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The Stalin-Hitler Pact

LATEST SELLOUT BY STALINISM

Class Relations in the U.S

1916 ALL OVER AGAIN!

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Council Government!

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Fight Fascism by Fighting Capitalism!

#### The Marxist

Theoretical organ of the Revolutionary Workers League of the U. S. Formerly the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

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## THE MARXIST

Theoretical organ of the Revolutionary Workers League of the U. S. Formerly the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

#### Volume 5 No. 7

#### October 1939

#### It's 1916 All Over Again

Events are moving at terrifying speed. What took months in the last war is compressed into weeks in the Second World War. Torpedoing of ships, bombings, are being seized upon to whip public sentiment into shape. The floodgates of propaganda and war hysteria are opened. It is scarcely a few weeks since the outbreak of hostilities, yet the United States is already in the 1916 — not 1914 — stage of the last war.

In every newspaper, over the radio, in the movies, the new catchwords for the war are making their appearance. "Stop Hitler", "fascist totalitarianism is the enemy of mankind," "let's finish what we began in the last war — a war to end wars," the "honor of the flag", "the madman of Europe is destroying the peace of the nations," "democracy," "patriotism" — it is all here. Street meetings are greeted with cries of "Hitler agent", "coward," "spy". The working class is dazed and impotent. Its "leadership" stands solidly behind the war plans of the boss class.

#### "SIX MONTHS"

Leading circles in the Administration are quoted in the press as holding the opinion "we cannot stay out for more than six months."

The few voices of the boss class that are raised in opposition speak of "isolation", "neutrality." Sections of the working class honestly opposed to the war, are turning to these "isolationists" for leadership. Horrible mistake! These people are not against the war; they are against entering it now. They think the U. S. boss class can gain more by entering later and taking advantage of the present to steal British, German and other markets.

American imperialism needs war. Even if the U. S. boss class is again an "ally" of England, the U. S. financiers and industrial barons hope by means of the war to undermine the British empire, to reduce Germany, overthrow what remains of the proletarian dictatorship in the Soviet Union, weaken the other imperialist powers, and emerge out of the war as the dominant imperialist power of the world.

It is a war for plunder and profit, for markets and resources, for colonies and empire domination.

For the workers of the world there is only one way out of the horrors of destruction, starvation and disease that are descending upon us. Smash the bosses war plans, fight for our democratic rights, carry on the class struggle, turn imperialist war into civil war, work for the revolutionary defeat of our "own" boss class, raise high the banner of the Social Revolution!

### A Twice A Month Fighting Worker

The growth and increased influence of the Revolutionary Workers League has made it desirable to alter our present publication structure. The League's entry into the provisional INTERNATIONAL CONTACT COMMISSION, together with the Red Front of Germany and the Leninist League of Scotland, has given us a new theoretical organ, the INTERNATIONAL NEWS, official organ of the I. C. C.

In view of our agreement with the Contact. Commission and its work we have decided to consolidate our circulation of the MARXIST into the INTERNATIONAL NEWS. The seventh Plenum of the League has endorsed the INTERNATIONAL NEWS as its official theoretical

Continued on Page 8

### The Stalin-Hitler Pact

#### LATEST SELLOUT BY STALINISM

The signing of the non-aggression pact between Germany and Soviet Russia is a new high stage of Stalinist treachery to the working class. A workers state may sometimes be forced to sign treaties with imperialist nations, democratic or fascist. This can be a question of tactics. But there is a world of difference between the treaties signed by Stalinism and the treaties signed in Lenin's time — a principled difference. The entry into the League of Nations, the Franco-Soviet Pact, the Non-Intervention Pact, the US-Soviet trade treaty, and now the Nazi-Soviet Pact are ALL steps of capitulation by Stalinism, betrayals of the international working class.

What are the concrete conditions and reasons that make the Nazi-Soviet Pact a further capitulation to imperialism and betrayal of the working class?

#### THE BACKGROUND OF THE PACT

On the eve of the signing of the pact, Europe was again approaching one of its recurrent crises, the outward signs of the death agonies of European capitalism. The surface struggle was between the imperialist robbers; but cutting across this struggle was the imperialist fear of wide-spread proletarian upheavals as a natural outcome of the predatory war.

Instead of being used by the imperialists as a pawn in their maneuvers, a healthy workers state, functioning in the interests of the oppressed of the earth, would seize this opportunity to issue a ringing call that at this moment in particular would resound throughout the world — a call to an unrelenting proletarian struggle against imperialist war, a call for the class war against the bosses war, a call that would strike terror into the hearts of the robber class and palsy the hands of these would-be butchers of the people. The call would come forth from the international revolutionary party; while the workers state itself would proclaim to the world its independent working class status, its scornful repudiation of any part in the imperialist war moves. A healthy workers state would seek to intensify and take advantage for the interests of the people of the antagonisms of the imperialists.

Did the Soviet Union under Stalinism point out this three cornered struggle of robber group versus robber group, and both against the proletariat? Did Stalinism point out the way for the workers? Did the Stalinist international issue a call to the struggle against war? No. Instead it attempted to continue its false policy of tagging along with the "democratic" dictators against the Fascist dictators, calling for a struggle against the fascist "aggressors" and lulling the proletariat to sleep.

But Germany had grown too strong. The disastrous defeat of the working class in Spain, made possible in no small degree by the Stalinist People's Front line, provided a new springboard for renascent German imperialism. Terrifield at the perspective of confronting both Japan and Germany at once, at the thought of being "isolated" (to Stalinism the working class is only a tool; for "real allies" it looks only to this or that imperialist group), Stalinism redoubled its efforts to get a bloc with Britain against Germany. But at the same time, in anticipation of the possible failure of this strategy, Stalinism also began to lay the basis for the other variant - a bloc with Germany against England. The "180 degree turn" of Stalinism was long in the making. It could have taken place months before, except that not Moscow but Berlin was determining the conditions for any bloc. What Germany was not yet ready to use a few months ago, became a master stroke of Hitler against the Anglo-French bloc under the circumstances of the present "Danzig" crisis

#### HITLER WON, STALIN CAPITULATED

The pact enabled Hitler to further blackmail Anglo-French imperialism and to bring pressure on Poland to force her to terms. Stalin was not even permitted to retain the usual "escape" clause in his non-aggression pacts, generally to the effect that if either of the contracting parties commits an act of aggression, the second party is no longer obligated by the pact. It is true that neither side will keep its agreements, but the objective conditions favor Hitler. Hitler agreed on PAPER to PROMISES in the future; while Stalinism gave SUBST-ANCE in the PRESENT.

What Hitler feared in the present was a war against the Anglo-French bloc on two fronts. With the Soviet army "neutral", with a concentration in the West, Hitler now has an enormously stronger hand against Poland. Today

Stalinism makes it possible for Germany to Soviet Union. It will undermine powerful bases take Poland and Hungary. Tomorrow Hitler within the masses internationally for the will be at the gates of the Ukraine.

defense of the Soviet Union. Jewish workers

#### IN WHAT CONSISTS THE NEW BETRAYAL?

To the "democratic" imperialists and their propagandists, the betrayal of Stalinism consists in the doublecross of signing up with Hitler instead of with them. But from a working class viewpoint, there is no principled difference between the two. The Nazi-Soviet Pact is as much a betrayal as the Franco-Soviet Pact or the Non-Intervention Agreement before. The difference is one of DEGREE. All were concessions of principle to imperialism.

To the working class the betrayal of Stalinism consists in its participation in the war moves on a WHOLLY IMPERIALIST BASIS, in that its policies are indistinguishable from the power politics of post-war Europe, in that it teaches the working class to depend for salvation — not on independent working class action — but on capitalist nations, "democratic" or fascist.

The workers state can not make trade agreements with capitalist nations during war or revolutionary periods. Such material and economic exchange in war periods amounts to political aid to these capitalist exploiters in their hour of need. Military agreements of the Workers State (not with colonial or semicolonial countries fighting imperialism) but with imperialist nations are betrayals of the working class. Military agreements with imperialists will primarily be used against the working class of the imperialist country and secondarily for a struggle against the opposing imperialists.

By signing with Hitler, Stalinism has played into the hands of the "democratic" bourgeoisie who identify Communism and fascism, who point to the kinship of the Soviet Union under Stalinism with Nazi Germany. The prestige of the proletarian dictatorship has received a staggering blow; to the masses the word of the workers state under Stalinism is equally as perfidious as the word of Hitler or Chamberlain.

The signing of the pact with fascism, deadly enemy of the labor movement, is the beginning of an entire new line, which will be extended internationally. The old slogans of democracy against fascism will go. We can expect to see adaptations in the structure of the Stalinist international as well.

The pact signifies a long step in the process of destroying the Soviet Union. It will be used to dull the vigilance of the workers in the Soviet Union. It will undermine powerful bases within the masses internationally for the defense of the Soviet Union. Jewish workers will turn away in bitter disgust. Polish and other workers whose nationalist spirit could have been brought into revolutionary channels will be driven to the right. The international labor movement will take another long step to the right.

We can expect that one of the unpublished clauses in the trade pact provides for technicians and experts to accompany the machinery which Germany is to send into the Soviet Union. As in Spain and China, these technicians will have a secret political mission as well from the Nazis — to aid and coordinate and attempt to take the leadership of the counter-revolutionary forces in the Soviet Union, to attempt to bring the counter-revolution under Nazi hegemony. The danger is all the greater because these agents will have a seemingly "legal" and "peaceful" mission, and will be COVERED UP POLITICALLY by Stalinism.

#### THE LINE'S BEEN CHANGED AGAIN

Many people who were not politically blind realized that the removal of Litvinov was a sign of steps toward Nazi Germany. The sudden announcement of the pact was stage-play. In reality it is the product of months of negotiations. The Imperialist powers through their secret agents knew of these discussions. Their "surprise" is for public consumption.

The Pact stunned the Stalinist followers throughout the world. The turn from Peoples Frontism and the Democratic Front to the Fascist-Stalinist Front came overnight insofar as the members are concerned. The blow has already caused mass desertions. Unfortunately, not only Stalinism but the working class of the world is hard hit.

The opportunists, the political degenerates and the yellow Stalinist journalists are already proving that all is well, that it was a "master stroke" of the brilliant "leader". Each betrayal brings forth a new volley of lies.

Stalin's speech of March 10, 1939 has now been dug up to show the theoretical base for the pact. It was made at the 18th Party Congress of the Russian party, on which the FIGHTING WORKER at the time stated in part: "In a desperate effort to break out of this isolation there is no doubt Stalin is willing to make far greater concessions than ever before. His speech hinted at a possible rapprochaent with Hitler." For exposing this pending sell out our members were bodily attacked by Stalinist

hoodlums.

Yesterday Stalin framed and shot leading members of his party as German spies. It was "the great leader of the working class" who was maneuvering with Hitler. He was getting rid of those who might oppose this sell-out.

The R. W. L. predicted this development of a German-Russian bloc three years ago, in a detailed analysis published in the November, 1936 issue of the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL. Today, the ultra-lefts, hit by the "new" betrayal, point to it as additional proof that Russia is a capitalist state, etc. But our ability to correctly foresee this development three years ago rested on our analysis of Stalinism and on our analysis of the Soviet Union as a warped workers state. We concluded from this analysis that Stalinism must be removed by a political revolution; that a new Marxian Party must be built in the Soviet Union before it is too late.

#### EFFECTS OF THE PACT

- l. \_ The pact was a heavy blow to the Anglo-French bloc. Even though it will end up as all pacts as a scrap of paper it has already done its service-for Hitler.
- 2. Just to what extent the United States had a hand in the developments it is not yet possible to say. But it is clear that by weakening the position of Great Britain, the pact objectively aided her main rival, American Imperialism.

A year ago, at Munich, Great Britain made heavy concessions to Germany, mainly at the expense of France. She still hoped to bring Germany into line, still saw visions of a Four Power Bloc of Britain, France, Germany, Italy against the colossus of the west, the United States, on the one hand, and against the Soviet Union on the other. She still hoped to direct German expansion to the east, against the Soviet Union — under British hegemony of course.

But it was already too late for the declining British empire to achieve such a hegemony over Europe. It would involve an advance in position **over and above** the reconsolidation of the positions she has lost in the last decades.

Germany took the concessions, but drove ahead to establish her own position, with the aim of challenging Anglo-French supremacy, first in Europe and with a broader perspective for the future. However, despite the decline of her empire, Britain remains next to the United States the great titan of post war imperialism. Within the imperialist arena, the great struggle

is between these two. Germany cannot replace England without the major war that is in the offing, just as the United State needs that war to establish her world dominance. But that war will also give the working class the chance to replace them all. In the meantime, each blow by Germany against England objectively aids the relative position of the US.

- 3. The pact was a blow at Japan who was counting on Russia being involved in the West so that she could mop up in the East against all, including Germany. Despite difficulties, however, Japan will make gains, always at the expense of and by taking advantage of the Anglo-American rivalry. England will now try harder than before to obtain an understanding with Japan. In this aspect, the pact was a horsetrade between Hitler and Stalin.
- 4. Italy has been promised some of the gains in the deal, but again objective conditions have given Germany the greater share and the greater pressure in the Rome-Berlin axis.

Unless Hitler allows Italy to gather in a few crumbs, Engand's courting of Italy can be expected to get results. British pressure on Spain, increased suddenly although indirectly by the pact, has already succeeded in bringing Franco within reach of the British orbit.

5.— Now that Sudetenland is out of the way, Poland stands as the key obstacle to Hitler's march east. With Poland remaining in its present status as a second rate imperialist power, Germany cannot make an effective move east beyond its present position. Before Poland there was Sudetenland. Before the Ukraine and the Near East must come the fall of Poland.

No doubt an "understanding" on the question of Eastern Europe was the KEY question of the talks that resulted in the signing of the pact. But Hitler will not keep his promise to Russia any more than he has honored previous agreements.

- 6. The pact and the new relation of forces also signs a death warrant for the "independent" small countries of Eastern Europe not yet under fascist influence. Above all, Stalin's "go ahead" signal to Hitler condemns the millions of Jews of Central Europe to Fascism. The Stalinist-Hitler Pact aids Hitler against the workers and peasants of Central Europe.
- 7. Should Poland fall without a major war, France will be reduced to a second rate power, with a perspective of sharpening internal class relations, continued and intensified decline,

rapidly increasing moves toward fascism.

- 8. Germany gained all the decisive points in this pact as she did at Munich. True, Munich gave Britain a breathing spell to catch up on military needs, and it is also true that the present pact gives Russia a breathing spell, although she would have had this interval even without the Pact since Hitler is not yet ready. Breathing spells through capitulation have weakened the working class base and support of the Soviet Union.
- 9. Stalinism capitulated again, but the real losers are the Soviet workers and the world workers. Stalinism feared that Great Britain would turn Germany toward the Soviet Union, that is, from the Stalinist viewpoint, against the privileges of burocracy. To avoid this, she signed up with the Nazis. But the pact and the relations underlying it do not in any way signify a warding off of imperialist attack. Playing the game of power politics, Stalinism can at best hope to be a tail to an imperialist lineup in a war, possibly such a lineup as American imperialism has envisaged long ago — the U.S., Germany, Russia. Such a bloc would be the most powerful imperialist bloc realizable. If concluded, it will be used against Britain, Japan, and others; but above all against the extension of the October revolution. Such a bloc will depend, however, not on Stalinism, but on American imperialism and its needs in the light of the developing relationships.

Hitler signed the pact with Russia not as a peace pact but as a WAR PACT. That will be its objective result. It is being used now as a WAR PACT against the Anglo-French imperialists by withdrawing a capable army from helping Poland. It is also being used as a WAR PACT WITH STALINISM AGAINST THE WORKING CLASS OF THE SOVIET UNION AND OF THE WORLD. The Non-Intervention agreement with Stalinism was also a CLASS WAR PACT OF ALL THE IMPERIALISTS WITH STALINISM and the leaders of the 2nd International against the Spanish revolution. It helped strangle the revolution. This Hitler-Stalin pact will further strangle the working class and further undermine the OCTOBER REVOLUTION'S PROPERTY RELATIONS IN THE SOVIET UNION.

By removing Poland, by undermining the internal conditions in the Soviet Union, with Stalin's help, Hitler will prepare the way for his counter-revolution in the Soviet Union.

THE STALINIST COUNTER-REVOLUTION-

ANY ROLE IN CHINA (1925-27) HELPED LAY THE BASIS FOR HITLER'S RISE IN GERMANY. THE COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY ROLE OF STALINISM IN GERMANY HELPED LAY THE BASE FOR SPAIN. THE STALINIST COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY ROLE IN SPAIN HELPED PAVE THE WAY FOR MUNICH AND FOR THE PRESENT PACT.

The Soviet Union now stands at the brink of violent and far-reaching upheavals, of internal CIVIL WAR. The working class must prepare to stand guard and rally to the defense of the Soviet Union against the imperialists and their Stalinist and other agents within. The Soviet masses need leadership above all, need a new Marxist party as part of an international revolutionary party.

10. — The Stalin-Hitler Pact, far from assuring peace, as the prostituted Stalinist press woud have us believe, was a major factor in the Hitler war plans and the beginnings of the Imperialist War which we are witnessing.

Only a proletarian revolution can check this imperialist slaughter, even if a temporary "armistice" were possible.

The greatest unknown quantity is the Soviet Union, not because of Stalinism but in spite of Stalinism. The Soviet Union has the greatest internal contradiction, now coming to a head: the contradiction between the remains of the October property relations and the domination by the Stalinist imperialist agents.

The Spanish defeat is playing havoc with the world labor movement. The new Stalinist sell-out to Fascism will deliver more telling blows against the world's working class. All organizations will experience new internal struggles. The general decline will witness the increase of ultra-leftist tendencies. The Marxists through the INTERNATIONAL CONTACT COMMISSION MUST RALLY ALL THEIR FORCES TO STEM THE TIDE, to push FORWARD against the stream.

The "democratic front" of Stalinism was as hollow as the fascist front of today. In fact, the democratic front paved the way for a Fascist Front. Only the INDEPENDENT ACTION OF THE WORKING CLASS AGAINST CAPITALISM, in both its democratic and fascist forms, can successfully smash capitalism and establish the rule of the working class.

## Class Relations in the U.S.

l. — Class relations in the past eight month period can be understood only in relation to the economic position of the United States and the general historic status of the working class. Objectively the American working class still confronts the most favorable situation of any other section of the world working class. While the proletariat of one country after another in Europe (Austria, Germany, Spain) has been placed in chains, the workers of the U. S. have not even been tested in major and decisive class struggles. A powerful proletariat just emerging into a key position in decay capitalism, under proper guidance will be able to meet its historic task and rebuild society.

The super-wealth of American imperialism, on socialist-consciousness. But today, because of the rapid tempo of decay of American imperialism, a tempo of decay far more rapid than anywhere in the world, we face a favorable objective situation for the American workthrough the "golden twenties" acted as a brake ing class to develop towards the social revolution. What is needed most of all today is an organized vanguard, a Revolutionary Marxist Party.

2.—For the bourgeoisie in the present epoch the most important task is the consolidation of an efficient war machine. This means primarily steps towards class peace. Because of the present prolonged character of the economic decay, however, this last eight month period has reflected to an increasing extent the inability of the bourgeoisie to rule by the old methods, although, of course, they have not yet reached the stage where they must call upon Fascism to save the tottering structure.

The struggle in Congress was only an outgrowth of this phenomenon. Economic strangulation caused the fissures in the ranks of the bourgeoisie itself to widen sharply. The slump of 1938 levelled off, finally, in this past 8 month period, at a slightly higher level than the 1938 low, but it showed no great signs of improvement, except through some severe world shake up such as a world war.

Under our eyes in this period, bourgeois democracy clearly and unequivocably has been paving the way for Fascism by its many anti-labor projects and its internal program in all parts of the United States. The bourgeoisie as a WHOLE, despite their sharp struggles amongst themselves, WERE UNITED in further and far broader attempts to pass the burden of the insolvable depression onto the working class.

3. — The right arm of capitalism was again in this period on the offensive, with the New Deal and its labor faker belt line on the defensive in the intra-bourgeois struggle; and with both camps under this pressure taking the offensive against the WHOLE working class. This offensive against the working class was the sharpest since the wave of strikes in 1936-37 were stopped. State anti-labor laws limiting the right to strike and putting great restrictions on foreign born workers, especially in Pennsylvania — swept the country.

The New Deal shifted far to the right, and while the Old Deal came out more openly with its reactionary program, it accepted many points in the New Deal program, which will inevitably be part of the program of the next administration, no matter which group is victorious. Relative to both these forces, however, in this last period there loomed a third reactionary force which made even greater headway, the Fascist and semi-Fassist movements.

4. — Three general smokescreens were used in this period to further this broad campaign of the conservative forces of American capitalism. The Dies Committee "exposures" of "Communism" were used as the smokescreen behind which anti-labor legislation was passed. The deportation hearing of Bridges was used as a whip with which to attack the organized trade union movement. And the fraudulent "economy" issue was used as the stick with which to beat the New Deal and cut the unemployed "allowance", both.

Within the Big capitalist camp, the general shift has been to the right. But within this right shift the struggle between the New Deal vs. the right wing Democrat and Republican Bloc, has been intensified.

5 — Despite the differences between the New Deal and Old Deal forces, they were united as one on the major issues before Congress: a) the largest war budget in history; b) the cash and carry principle of foreign trade; c) the slashes in WPA and relief; d) the great subsidies to industry and agriculture although there were some differences on some aspects of this program; e) WPA workers cannot strike against the government; f) Japan. The Old Deal forces beat the New Deal back, however, on an aspect of foreign policy, the so-called "neutrality" bill; on the final subsidy bill and a few others. On all these questions, it must be noted, there are more than two positions in the exploiters' camp.

By and large this Congress was impotent to carry through any important measures, other than the above. The forces were too evenly divided for any sweeping victories.

6 — On the economic field the workers rose up time and again in dozens of spontaneous battles, only to be misled and betrayed by the AFL-CIO-Stalinist leadership.

The big bourgeoisie took large strikes forward against the workers, as typified by Armour's offensive against the Packinghouse workers; General Motors ability to play off the AFL vs. the CIO and vice versa and chisel on its contracts with both; the offensive of Little Steel, which now will have the aid of Big Steel; the beginning of a new form of employers organization with more far reaching discipline over its members, the San Francisco group; and finally and most important, because it is a stepping stone for wide cuts in industry, the cuts on relief and WPA strikes, the highest peak of development of the class struggle in recent years.

7 — In the trade union field there was an increase of jurisdictional fights, with scabbing of the AFL vs. the CIO and vice versa. With the increased inability of the bourgeoisie to grant reforms and concessions, the labor fakers made deals with the companies hartering away all economic demands in return for recognition in one form or another as bargaining agencies. Witness the coal strike and the GM settlement. Despite all this it must be reported that the labor burocracy was able to further stifle and canalyze the working class initiative and militancy, although there was a substantial loss in trade union membership and increasing tension amongst the top leadership - note, for instance, the beginnings of a Hillman-Lewis battle.

8 — The stranglehold the reformists have on the working class and the absence of a mass movement with independent class struggle action, contributed to further demoralization and disorientation of the middleclass and the growth of many reactionary movements. The economic crisis is throwing the working class and middle class more closely together - causing a general interchange of ideas and community of interest in specific cases. If the working class shows firmness, instead of a capitulating line to bourgeois demoracy and petty bourgeois ideas, it will swing this whole layer of society behind the social revolution. As it was, in this past period, however, there were relatively large sections of the middle class moving towards Fascist organizations and ideologies, because the working class under opportunist leadership has followed the middle class ideology.

9 - There was a great growth of reactionary and fascist organizations in the last eight months. The Saturday Evening Post lists 168 such groups in the U.S. The overwhelming majority of these groups are not yet fully Fascist in character. Most of them call for a military rather than Fascist dictatorship. This distinction is important, although not decisive. The organizations most closely resembling the Fascist form were the Catholic Action national organization, with thousands of Catholic trade unionists in its ranks, and the Christian Mobilizers, Father Coughlin's storm troops. The Catholic Action group in its recent convention laid down a program for an open and clear cut Fascist structure - Corporative state - although it has not yet adopted all the demagogic trimmings of this ideology. The Coughlin forces, much more demagogic, but without a similar mass strength made progress mostly in the East - Boston and New York - where there is a large Irish Catholic population. Out of forces such as these, as the crisis deepens with greater class polarization a mature Fascist force will emerge.

10 — On the other hand, along with these movements, have grown other types such as the Townsend group, the \$30 every Thursday, the American Foundation of Abundance, etc. — ultra-liberal outfits. Both forms of capitalist reaction in decay — the right and left, represent the increasing disillusionment of the petty bourgeois masses in bourgeois democracy. There is still time for the proletariat and the Marxists to consolidate these forces behind the proletarian revolution.

11 — The Fascist menace is great in America as elsewhere. It is developing fast. Nevertheless, as was the case in Germany and other places, many reformists and centrists (including the Trotskyites) are building up this "Fascist menace" far out of proportion. The real fight against Fascism is consequently misdirected and canalyzed. The Marxists must be sharp in pointing out that the main danger in the U.S. still is reformism, with its specific weight shifting from the borgeois reformists and developing towards the social reformists. Fight Fascism by Fighting Capitalism, means in this period that we clearly expose the proper relation between Fascism and Democracy and its agents. The opportunist road of building up the "Fascist menace" is merely a smokescreen by the various opportunists (social-reformism and centrism) to cover up their capitulation to

bourgeois democracy. (Witness, for instance,

the Trotsky snarl against Fascism in one breath, and their capitulation to Ludlow Amendments, Wage and Hour Bills, Labor Parties, etc. in the other).

12 — The main steps in our line of march are today no different than those outlined in the 3rd Convention documents especially the material on imperialist war, and on Workers Control of Production for Use. The task is to organize the unorganized; to organize progressive groups on a class struggle program; to build a new unemployed organization; to organize Workers Defense Squads.

13 - First steps, however, are necessary in the struggle against Fascism. Primarily this means the organization of embryo Defense Squads. In the present period with the rank and file workers not yet sufficiently aroused to this necessity (although Cleveland and Minneapolis are beginning signs) the main aspect of this work will be propaganda. But small groups of workers can be and should be organized for defense work. This is more possible today in the unemployed field than in the trade union fields. Even though these embryo groups may revolve around political forces at first, they must be organized to work in full cooperation with similar groups in the industries, which should be the decisive core. Such groups will form an important link towards the full grown Defense Squads and Workers Militia.

14 — The RWL in this period rooted itself a little more in the mass field than previously, but the gain was too small, especially in view of the enormous war preparations and the approach of illegality. This Plenum must take the necessary steps to extend our influence and direct the class in action.

#### READ

#### THE FIGHTING WORKER

Central Organ of the REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS LEAGUE OF THE UNITED STATES.

# The New Twice A Month Fighting Worker

(Continued from page 1)

organ. Our resourses will be fully behind the News and we are sure it will continue from where the MARXIST left off.

At the same time this step of consolidation has enabled the League to release its energies in another field.

In view of the outbreak of the second imperialist war, the seventh Plenum has unanimously voted to raise \$300.00 to print the FIGHTING WORKER TWICE A MONTH.

This consolidation enables us to increase our circulation, to increase our POPULAR propaganda 100%, and at the same time keep the high standard of necessary theoretical material before our readers.

We ask all readers of the Marxist to aid us financially in this drive. Next month you will receive the reguar issue of the Contact Commission publication, the INTERNATIONAL NEWS.

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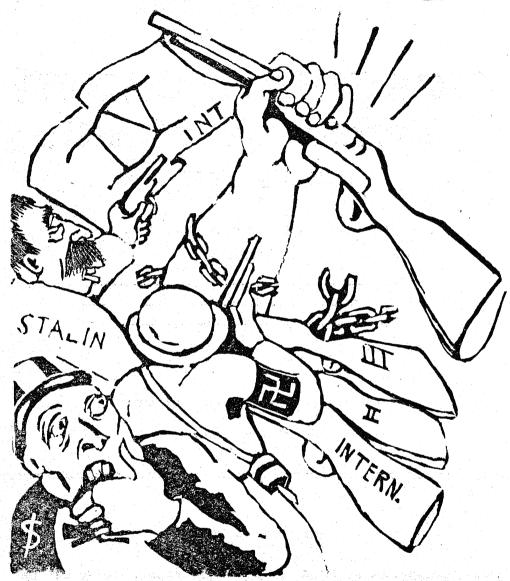
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Th oretical Organ of

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FOR A NEW COMMUNIST (4th) INTERNATIONAL



STALIN DEALS NEW BLOW AT WORKERS