for the revolution.

In 1920, in an attempt to make contact with the German working class and lend the aid of the Red Army to the conquest of power in this stronghold of world capitalism, the Soviet Union invaded Poland, again even though no social revolution was in process in that country, even though the masses were not in revolutionary mass action against capitalism. (Both countries were part of the former Czarist Empire).

Or take still a third instance. Whole sections of Russia, backward sections without any industrial proletariat, were incorporated by the Bolsheviks into the Soviet Union merely by the use of armed revolutionary force. The incorporation was necessary for strategic and economic reasons.

In all such instances enumerated above, these steps were merely auxiliaries to the much broader and much more important social revolution in Russia and the attempt to extend it to highly-developed Germany. It would be false to conclude from these cases of the extension of the revolution to backward sections or as bridges toward Germany, etc., that power can be seized without the use of revolutionary **MASS** action as a general rule; it would be false to conclude (as did the Stalinites in the 3rd Period) that the revolution can be made by a **PARTY**, by ultimatums to the class, or in 1939, that a revolution-

ary Marxian Party is not needed as a guide to mass action, etc. The idea that revolution can be spread to important industrial countries like Germany, the U.S., Britain, etc. without the use of revolutionary mass action of the workers in that country, without involving the whole people, is a criminal revision of Marxism.

In estimating, therefore, an act of armed invasion by the Red Army it is first necessary to examine the axis of this invasion, the role this act plays within the world strategy of proletarian revolution.

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What is the world strategy of Stalinism today? Most assuredly it is not a strategy of world revolution; such a strategy by Stalinism is thoroughly excluded. Having yesterday subordinated the policy of the Comintern to the imperialist needs of the "democratic" capitalist powers, Stalinism today is subordinated to the interests and the power politics of German imperialism.

In return for a specious promise (non-aggression pact) by German Imperialism, in return for a short respite, Stalinism is doing yeoman's work in supplying or laying the base for many needs of German Imperialism. The important material aid by the Soviet Union to Germany is well known.

Every section of the Communist International is busy on a campaign of "peace" - PEACE ON THE BASIS OF THE IMPERIALIST CONQUESTS OF HITLER IN POLAND. Molotov in his speeches denounces England and France as the aggressors and Germany is now a "peace-lover". "Germany", said that sterling Stalinist, Molotov, "is in the position of a state that is striving for the earliest termination of the war and for peace, while Britain and France... are in favor of continuing the war and are opposed to the conclusion of 'peace'... 'the roles, as you see, are changing'".

In France and England Stalinism is agitating for "peace", even for defeatism, but it is a defeatism that is not revolutionary, but reactionary, a DEFEATISM WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF CAPITALIST PROPERTY RELATIONS; merely for the overthrow of the present capitalist government and its replacement with a Germanophile government, tolerant of Stalinism. This is the same kind of "peace" and the same kind of "defeatism" that the 2nd International is agitating for in Germany and Russia, the same kind of "peace" and "defeatism" that was advocated by the Pole Pilsudski for his own country in the last World War while he fought in the Austrian Army. It is purely a bourgeois "peace" Stalin wants, a peace that will serve his new foreign master.

The military steps by Stalinism aimed to save its own hide from the tightening ring of capitalism aided Hitler no little in his own conquest of Poland. It cut the rear off from the Polish army. In the Russo-Finnish war Germany is playing a dual role, using both sides as Great Britain did in Spain, for instance. The war itself is part

of a much broader scheme of new divisions of spheres of influence and conquest in Sweden, Rumania, etc.

The agitation by Stalinism in Afghanistan, India and other places, likewise have the same purpose. It is not excluded that Stalinism will invade Afghanistan in the near future. Stalinite agents are utilizing the revolutionary developments in India against the interests of the masses and merely for the Stalinist reactionary ends. These are attempts only to disrupt the British Empire, WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF CAPITALIST PROPERTY RELATIONS, and as an ALLY of German Imperialism. The line of Stalinism in India is not for a SOCIAL revolution. For while Stalinism can stir up unrest as a German ally, its main line continues to be to stem social revolutions in the colonies.

The world policy of Stalinism is thus one that is subordinated to the interests of German Imperialism. Viewed within this framework, the invasion of Finland, the invasion of Poland were reactionary steps by Stalinism:

a- They were made in concert and in subordination to German Imperialism; and

b- the revolutionary initiative of the masses was not only not involved, but, as in Poland, where independent working class action did manifest itself Stalinism immediately beheaded it.

The present invasion of Poland and the invasion of Poland in 1920 are diametrically opposite; that latter has as its axis the extension of the proletarian revolution, the former, aid to German Imperialism in an Imperialist War.

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But if the role of Stalinism is completely reactionary, there is also a nother factor in the invasions - the nationalized property relations of the Workers State (warped though the State may be) - which is more decisive.

Consider an analogy: A trade union dominated by reactionary boss agents goes out on strike. One defends the strike as progressive in spite of the reactionary ROLE of the leadership. The defense of the strike demands a struggle against the boss' agents as well as the boss.

Another example: The workers in the union are demanding higher wages. In order to stop the unorganized workers from forming another union with a class struggle policy the bureaucrats may be forced to fight for higher wages too. Let's assume that a victory is gained. This vic-

tory will be **DESPITE** the role of the bureaucrats. In fact the bureaucrats really **ARREST ANY FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF THE STRUGGLE**. The victory is the result of the pressure of the working class. The bureaucracy plays a **REACTIONARY ROLE**.

Consider now the invasion of Poland, the expropriation of the large landowners and capitalists, and the nationalization of industry. Was this accomplished because or **despite Stalinism?**

The base of the Stalinist bureaucracy is its usurped power resting on the October property relationships. Its power rests or depends on maintaining the equilibrium between the pressure of world imperialism and the newly arisen bourgeois elements inside Russia, on the one hand; and the greatly weakened proletariat, on the other. It is a Bonapartist force (which Engels referred to in the last century as that power which, although it rests upon the property relations of the given society is able to exist "above classes" for a certain period). A strengthening of either class force to the point where it could either strike out for a capitalist counter-revolution, or for a political revolution to reestablish workers' democracy, would mean doom for Stalinism. Stalinism must **TRY** therefore to keep both forces, the bourgeois elements and the proletariat, at their present level of strength (weakness). (Despite these efforts, however, we must note that the bourgeois force is growing rapidly. The invasion of Poland reflected the pressure of this bourgeois force and of German Imperialism).

The establishment of capitalist property relations in the conquered sections of Poland (as Germany and the capitalist elements within Russia, no doubt fought for) would have still more strengthened the capitalist stratum. On the other hand, giving free expression and aiding the revolutionary instincts of the Polish masses, instincts which were in ferment particularly as a result of the military defeats, would have meant the establishment in the Russian conquered section of Poland of a healthy Workers State based on Workers Democracy. This would have strengthened the proletariat and acted as the base for a political revolution against Stalinism.

Caught in this vise, Stalinism could not go so far as to permit capitalist property relations to continue in Poland. It introduced transition economy. But it made sure that this social revolution (in the limited sense) was **IMMEDIATELY ARRESTED AND WARPED**, so that at its very outset it stands at the brink of capitalist restoration.

Because Stalinism is a reactionary force in the labor movement and now functions under the Hitler-Stalin Pact, its methods of "defending" the Soviets (read Stalinism) instead of releasing the energy of the masses against the imperialist war (Polish, Finnish invasions, etc.) really throttles and arrests the development - disorients and demoralizes the masses. That is the case with all class struggles where

reactionaries have usurped power. Insofar as the socialist mode of production is extended DESPITE STALINISM, the war of the SOVIET UNION versus Poland has its revolutionary character, and revolutionists even though they condemn the conquests on the Stalinite policy, must defend the new property relations, and the new territory which is now a part of the Soviet Union.

Judged in its totality, however, the invasion of Poland and now of Finland, does not aid in the Defense of the Soviet Union, but hinders it. Whatever is gained in the military and economic aspects of these backward sections, it is lost 100 times over in the sphere of proletarian class interest.

The invasions:

- 1- Aid and strengthen one group of imperialists (Germany) against another, and further the Imperialist war moves of this group.
- 2- Check any manifestations of independent working class action.
- 3- Demoralize the world proletariat still further. Stalinism cannot lead a successful revolution. It can only behead developing revolutions.

In this way, the proletariat, the only real ally of the Soviet Union is weakened. The situation of the Soviets becomes ever more precarious. The world revolution becomes more difficult and the struggle of the imperialists in the war and against the S.U. more simple. That is the reactionary role that Stalinism plays; a role which simplifies not only the overthrow of the October property relations but of Stalinism itself.

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Those who can not distinguish between the dual and contradictory role of Stalinism, on the one hand, and the Workers State (though warped) on the other hand, in the present war, will never be able to analyze the developments of the war. As time goes on they must either fall into the position of advocating defeatism for the Soviet Union despite its transition economy (as do such people as Shachtman, Burnham, of the Trotskyites, Stamm, Blackwell, and many others), or of supporting Stalinism itself, either directly (as do the Stalinites and their fellow travelers), or indirectly (as do the official Trotskyites and many others).

FOR A GERMAN OCTOBER!

NEVER AGAIN NOVEMBER 12!

The road to the new World War led over the defeats of the proletariat. November 1918, extolled by the reformists as a victory of the workers, in reality only developed new methods for undermining the proletariat and its revolution. The preservation of capitalism by the defense of bourgeois democracy opened the road to power for fascism. The ultra-left tactics of the Comintern not only laid no obstacles in its way, but also made it clear that it preferred open fascism. A revolutionary Marxian party would have let the proletariat in opposition and possibly to victory.

The rise of National Socialism in Germany accelerated the war preparations. Only the existence on the one hand of a counter-revolutionary bureaucracy in the Soviet Union and the defeats of the international proletariat, closely connected with the former - in the last instance, of the Spanish proletariat - allowed the imperialists to begin the second imperialist war, disregarding the sharpened social contradictions between capital and labor.

If it was the defeats of the proletariat which led to the imperialist war, then only its victory can bring about a real peace.

Yes, peace and the final removal of fascism will become more and more the desires of the German toiling masses. We German revolutionists must tell them even today that neither the one nor the other is possible without the destruction of capitalism in all its forms of domination; by means of revolutionary propaganda and action we must spread clarity on this even today, so that tomorrow, when the masses are set in motion, we may, together with them, prevent a new November, a new enslavement to capitalism. We shall here pose several burning problems of the German revolution.

REVOLUTION AND WAR

The fate of the world was fought out in Spain. The victory of the proletariat would have ended the downward curve of defeats, begun a new international revolutionary upsurge of the proletariat, halted the further decay of the Soviet Union and prevented the imperialist war by the bursting asunder of the class contradictions.

Defeated on the barricades as soldiers of the revolution, now the proletarians stand facing each other again in the imperialist rifle-pits, as slaves of their imperialist despoilers. The defeat is a double one: the defeat of the revolutionary army and the unheard of confusion of the international proletariat. The parties which led the Spanish revolution to its defeat - from the reformists through the centrists - have experienced a further development to the right under the pressure of this event. After the throttling of the Spanish revolution, the outbreak of the war demonstrated anew what great service they were accomplishing for capitalism.

The fate of the German revolution is now completely bound up with the second imperialist world war.

The inter-relationships of imperialist war and proletarian revolution are very close. Both have their roots in the fundamental contradiction between the development of the productive forces and the property relations and national boundaries. But while the imperialist war occurs merely to shift the national boundaries in accordance with the new relationship of imperialist forces, and to maintain those property relations which, despite the enormous possibilities of production, condemn the great majority of the workers of the world to hunger and need; by the expropriation of the means of production the proletarian revolution smashes these property relations and removes national boundaries by spreading them through the setting up of the United Soviet States of the world. Obviously we are here dealing with forces moving in opposite directions. Imperialist war and proletarian revolution are opposites, which negate one another. An automatic transformation of the imperialist war into a "revolutionary" "progressive" war, etc., by the "conquest of the general staff", etc., as has been proposed by the social-patriots of various shades, even extending to the centrist camp, is an impossible contradiction by the nature of society, and it is based primarily on ignorance of the Marxian theory of the state - the fact that a capitalist state cannot become a revolutionary state, a workers' state, by a "labor regime", i.e., by the regime of the reformists, but can only become a factor in the struggle against the interests of the working class.

But all things, all processes, all existence bears within its development its contradictions and therefore, ultimately, the factors of its own negation. The imperialist war also prepares the conditions for its termination: the insoluble contradictions of capitalism are not solved by the imperialist war, but are sharpened a thousand fold. Hunger, poverty, need and the horrors of the rifle-pit change the spirit of the army of millions of the expropriated, who who, armed by their oppressors today, will struggle against them tomorrow.

The task of the revolutionary vanguard is the hastening of this process, the transformation of the imperialist war into civil war.

The achievement of civil war - the revolution in the midst of imperialist war - is possible only by propaganda, agitation and action in all imperialist lands for the defeat of our "own" state, i.e., the government and its armed forces.

This is the precondition for the German, as well as the world wide proletarian revolution.

In order to stop the developing civil war, the blood-drenched bourgeoisie will suddenly become peace-loving and will try to overlook the imperialist contradictions so that it can unite against the revolutionary tide. At that moment when the civil war begins, it cries for "Peace"!

The historic significance of

NOVEMBER 1918

lies in the fact that it brought peace in place of the civil war in which the proletariat were ready to fight with all their energies; thanks to the SP leadership of the bourgeoisie, when the latter established its democratic form of oppression, it offered class peace instead of class war.

A short review of the circumstances is quite instructive.

Under the influence of the Russian events the internal, ever-growing contradictions had to develop more and more rapidly to an explosion. The year 1917 brought the first great unrest to the fleet, and the first democratically elected representative organ of the sailors: the Management Committees. Strikes had taken place even earlier, as for example a protest strike of 50,000 workers on the day of Liebknecht's trial; but now for the first time these movements were assuming a real mass character.

The military dictatorship succeeded in crushing these revolutionary movements, but the October Revolution, as well as the ensuing discussions on the Brest-Litovsk treaty were new fuel to the masses. They were taught by their own need and the revolutionary Russian example. The January strike in Austria and Germany for the first time created Workers' Councils. These are the working class organs of struggle. Within them the Spartakists, their revolutionary supporters and the left wing of the USPD fought for the spreading of the strikes, while Social-Democracy fought for their throttling. In the revolutionary sheet-lightning of January the constellations of November were already forecast.

Every means was employed for smashing the workers. Berlin was put in a state of siege, mass arrests were carried through, and the great shops were placed under military control. Thus the supreme army command of Ludendorff-Hindenburg succeeded in crushing the workers with the help of the SP, and they were enabled to mobilize all their forces for the spring offensive. Their great success in Flanders ensued,

like all imperialist victories, upon the further crushing of the revolutionary movement.

But these successes, which were not extended to decisive smashing of the western powers due to the lack of material, could not either make up for the shortage of provisions or fill the ranks of the reserves, exhausted by the offensive. Soon several divisions had to be disbanded because of lack of supplies. On the other hand, the American troop contingents grew by leaps and bounds. In Austria there were demands for a separate peace. The Czechs deserted en masse, Bulgaria was defeated, etc.

The status of German imperialism had turned into a catastrophe in a short time. In the person of Ludendorff, who had exercised a ruthless dictatorship since 1916, the army command recognized defeat and the revolutionary danger linked up with it. That same man, who had struggled against every democratic reform with all his sharpness, and successfully, now recommended the immediate parliamentarization of Germany, in order to break the spear-head of the revolutionary movement and to end the war with a compromise peace, from the stand-point of German capital.

The "People's government" under Max von Baden, with the participation of the SP, and the constitutional changes of October 26, which transformed the semi-absolute Kaiser's regime into a parliamentary monarchy, came too late.

Developments had already reached a high level. Despite Scheidemann the high seas fleet rejected obedience a few days thereafter, occupied Kiel, united with the garrison there, fraternized with the workers, and helped set up workers' and soldiers' councils.

In order to stop this now rapidly spreading wave, which spread in a straight developing line from the Liebknecht protest strike through the mass movement and strikes of 1917, the January strikes of 1918, and to put an end to the successively developing workers' organs - Management Committees in 1917, Workers' Councils in January 1918, and finally the Workers' and Soldiers' Councils of November 1918, in order to halt this movement developing into open revolution, the bourgeoisie proposed parliamentarization. Thus power dropped into the lap of the impotent Reichstag.

The democratic republic, which in reality changed nothing from the conditions of October - only the Kaiser - only a puppet - was outlawed - was not the result of a fight which the Reichstag had carried on, but the fruit of the workers' struggles, which were spreading furiously throughout the entire land.

The Workers' and Soldiers' Councils are the proletariat's form of struggle and of domination. Their development under capitalism means the development of dual power.

To defeat this growing force of the proletariat, the bourgeoisie needed an instrument of their own, the bourgeois republic, the capitalist republic. This was the historic function of the November republic.

The bourgeoisie, as the small oppressing minority, were compelled, and will be again in the coming revolution, to place the form of oppression within the confines of their own objective possibilities, to pacify the inclinations of the masses of the oppressed.

This signifies on the one hand that with the beginning of the epoch of decay of capitalism, monopoly-capital, with the threatening growth of the workers' movement, the bourgeoisie is compelled, for the maintenance of capitalism, to transform the democratic mode of rule into the fascist - insofar as the proletariat does not prevent this by its revolution; on the other hand, it makes clear the bourgeois method of struggle, which consists of this: betraying the masses through their compromised leaders in democracy, but when this no longer succeeds, crushing them in the bloody counter-revolution. But when the defeated proletariat, overcoming its defeats, and again undertaking the struggle, destroys fascism, they will again try to deceive the masses with democracy; by a seeming reversal of policy, by using big-speaking social demagogues they will once more prepare their counter-offensive to stop the revolution. The stronger grows the class pressure, so much the more will these methods be used; the "leftward" movement of the regime will show itself in all shades and coalitions.

The road for the proletariat is also indicated thereby. The Marxists must point it out clearly. Bourgeois democracy is always a form of capitalist domination over the working class, which must fight against this "democratic" state apparatus for its own democratic rights. Although democracy offers a broader basis for the struggle, this cannot be defended by defense of "democratic" institutions, but only by the ensuing struggle for maintenance and extension of the democratic rights of the proletariat, or it can be wiped out by the smashing of workers' rights by fascism. If fascism triumphs, then it can only be the intransigent fight for workers' rights - never the fight for democracy - which will defeat the bourgeoisie, while their "democratic" form of the domination of capital only serves to rescue them.

Against all those "revolutionists" who place hope in the Reichswehr, the church, Social-democracy, etc., the Marxists carry on the fight only for democratic workers' rights and the proletarian revolution.

THE COMING GERMAN REVOLUTION

The pre-war and war-time literature of every political group which is either directly or indirectly allied with the western powers, speaks of the coming "anti-fascist" German revolution. The Entente plays with the revolution in Germany just as German imperialism in

turn threatens the colonial revolution against British imperialism. But just as little as Hitler wants a social revolution in India, just as little does England want a proletarian revolutionary Germany. It is on the one hand the enormously developed contradictions of imperialism and the postponing of the dread of the revolutionary movement on the other, which allow these gentlemen to play with fire. But, gentlemen, beware, lest the game become serious. Then despite everything, the international solidarity of the imperialists must manifest itself against any proletarian-revolutionary movement.

Just as little as the imperialists themselves do their allies want the victory of the proletarian revolution. For the sake of defeating these revolutions they will offer the capitalists the same service they did in the two dozen revolutions of the period between the first and second imperialist world wars. These lackeys talk a great deal about "freedom", "justice", etc., but they will never have the courage to overcome their dread of the bourgeois state in order to bring about the real liberation of mankind from the capitalist regime of robbery and hunger. Since they are totally dependent on capital, these tasks are not in their interests.

Only the proletariat can bring about the revolution for the liberation of mankind and its further development. Experience has taught us, however, that for the achievement of this great historic task, there is necessary not only a revolutionary situation but also a revolutionary party to lead the working class in its victorious revolution.

The latter can only be a party which has appropriated unto itself all the scientific lessons of the social struggles of history, which has studied the experiences of the revolutionary struggles of the past --- it can only be a revolutionary Marxian party, the New Communist (IV) International.

This international revolutionary Marxian party has its real inception in the form of the INTERNATIONAL CONTACT COMMISSION; despite all difficulties and dangers it must be built during the war by all revolutionists, so that, in the vanguard of the masses it can transform this imperialist war into a civil war and successfully end the war.

The German revolutionists, those who in this imperialist war are for revolutionary defeatism in Lenin's sense, must arrive at a clear position now on the character of the coming German revolution which will arise from the defeat of the German government and its army. The prerequisites of a new Versailles and thus for a new November are already in existence. The German revolutionists must prevent a new November!

CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND POLAND

These are two factors which will undoubtedly play a significant role in the German revolution. There is nothing progressive about the nationalist movements in both of these occupied capitalist countries. These movements are the open tools of the Czech and Polish capitalists, the imperialist allies of the western powers. To the same degree that these movements seek today for the overthrow of Germany they will tomorrow stab the German revolution in the back.

We struggle for the liberation of the oppressed nations, for their right of self-determination even to the point of secession. But the motive for this struggle is the revolutionary unity of the proletariat of Germany and of the oppressed nations. So long as the proletariat of these nations stands on the side of its capitalists, it carries on a struggle on a capitalist basis, for the restoration of "its own" capitalist state. The revolutionists must say to the nationally oppressed masses: "Fraternize with the German workers and the proletarians in uniform, who are oppressed just as you are, and fight side by side for the proletarian revolution!"

All those "revolutionists" who, after they helped bring about the defeat of "their own" land, now again propagandize for national solidarity with "their own" capitalists, instead of class solidarity with the "foreign" workers, are simply tools of an imperialist group, as the war now clearly demonstrates.

German revolutionists, further the revolutionary struggle of the nations oppressed by "your" land by struggling for their right of self determination even to the point of secession.

Revolutionists of the oppressed nations, fight against the capitalist nationalist movement for independence and fraternize with your German class brothers!

Only thus can you serve the proletarian revolution.

AUSTRIA

In order to defeat German imperialism and, of course, to keep the German revolution bound in chains, the most extreme plans for the division of Germany were discussed in London and Paris with Hohenzollern and Hapsburg, with Starhemberg and Strasser, with the SPD and RS. So anxious was France and especially England to show their soldiers how "just" and "democratic" this war is, that for this purpose they have concealed their plans for partition, which were so open only a few months ago, and on the contrary talk only of their "democratic" war aims, which are full of tendencies that can change many times and still conceal within them the dismemberment of Germany.

Although the western powers were fully cognizant of the occupation of Austria, in the next period we can expect, as Lebrun informed Austria, Austria's appearance as a sister of Czechoslovakia and Poland, as an ally of the western powers. Of course this implies an Austrian government in Paris and an Austrian Legion for the "liberation" of Austria...

Who would take part in such a government? - monarchists, patriots, the Heimwehr. Apparently the RS, which fought sharply against the movement for self-determination led by the Stalinists (until the German-Russian pact), also intends to take part. In No. 22 of the "Socialist Struggle" appears the following: "Our next task is the defeat of Hitler, the reattainment of free self-determination for the Austrian people, which shall decide for itself, and freely, the fate of its future state and its form of government." This revision is a perfect example of the desertion of principle concealed in revolutionary phrases, and of their complete support of French imperialism. The latter supports Austria's independence and hence the RS comes out for it.

The Austrians are not a nation. There is no reason why the German revolutionists should come out for this movement of self-determination which completely supports the interests of the Austrian reaction and western imperialism.

But Austria can play another, a revolutionary role. While in Germany the labor movement did not lift a finger against the capitulation of 1933 and the destruction of the workers' organizations, in Austria, where the workers were waiting with arms in hand, there developed in 1936, when the foreign relations of Austria were favorable a gradual and then ever more rapid revolutionary-democratic upsurge, which started in the factories and assumed a stormy form in the March days of 1938 - mass demonstrations, strikes, the formation of councils. Had the annexation taken place a few days later, then the armed working class would have smashed Schuschnigg and received Hitler quite differently.

In the social demagogy of the Nazis, in which part of the masses thought socialism appeared, the revolutionary upsurge is still reflected. Apparently staggered and smashed by the reactionary dictatorship, the Austrian workers still stand today, trained in the illegal struggle under Schuschnigg, as the most conscious and revolutionary, the vanguard of the German working class.

It is the task of the Austrian revolutionists to unite with the German revolutionists against autonomy, and at the head of their proletariat to assume their posts in the German revolution.

DESTRUCTION OF FASCISM BY DUAL POWER

In the present constellation of imperialist powers, America is the big winner in this war. The main loser cannot be economically crippled Germany but rich England. Regardless of its outcome, the war will hasten the destruction of the British empire. Hitler counts on this, while English imperialism strains every nerve to end the war with a revolution in Germany, which will overthrow the Nazis and prevent the real revolution, which would be so fatal to the British empire.

English imperialism and the capitalist-liberal opposition of the catholics, etc., in Germany and in emigration, understand all this quite well. But this is the same as trying to jump into the water without getting wet. These gentlemen would be ever so happy if only they could bring about such a transformation in the government without setting the popular masses in motion. These people see their dilemma quite clearly. They are trying to get around this problem by corrupting all the mass leaders even before the danger arises.

These efforts find the "leaders" of the "workers' parties" quite favorably disposed. Among the latter we find old and new lackeys, conscious and objective tools. The war itself has contributed complete clarity to the revolutionists on this.

The appeals of the SPD were brought to Germany by English bombers. The "truth" was imparted to the German proletariat by these "labor" leaders by the radio facilities of these imperialists. The great bulk of the SAP emigrants have participated with Muenzenberg in the organization of the German-French union for the new Versailles, and the "Austrian socialists" (RS) will surely be found sitting in the Austrian government" in Paris, or at least broadcasting "Socialist propaganda" on the "Austrian transmitter." The Stalinists today do not appear in this camp, only because they have been corrupted to support the other imperialist side. All these speak of the German "people's revolution," the "anti-fascist revolution" in conjunction with a "new European order" etc. ("United States of Europe," "free Europe," etc.)

They are for the reconstruction of the democratic republic, even though they give it various new names. They are preparing openly or under cover, but for the most part consciously, for the new November -- right now, before its outbreak, they are prepared for the throttling of the revolution. These people are, along with the militarists, the catholics, and the monarchists, arch enemies of the proletarian revolution and the soviet system.

With the advance of the revolution they will become separated from the "lefts," the group which will then manage state power for the

bourgeoisie for the preservation of their booty in a manner more in accord with the desires of the masses. Revolutionists do not ignore the differences within the ruling classes. They are with the "lefts" against the "rightists" and with the majority of the proletariat led by the independent revolutionary Marxian organization, against both. The "lefts" ally themselves with the revolution according to their fundamental capitalist interests in order to keep it going on an orderly road" - i.e., to tthottle it. The revolutionists fight against the open counter-revolution together with the lefts, but they keep the leadership and the masses in their own hands for the destruction of both.

The process of the proletarian revolution can lead only to the victory of the proletariat or to its defeat - to the victory of fascism. Today under imperialism the slogan of bourgeois democracy to the already imminent proletarian revolution (for the sake of "preserving its gains") is: first against fascism and then against bourgeois democracy; but this prepares the road not for the revolution but for fascism, as the Marxists predicted and as Spain has demonstrated.

The political and organizational independence of the revolutionary Marxian organization from ALL organizations and political tendencies within and outside the working class is a precondition for the tactic of "March separately and strike together." And this is a precondition for the victory of the proletariat.

Whatever form the removal of fascism may take in its inception, its achievement cannot be won without power - even the experience in removal of military dictatorship shows that the masses must be set in motion, political parties will again make an appearance, the workers and soldiers will establish their organs of struggle, the Red Guard and the Councils, in the first class action and the first storms, and thus the proletarian revolution will have begun.

The terrified bourgeoisie will set up the "democratic" form of their capitalist dictatorship against the revolution that threatens them against the growing apparatus of power, the councils - with the aid of the reformists they will set up the bourgeois republic. Their agents in the ranks of the working class will fight against the councils from within, they will try to unite the councils with the bourgeois state apparatus, the bourgeois parliament, thus taking away their decisive characteristic of anti-capitalist state power and ultimately destroying their meaning. Under no circumstances will this prevent them from "recognizing" the councils.

This period of the revolution experiences two powers: one the power of the groping, not yet ready proletarian domination, and the other

the no longer ready capitalist domination, seeking only to maintain itself. This period of the revolution is that of DUAL POWER. Even the very first steps of the revolution will already exhibit dual power in its embryonic form.

THE "ANTI-FASCIST" REVOLUTION AND THE CENTRISTS

The "anti-fascist" revolution, the "revolution" of the reformists, catholics, etc., which places bourgeois democracy in power against fascism, is the throttling of the proletarian revolution, the smashing of the Soviets, and the revolutionary party, and ultimately the point of inception for the reassumption of power by fascism.

Fascism cannot be defeated by democracy, but only by the overthrow of capitalism. When a revolution for the overthrow of fascism takes place, that cannot be the "anti-fascist" revolution, but only the proletarian revolution. Hence, aside from the proletarian revolution, there is no genuine revolution for the smashing of fascism, i.e., anti-fascist revolution.

Many centrists reject the solution of "anti-fascist revolution". But ALL the centrists make it clear: if they revise the theory of permanent revolution or if they fail to accept it, that bourgeois democracy is a necessary stepping stone from fascism to the dictatorship of the proletariat, and that they must help it to power regardless of everything.

This concept is clearly expressed: "In Germany the working class has been set back by the victory of fascism to so great an extent that it is impossible for them to organize a direct struggle for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship and capitalist society. Under the pressure of the fascist dictatorship the striving of the proletariat must be directed toward once more gaining the elementary prerequisites they once had; so that they may once more become aware of their political strength." Making it even clearer to the working class that they are today not prepared for a direct struggle against the fascist dictatorship, they speak further of the "various bourgeois and petty-bourgeois groups and organizations" saying that they are "centers of active resistance to the fascist dictatorship".

From this "recognition" quite clearly flows the fact, and the motive for it, of their having turned their backs on the powerful centers of the working class, the shops, toward the petty bourgeoisie, and in the long run, to support of "all classes in the strata of population", to "arousing and strengthening their political opposition" for the sake of "once more gaining the elementary prerequisites they once had (this refers to the working class) so that they may once more become aware of their political strength". (All quotations are from the Theses of the IKD "On Our Political Work in Germany",

which appeared in Unser Wort, January, 1938.)

There is another conception which leads to similar conclusions. This is the failure to distinguish between democracy as a form of bourgeois domination and the democratic rights of the working class, which the latter must wrest from the capitalist state in all its forms, even the most democratic, by means of the class struggle.

Both ideas offer us the petty-bourgeoisie as a class that can destroy fascism more or less by its own forces. The latter concept offers the petty-bourgeoisie as in a position to build its parties independent of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat --- and to fight for the democratic rights.

Both are in word and in deed for the liquidation of fascism by means of bourgeois democracy. One talks of "transitional workers' and peasants' regime" and the other of the necessary support of the "government by the petty-bourgeois parties" in order to "expose them"; but tomorrow both of them will fight against dual power which can alone do away with fascism.

Against all of these the revolutionary Marxists say clearly:

Under imperialism there is only ONE revolution throughout the entire world: the proletarian revolution, for which we struggle. Not the bourgeoisie and not the petty-bourgeoisie, in any of their forms of political manifestation, but only the proletariat will destroy the fascist dictatorship by the struggle for its democratic rights, by beginning the proletarian revolution. Not by the degradation of the power in the service of the irresolute petty-bourgeoisie and its leadership, which depends on capitalism, but by its powerful independent class politics will the proletariat build its organs of struggle and power --- the red guard and the councils --- against capital and for the destruction of fascism.

In this transition period of dual power the reformists and centrists of various forms support the domination of the "left" bourgeoisie.

The ultra-lefts, who today are not for workers rights, so that they drive the masses into the hands of the reformists and centrists, state that after the overthrow of fascism the reformists will no longer constitute a danger. At the time of dual power the ultra-lefts will reject revolutionary leadership of the masses for the conquest of power and will support a policy of putschism.

During the period of dual power the organization of the revolutionary Marxists fights for the broadening of the soviet power, for revolutionary mass action, against subordination of the soviets to the bourgeois domination. It is these actions, and not the support

of the reformists, which compel the bourgeoisie, finally, to admit the reformists into their regime. Their exposure and the resultant winning of the majority in the soviets by sharp revolutionary class political action opens up the road for the armed insurrection for seizure of all domination by the proletariat.

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The fate of the German revolution and the Soviet Union are closely related. Just as the victorious October Revolution gave the impulsion to the German revolution, so the false policy of Stalin and Bukharin led to failure to take advantage of the revolutionary situation in 1923, the whole ultra-left policy of the rotten Stalinist bureaucracy brought Hitler to power, the "democratic period" of the peoples' front prevented new revolutionary uprisings by throttling the western European revolution; thus the German-Russian pact, which gave the last shove to the outbreak of the second imperialist world war, hits the German proletariat with double force: it helps Hitler with material and political aid in the maintenance of his fascist dictatorship and the sharper oppression of the proletariat, and it helps him drive them onto the imperialist battlefields.

The resultant of the Stalinist policy is two-edged. In the same degree that the spreading of the October revolution is prevented by this policy, there develops in the land of October the reaction --- the workers' state is poisoned, and the path is made easy for the capitalist counter-revolution.

The outcome of the developing decisive conflict in the S.U. between the proletariat fighting for the maintenance and strengthening of the Workers State, and the capitalist counter-revolution, will be of the greatest significance for the German and international proletariat. The policy of the ultra-lefts weakens and undermines the task of defending the USSR, which is of greatest moment today; it thus gives aid to the policy of the reformists and to the victory of the counter-revolution. If Stalinism succeeds in maintaining itself in power until the outbreak of the German revolution (today it maintains fascism in power by material and political aid), then after Hitler's overthrow it will stand together with social-democracy in the effort to throttle the revolution, just as in Spain - for the victory of the German workers will offer the Russian workers the opportunity of overthrowing them.

From the victory of the counter-revolution would develop a new imperialist state which would enormously intensify the imperialist antagonisms and change the constellations for the carrying through of the imperialist war. In the Soviet Union lies the key to further development. While a speedy victory for the counter-revolution would lead to strengthening of the German-Russian bloc and thus to the postponing of the German revolution, a lengthy civil war may lead to the beginning of the German revolution and ultimately also to the victory of the Russian workers. AGAINST A NEW NOVEMBER! FOR A GERMAN OCTOBER!

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