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WORDS, WORDS, WORDS

By Leon Trotsky & Co.

ABC of Marxism Study Course

Lesson Ten: The Four Internationals

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EDITORIAL

WAR AND THE C.I.O. CONVENTION

After three years, the top leadership of the C.I.O. has hastily called the first National Constitutional Convention in Pittsburgh, beginning November 14th. It was called in response to the demand of American capitalism for one servile federation of labor in face of the coming war; and to create a legalistic set-up to silence the irksome accusation that the CIO is a self-appointed bunch of dictators without authority from the rank and file. Lewis has devised a method of electing delegates even more bureaucratic than in the A.F. of L. Representation comes only from the top layers of the unions. The International Executive Boards appoint the bulk of the delegates. Only one delegate may be elected from each industrial council. None from the local unions.

Lewis' hand-picked Steel and Textile committees, to whom he has steadfastly refused to issue charters even though they have more than once signed agreements with the industrialists, will elect themselves as delegates. Lewis has carefully refrained from publishing the agenda of the convention. Representation from the local unions does not fit into his plans. In this packed convention the voice of the membership will never reach the convention floor.

PROBLEMS BEFORE THE CONVENTION

Unification of the labor movement will be the keynote of the convention. The New Deal demands it. The rank and file demands it. Millions remain unorganized. Vast masses of disorganized unemployed continue to jeopardize conditions gained by organized labor. The organization of the South remains an unfilled task. Even in well-organized industries conditions must be improved. The set-ups in the various internationals are bureaucratic to the core and wracked by factionalism. The enervating struggle with the rival A.F. of L. must be brought to a conclusion.

Events have already shown how these gentlemen will dispose of these questions. Instead of organizing the unorganized workers, the bureaucrats contemplate "organized" raids on existing legitimate unions. The problems of the unemployed will most likely be "solved" by issuing a charter to the Stalinist controlled Workers Alliance and handing over to it the WPA auxiliaries of the various CIO unions. The method of selecting convention delegates indicates how the question of democracy in the unions will be handled.

Having successfully engineered the exclusion of the rank and file, the convention can get down to the big problem which the New Deal orders it to solve: unity of the labor movement. Roosevelt has brought tremendous

pressure to bear on both the A.F. of L. and the CIO for settlement of the inter-union struggle. His telegram to the A.F. of L. convention at Houston was a public declaration of the White House policy. Feeling this pressure the convention took desperate measures to achieve unity in its own way: by smashing the opponent, by undermining the CIO. It issued a broad sweeping charter to the Sailors Union of the Pacific with promise of support to destroy the National Maritime Union. It has offered inducements to the auto workers to break from the UAW and enter the A.F. of L., including support by the auto manufacturers who promise a closed shop. All in all the A.F. of L. stands to make successful inroads into the CIO ranks.

THE CIO ON THE DEFENSIVE

In self defense the CIO bureaucrats will be forced to retaliate with THEIR concept of unity. They have already taken steps to begin a jurisdictional war on the A.F. of L., and more will be made at their packed Pittsburgh convention. The contemplated raiding of the A.F. of L. building trades by the CIO is no longer a secret. In the ILGWU, the Stalinists have done their damndest to swing it decisively away from the AFL but have failed. Dubinsky has turned against the CIO in favor of the A.F. of L. thus exposing the hypocrisy of his demagogic appeals for unity between the federations.

In this union war the advantages lie with the A.F. of L. The CIO is on the defensive. For example, Lewis has already taken organizational measures to protect himself in case Martin splits away from the UAW and into the A.F. of L. The CIO bureaucrats in serving the needs of the government will fight to a finish against the A.F. of L. administration to become THE "unified" federation of labor. The capitalists want to avoid the danger of paralysis of production in the basic industries in the event of war. A divided labor movement will endanger the smooth functioning of the war machine through jurisdictional disputes at embarrassing moments. Roosevelt demands unity; how is secondary. He can do business with either federation. He pressed Dan Tobin, head of the teamsters union and Labor Chairman of the Democratic Party, to issue a plea for unity at the A.F. of L. Convention. At the CIO convention the properly groomed individuals will do likewise. If this unity means the smashing of the CIO by the A.F. of L. or of the A.F. of L. by the CIO, it is all the same to the capitalist class.

Certain Trotskyists are playing around with a third possibility, that of launching a new federation of labor based on the SUP, UAW, the printers, the ILGWU, and the Teamsters. Would such a conglomeration be more than the old A.F. of L. with a new overcoat? Of course not!

As it is constituted the convention can offer nothing to the American workers. With the Stalinist delegates the most articulate the convention will pass patriotic resolutions on war, the New Deal, and A.F. of L. unity which will be in complete accord with the war plans of the Roosevelt administration. Only the unity of the A.F. of L. and CIO from below on a basis of determined struggle against the capitalist class and its labor flunkeys; for membership control of the union and direct representation at federation conventions - can result in any gains to the American workers on the economic field and prepare for the coming struggle against war.

November 11, 1938.

RAIL STRIKE THREAT BRINGS WORKERS VICTORY

EMERGENCY BOARD OPPOSES PAY CUT, DEFENDS PROFIT SYSTEM

The Emergency Board, the fact-finding commission established by the Railway Labor Act, appointed by Roosevelt on October 2, "found" against the pay cut of 15% instituted by the railroads to take effect December 1st. The Board found that the industry was in a pretty sick state but that the pay cut would be no solution. A more radical solution was in order, the Board said, in effect. On November 4 the railroads decided that they would not try to put the cut through against the findings of the Board and are negotiating with Roosevelt for some kind of Federal aid.

In making these findings the Board did not say anything new. The facts to which it pointed, that rail wages are not higher than the national level and that unemployment is widespread, have been known to everybody who has been reading the papers or has any connection with this vital industry. Nor is there anything new in its remarks about the permanent loss of passenger and freight traffic which the roads have sustained as a result of competition from buses, long distance trucking, air lines, pipe lines and improved water transportation.

These were not the real factors which persuaded the Board to make findings favorable to the contentions of the workers. The determining factor was not even mentioned by the Board as a factor. Yet it hung over the hearings like a threatening cloud. That was the decision of the Brotherhoods, the close-to-one-million votes cast by the railroad workers, to strike if the cut was put through.

FEAR GENERAL STRIKE

The Board knew that the workers meant business even if their leaders did not as the recent rail strikes in Louisiana, Chicago, and on the Hudson Tubes in New York and New Jersey showed. No less potent was the decision of the Houston Convention of the American Federation of Labor to support the strike should it take place. Nor was it too much to foresee that in that event the C.I.O. would also throw its support to the rail strikers. And the country's masters would confront the possibility of a nation wide general strike. No wonder the rail corporations did not put up such a squawk against the findings of the Board.

Had there been no threat of strike the Board would undoubtedly have made other findings. The lesson is therefore clear and should be learned by every worker: the only reliable and the best weapon the workers have against the attacks of the capitalists on their standard of living is independent working class action and organization.

The threat of a national rail strike won a victory for the rail workers without their having to strike. Let us remember that.

But it is a victory which contains within itself the germs of a greater defeat if the workers on the railroads, if all the workers, for that

matter, subscribe to the broader standpoint which the Board enunciated in its report. In discussing the problem of the relation of increased productivity to wage scales the Board said: "There has been increased productivity of railway labor. This may have resulted from several causes, among them increased efficiency of the employees and modernization of plant and equipment. Insofar as the increased productivity is shown to have resulted from the increased efficiency of labor or to have caused heavier responsibilities or sacrifices to rest upon the employees this should be recognized in their compensation. Insofar, however, as the increased productivity is shown to have resulted from the efficiency of management or from investment of capital in modernized plant and equipment, that is not true, except as additional sacrifice or responsibility is incidentally imposed upon the workers. Rather, such gain should go to the carriers, insofar as necessary to yield a fair return, beyond which it should go to the public through better service and lower charges."

IN SIMPLE LANGUAGE

What the Board said is that if a worker works harder and produces more as a result of his increased skill he has a claim for a higher wage. But if he produces more in the same amount of time because the owner has introduced labor saving machinery he cannot claim the right to have his wage increased. Rather the increased return should go to the owner to give him a "fair profit". And if the owner figures he has enough then the "public" should get a break by lower charges or better service.

This is the cold-blooded philosophy by which the worker is considered as a sort of machine to be used in tending other machines for the purpose of producing profits for the owners of the machines. In spreading this philosophy on the record, the Board has made clear the standpoint of the entire capitalist class. It is on this principle that the capitalist minority run society and exploit the vast majority of workers.

The workers cannot accept this standpoint without making themselves accomplices of their own destruction. Our job is to fight it by word and deed, counterposing to it a philosophy and conception of society which corresponds to our needs and the interests of humanity as a whole.

If science makes possible greater productivity then this must result in benefit to those who produce the world's wealth. To realize this simple and obviously just principle it is necessary to destroy the profit system root and branch, and the capitalist class which lives by it.

The threat of strike action prevented the Board from applying at this time the principle which it enunciated. That put it in a contradiction. It had to yield to mass pressure. The capitalist class can be made to yield still more and to place itself in a still greater contradiction by the same type of action. And it can be removed altogether and the way cleared for a decent life and decent social system by developing that type of action into revolutionary action.

These are the lessons which the workers must learn.

(Next issue: Is Nationalization the Cure for the Sick Railroads?)

DALADIER BURIES POPULAR FRONT

FRENCH CAPITALISTS ALARMED BY THREATENING STRIKE STRUGGLES

On October 4th the Chamber of Deputies by a vote of 535-75 supported Radical Socialist Premier Daladier's position for the Munich Pact. On the same day it granted his request for "full powers to meet the economic dislocation resulting from the recent international crisis". Daladier asked for such plenary powers until December 31st, but he was given until November 15th. Significant is the fact that two governments of Socialist Leon Blum had fallen, once on June 22, 1937 and again on April 9 of this year, when he had asked for such decree powers from the Senate. Daladier's success shows the direction in which the French ruling class policy is moving.

The Senatorial elections of several weeks ago (October 23) constituted a further endorsement for Daladier's rightist policies and inclinations. The elections for one-third of the Senate seats left the relation of forces in that body fundamentally unchanged. The Left elements failed to gain in Southern France, their stronghold, where most of the election districts were - on the contrary they were the biggest losers. The biggest gains were registered by the right, by the candidates of Louis Marin's Conservative Republican-Democratic Union who won 27 seats, an addition of 9. The Radical Socialists lost 6 seats but retained a majority with 41 seats.*

The indirect system of Senatorial elections and the naturally conservative character of the Senate prevented these elections from reflecting the real sentiment of the French people. The balance of power now rests on the Right and the Center rather than on the Left. This became expressed at once when Paul Reynaud, Democratic Alliance gave up his post of Minister of Justice in favor of that all-important portfolio of Minister of Finance. *of the right center

PEOPLE'S FRONT COLLAPSES AFTER 21 MONTHS

The capitalist press took the opportunity to sound the death knell of the Popular Front. It rejoiced openly at the downfall of the French "red menace". Typical was an editorial appearing in the ultra-reactionary Detroit Free Press on October 31st which declared that "the Senatorial elections...gave clear indication that public opinion was swinging back from radicalism to political sanity."

Let us look back a moment. Since June 4, 1936 when the Popular Front came into power there were two governments led by Socialist Leon Blum and one led by Radical Socialist Camille Chautemps. The present Daladier government entered into power April 11 of this year. They were all supported by the Socialist and Communist Parties. But the program

* The Radical Socialist Party is neither radical nor socialist. It is a party of the well-to-do petty bourgeoisie.

of the Popular Front - in action - was it any different from the usual capitalist governmental program with a little liberal flourish added? Content, and not form, is decisive.

The Popular Front program was to "defend the Republic, give bread to the workers, and peace to humanity". These words have a hollow sound in France today! Even the extreme Right is for saving the Republic, since it is the capitalist Republic they are defending. The cost of living has gone up while the franc has dropped considerably, thus actually lowering the standard of living. As for "peace" through the League of Nations and collective "sanctions against the aggressors" - the Pact of Munich shattered that platform into a million splinters. Immediately after "peace in our time" had been secured at Munich, the French government increased the military budget on October 14th by 2,307,000,000 francs. "To defend democratic liberties"? Daladier rules by decree. "To disarm and disband the Fascist organizations"? They exist biding their time.** "To destroy the 200 families"? In all probability during the present financial crisis, their control over the Bank of France has increased, rather than diminished, their power.

From June, 1936 to the present the bourgeoisie ruled in France through the Popular Front which stemmed the upsurge of the workers, put down one strike after another, and paved the way for the present swing to the Right. The ruling class called in the Socialist and Communist Party leaderships because it needed the false faces of these so-called working class parties to put over its program of armament and strike-breaking. This was the tactic employed by the German ruling class which used the Social Democracy to prop it up from 1923 to 1933 when Hitler delivered it from the "red horde".

WHERE TO NOW, MONSIEUR DALADIER?

The main snag Daladier faces is financial. The national expenditures for next year will total 102 billion francs, or almost half the total income of 220 billion francs. Two things must be done to raise revenue: increase taxes and stimulate national production. 60 billion can be gained from taxation, the remainder must come from other sources. But from where? To tax securities further would lead to hoarding or foreign investment. Right now over 80 billion francs are expatriated. France is reported to have reached almost the limit of loans without interest authorized by the Bank of France (22.5 billion on September 22 with a ceiling of 30 billion). Appeals for aid to the United States up to November 2 had fallen on deaf ears, since the U.S. does not want to annul the tripartite monetary accord made September, 1936 under Blum between England, France, and the United States.

** Indeed on November 5th the Associated Press reports that the Communist Party headquarters in Paris were attacked. Police identified the attackers as members of Fascist Doriot's French People's Party. Simultaneously there were Nationalist demonstrations for the dissolution of the Communist Party and for the formation of a "public safety" government. Socialist Le Populaire warned of a possible Nationalist coup on November 11th to establish a virtual dictatorship in France. On November 7th the A.P. relates that the socialist national council passed a resolution asserting the "forces of fascist reaction again threaten republican institutions."

This problem like all the others will be "solved" by Daladier by attempts to lower the standard of living of the working class. This effort will produce strike struggles. The government employees, for example, have on more than one occasion threatened to strike for increases in pay to meet the devastating rise in the cost of living, estimated at 50%.

FRENCH ORGANIZED LABOR IN FIGHTING MOOD

Daladier hopes to increase production and revive foreign commerce by increasing the work week from 40 to 45 hours with reduced rates for overtime. This will bring resistance from great sections of the French working class. The airplane and metal factory workers have especially provoked the Daladier government by quitting early and refusing to work extra. The government has taken a showdown attitude and even threatens dismissal without pay for future dissenters. Daladier got some partial support here when aviation factory delegates to the National Conference of Workers and Technicians on October 23 voted to accept the 45 hour week, warning Daladier, however, against taking any measures against workers refusing to work more than 40 hours.

Similarly the General Confederation of Labor, C.G.T., the largest trade union (5 million members) in France assailed that part of Daladier's speech at the Radical Socialist Convention dealing with the extension of the 40 hour week. "The Confederation will know how to take measures for its defense", the Executive Committee declared. In spite of the C.G.T. bureaucracy which has assisted the Blum-Chautemps-Daladier governments put down strike after strike, the workers will strike and compel their leaders to go along - at least a certain way.

Daladier will seek to smash them with the army, the colonial troops, or by calling the strikers to the colors. The workers will again move Left, over and above the dictates of their "labor" leaders.

Daladier's foreign policy reflects the "defeat of Munich". Indications are at hand that his government will seek conciliation and a better understanding with Fascist Germany and Italy. In his speech at the 35th Congress of the Radical Socialist Party in Marseilles, October 26-30, Senator M. Berthod stated: "We cannot be charged with the surrender and abdication of France, if we determine that, being a Western African maritime and colonial nation, it is more important to us to develop a magnificent empire than to play the role of Europe's gendarme or banker..." Ambassador Francois Poncet was made Ambassador to Rome on October 22, and the conquest of Ethiopia by Italy was recognized. The Radical Socialist Congress passed a resolution hoping that "out of the Munich agreement might come wider negotiations that without prejudice to existing friendships will make for the lasting improvement of France's relation with Germany and Italy." On the other end, Hitler has proposed to France a "gentleman's agreement" to refrain from war for 10 to 25 years. There is a strong possibility of Daladier's accepting it.

The pact with the Soviet Union is dead and buried, although formal abrogation has yet to come. The Soviet Union Foreign Office regards France as no longer dependable, meaning that it is no longer the "gendarme" of Europe, and is looking to Germany for an understanding.

At the Radical Socialist Congress Eduoard Herriot bid for the leadership of the party by coming out in defense of the Soviet Pact for practical and commercial reasons, but he was defeated.

A final link in the French foreign policy under Daladier's new plans is with regards to Spain. Here the Radical Socialist-Center-Right government has agreed in effect to grant Franco belligerent rights if the 10,000 Italian troops are "withdrawn" from Spain. Daladier figures - and correctly too - that such a move will weaken the position of the French working class by speeding Franco's victory.

France is going Right. Within a week, that is on November 15th, the dictatorial decree powers given Daladier will come to an end. Daladier will be forced to ask Parliament for an extension. Within this week he cannot possibly begin to solve the French financial crisis. Sharper attacks on the workers will follow. Big struggles are ahead. The French workers will have the opportunity to demonstrate to the international proletariat whether they have learned the lessons of the Popular Front.

In the coming struggles the revolutionists will find favorable opportunities for building a Marxist party.

November 7, 1938.

"WE'VE BEEN DECEIVED!"

PARIS, Nov. 5 (AP).- A statement issued by the Communist Party accused the Premier of "complicity with the sworn enemies of democracy."

WORDS, WORDS, WORDS = BY LEON TROTSKY & CO.

WINDJAMMERS AGAIN PROCLAIM FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

Polonius: ...What do you read, my lord?
Hamlet: Words, words, words.

"The Fourth International has been founded", says the special twelve page issue of the Socialist Appeal of October 22. The Appeal is the "Official Weekly Organ of the Socialist Workers Party", American Trotskyist organization.

This is news! It seems that there was a founding Congress in Switzerland which opened on September 3. There were thirty delegates from eleven countries. The number would have been larger but political and economic conditions prevented a number of organizations from sending delegates. If memory serves us this is the second time the Trotskyists founded the Fourth International. The first time was in France two years ago, several weeks after the Spanish Civil War broke out. Apparently it died aborning and is now being resurrected.

The labor movement as a whole, internationally, knew nothing about the Congress before it was held and while it was in session. "... the Conference found itself compelled...to meet under...precautionary and illegal conditions". They could not even sing the International. Only now that it is over does the world's oppressed and toiling masses learn of the self-appointment of the leadership of the coming world revolution. The workers can take it or leave it. It is a safe prediction to say they will ignore it.

This Trotskyist outfit claims that it is a world party of revolution, the inheritor, successor, and continuator of the revolutionary program and traditions of the good days of the Third International when Lenin was its leader. Any organization of revolutionists which aspires to give leadership to the revolt of the oppressed against their masters will have to make that claim. We are for such an organization. We live and work to build it. Without it mankind is doomed to barbarism.

Can the Trotskyists prove their claim? The Appeal devotes thousands of words to the subject. But it does not prove the Trotskyist claims and cannot prove it. Words alone cannot prove it. And that is all the Trotskyists have to offer.

ACTION, ACTION, ACTION KEYSTONE OF LENIN'S INTERNATIONAL

Lenin's Third International was a world party. It embraced millions of workers. It organized them to fight the capitalist system. It gave leadership in action. It was a tremendous, vital, living, day-to-day factor in the class struggle. It organized great movements for economic and political aims, for social justice. It led revolts and organized insurrections. It conducted civil war. It rested on state power in the Soviet Union and on giant organizations of workers in the capitalist countries. It gave millions of workers and peasants hope of a better life for the first time. It was a positive world force standing for civil war against capitalism and the enlightenment of the world's oppressed. That is what its successor will have to do to lead the way to a new life, to a decent order of society.

How does the Trotskyist outfit measure up? According to the proclamations of the Appeal it embraces organizations in thirty seven countries. That sounds imposing. But when you take a little closer look and put some important questions to the list you begin to see that the tinsel hides a pretty shoddy framework.

We don't know exactly how many workers are included in these thirty seven organizations. But several thousand would be a figure close enough to establish the fact that they do not contain large numbers of revolutionists.

But even more important than numbers is the relation of these workers to the masses. Do they lead the daily struggles of the workers in these countries? Do they have a wide influence beyond their numbers in the trade unions? Do they organize and lead/wing movements in the unions against the trade union bureaucrats? Do they organize and lead the revolts of the oppressed against the oppressors in the backward countries and in the colonial world? Are they mobilizing the Spanish

workers against Franco and against the Loyalist dictatorship? Do they give leadership to the Chinese millions against the Japanese invasion and the treacheries of Chiang Kai Shek? Do they unite the Arab and Jewish masses in Palestine against British imperialism and the Arab landowners. Do they give leadership in the struggle against the Zionist agents of the British oppressors? Did they organize resistance to the rape of Czechoslovakia? Do they, did they...?

The answer to all these questions is a loud NO. The simple truth which no amount of words can obscure is that the Trotskyists are no factor in the life of the working class. They cut no ice in the class struggle. They do not influence events. Look at Spain! What is the role of the Trotskyists in the civil war? They are a complete cipher. Czechoslovakia? Their Congress was in session while the Czech crisis raged. Did they contrive in any way at all to influence the workers in that country or in any country to a revolutionary line of action to stay the hand of Hitler and of Chamberlain, Mussolini, and Daladier? Not a bit. They might have been on Mars. In Palestine they have an organization, they say. But it is too weak to get out even an illegal press. And in China they are hopelessly lost among the teeming millions. In Japan they are non-existent.

In the United States it is the same story. They count for nothing in the political life of the country. The working class is totally unaware of their existence. When they do say something it is to support the CIO as progressive, or Homer Martin's administration as the most progressive and democratic in the CIO.* Or to praise Dan Tobin. Or to decide on building a labor party. Or to play a phonograph record of Trotsky's speech. And all the while they spout words, words, words, revolutionary-sounding words, theoretical words, programs, theses, manifestos, proclamations, always and only words, nothing but words.

WANTED - A MASS MOVEMENT

Politics, like nature, said Trotsky a long time ago, abhors a vacuum. Nothing proves it better than the Trotskyists. In place of actual leadership in the class struggle they talk about it. We have no doubt that the rank and file, or, at least, a good number of them, really want to get into the class struggle. They read the beautiful rhetoric which flows from Trotsky's pen in an endless stream. They hear him say that "the leadership falls naturally to the sections of the Fourth International". But they see that the masses somehow fail to observe the pontifical pronouncements of the great leader.

The Trotskyists never have led great movements of the masses and they never will. For one very good reason. Great masses move against the capitalist system and its injustices. The Trotskyists are concerned with something else. Ever since 1927-8 when Stalin gave the Trotsky opposition in the Russian Communist Party the axe the Trotskyists live for only one thing like the French capitalists after their defeat by Germany in the war of 1871. They want to get revenge, to smash Stalinism. They are anti-Stalinists, first, last, and all the time. Fighting Stalinism is their main and only job. They are specialists at

* See: "Trotskyites for Sale Cheap", REVOLT, No.6, p.14.

showing up Stalinism. But they are worse than amateurs at building a revolutionary movement to fight the capitalist system. Their organization is an obstacle in the road.

The "founding" Congress was, in reality, an international gathering of the Trotskyist tendency. It did not and could not establish a new revolutionary party to succeed Lenin's party. It established an anti-Stalinist propaganda organization. The real work of building the Fourth Communist International still lies before us.

When it is built the masses will know about it because they will make it possible by their revolt against the capitalist system. By organizing the day-to-day struggles for partial demands and developing them into a broad revolutionary struggle we can lay the foundations for the creation of a real, Communist party whose pronouncements will be directives for revolutionary action for millions.

ARABS REVOLT

LANDOWNERS GIVE REVOLT ANTI-JEWISH DIRECTION

The demands laid down by the Mufti of Jerusalem which the British imperialists must meet as the price for peace and which were presented to the British Government early in October by the Iraq Foreign Minister, make several things clear.

First, all six demands, described by the Mufti as minimum, aim to insure an independent Arab state in Palestine, by scrapping the British mandate and institute a policy which would place the Jews in the same position in Jerusalem they occupy in various European countries.

The demand for freedom from foreign oppression is an age old one with the Arabs. Under this slogan the British imperialists won the sympathies of the Arabs in the last World War against the Turks who had ground them under heel for hundreds of years. That this demand is now made against British imperialism and is reinforced with armed resistance to the murderous efforts of the troops which Britain is pouring into Palestine shows very clearly that the revolt is a struggle for the right of self-determination. It is a just demand which deserves the support of the workers of the entire world.

The second thing which the Mufti's demands make clear is that the leaders and spokesmen of the revolt are resolved to maintain the policy of racial antagonism to the Jews and to secure for themselves advantages in the new state which they hope to establish whereby they can oppress the Jews as cruelly as Hitler. Why should people who themselves struggle against oppression demand the right to oppress others? The truth is this demand arises out of the need of the Arab landowners to deflect the Arab revolt from a straight struggle for a new social order and for complete social justice.

A new social order would mean, not only an end to British oppression of Arabs, but something else - an end to the economic system which permits Arab landowners and money lenders to live in luxury at the expense of the overwhelming mass of the teeming Arab population which lives in poverty, dirt, illiteracy, and hopeless misery. Already there are reports in the press that among the Arabs slain by Arab terrorists are Arab landowners. If the prostitute, capitalist press did not conceal the truth we would hear much more about this.

From their side the leaders of the Jews, the Zionists, help along the program of racial antagonism and hatred. Hypocritically proclaiming their desire to live in peace with the Arabs, they advocate and practice policies which rest on: 1-the recognition of racial differences as the basis for political policies; 2-the capitalist order of society; 3-British bayonets to enforce the British mandate, that is, British oppression of the Arabs. Like the Arab landowners the Zionist leaders and their policy are the enemies of the oppressed masses of Jews and Arabs.

The American imperialists have not been slow to take advantage of the situation. Professing a keen sympathy for the plight of the Palestine Jews, American diplomatic pressure has been brought to bear on England against sacrificing the Jews. In this way Uncle Sam does his bit to add to the troubles of the crumbling British Empire.

U.S. AND FASCIST NATIONS HARASS BRITISH EMPIRE

The best that England could hope to gain is a truce. To lose territory would be a staggering blow to the British Empire. On the other hand, to put down the Arab revolt would require such a concentration of armed forces that it would arouse the entire Near East and have the greatest repercussions throughout the colonial world. And it would involve Britain so heavily in that area that Japan in the Far East and Germany and Italy in Europe would have the greater latitude to continue hacking away at the British Empire to their own aggrandizement. Nor would such a situation be to the disadvantage of the United States.

British strategy must strive to save what it can. It will try to buy a breathing space by yielding something to the stronger of the contending forces. Concessions to the Arabs are indicated at the expense of the Jews. But Britain will balk at granting the vital Arab demands. In fact it cannot do so. Hence whatever the present "solution" the struggle will be renewed at a later date.

If their strategy is keen and well advised the Arabs will accept the concessions Britain is forced to make, and then, like Hitler, press on for still other demands. Unfortunately, this means that the outlook for the Jews is dark. But there is no solution for the Jewish problem under capitalism, just as there is no solution for the problem of the right of small nations and oppressed nationalities as a whole under capitalism.

In Palestine, Poland, Rumania, India, all over the world, for Jew and Arab alike there is only one solution to the problem of nationalities: proletarian revolution against imperialism, Zionism and Arab landlordism.

SPANISH GPU BLOCK NEGRETE RELEASE

DEFENSE COMMITTEE PUSHES FIGHT FOR LIFE OF AMERICAN REVOLUTIONIST

NEW YORK CITY, November 6.- The Russell Negrete Blackwell Committee has begun its fight to save the life and liberty of Blackwell who was kidnapped by the secret police in Valencia on August 1 from a British boat on which he had ^{been} embarked for Marseilles by the American Vice-Consul. It sent Edna Blackwell, his wife, and Liston Oak to Washington to interview State Department officials in an effort to speed up his release and safe passage home.

They learned that the American Charge d'Affaires at Barcelona had cabled the State Department on November 3 to the effect that Alvarez del Vayo, Minister of State of the Spanish Loyalist government, and Gonzalez Pena, Minister of Justice, had stated to him that they favored Blackwell's release. The reason they gave for his being in jail was "legal difficulties that had to be overcome". If this means anything it is that these gentlemen are willing to let Blackwell go but that some force is holding on to him. That force is the G.P.U.

This is the only conclusion possible when one considers the charges made against Blackwell. The State Department reported some time ago that the Chief of the secret police in Valencia told the American Vice-Consul there that Blackwell was regarded as a "dangerous revolutionary". The Communist Party press in this country and abroad charge him with being Franco espionage agent and terrorist "C.29".

POUM CONVICTIONS TO BE USED AGAINST BLACKWELL

In the recent trial of the leaders of the P.O.U.M. Andrade who got fifteen years was accused of being in relation with such known "Fascist agents" of the Gestapo and the OVRA (Mussolini's spy service) as James Maxton, member of the British parliament, Fenner Brockway and McNair, all in the leadership of the Independent Labor Party of England, and Blackwell. In trying Andrade, Blackwell, who seems to be accused of the same "crimes", was assumed to be guilty without trial. Should he be brought to trial Andrade's conviction would be used against him. This is justice in Loyalist Spain!

In a letter dated September 19, which arrived October 31, Secretary Inigo of the CNT in Spain, informed Maximilliano Olay, representative of the CNT in the United States, that an investigation conducted by them revealed that Blackwell was being held by the Military Investigation Service, "accused of being a Trotskyist sent to Spain to promote the counter-revolution in combination with the United States authorities to whose espionage service he belonged with the number 29. It seems he has also been a secretary of Trotsky and has written various books of Trotskyite tendencies which have been translated in various languages". The CNT said it was suspending its efforts to secure his release pending word that the charges were false.

The charges are false. Blackwell has not written any books, whatever kind of crime that may be. He is not a Trotskyist, having broken with Trotsky when we all did, in 1934-5, when Trotsky got a brainstorm and dissolved the organizations of his followers into the socialist parties of Europe and this country.

He never met Trotsky. His departure for Spain in October, 1936, was Blackwell's first trip to Europe. At that time Trotsky was interned in Norway. In December Trotsky left on a tanker direct for Mexico where he has been ever since.

While we have no political love for Trotsky we are not aware that it is a penal offense in Spain to have been his secretary in some other country. The charge reveals its political character; it is Stalinist through and through. The charge of espionage for the U.S. government is the kind of absurd charge against opponents that makes the Stalinists ridiculous in the eyes of intelligent workers.

SPY CHARGES REPUDIATED

Olay promptly cabled the CNT: "Blackwell not a spy, well known in revolutionary circles, person of integrity." Carlo Tresca, well known Italian anarchist, editor of *Il Martello*, also cabled the CNT, stating "Blackwell not a counter-revolutionary, not a spy, framed by Stalinists".

From all this it is clear now that Blackwell is caught in the net of a Stalinist frame-up attempt; at this moment, as a result of the pressure applied by the American State Department to the Loyalist Government, Blackwell is the prize in a tug of war between the republican and Stalinist elements in the Loyalist Government. The State Department has reasons of its own for acting in this way in behalf of an American revolutionist.

Our job is to increase the pressure on the Loyalist Government and expose the murderous Stalinist counter-revolutionists. The publicity which the case got in the capitalist press as a result of Edna Blackwell's visit to the State Department will help, because it puts the Loyalist Government in a bad light as the persecutor of an anti-Fascist worker. The republican elements will pull harder to overcome the resistance of the Stalinists. More publicity will impel them to more decisive action. Reports from Spain indicate that the Stalinists are losing ground because of the falling off of Soviet supplies and arms.

The Defense Committee is going to take the case into the trade unions to mobilize support for its fight. We said in the last issue of *REVOLT* that the weight of probability indicated Blackwell would be saved. With united, determined efforts it is still possible to bring him home before the end of the year.

Help us win this fight! Send all contributions to the Russell Negrete Blackwell Defense Committee, Room 1609, 100 5th Avenue, N.Y.C.

STOP FERRERO DEPORTATION TO FASCIST ITALY!

APPEAL ISSUED BY DEFENSE COMMITTEE

NEW YORK CITY, Oct. 29.- Vincent Ferrero sub-let office space to the editor of "MAN", an anarchist journal circulating through the U.S. Mail yet hounded by the U.S. Government. This was deemed a crime by the rabid red-baiters who raided and ransacked his home in the dead of the night and seized his personal papers without a search warrant. "A customary procedure", said the inspector.

He was arrested on the night of April 11, 1934. Based on mere accident of birth he was classified as an "alien". He has not been charged with a crime, for he committed no overt act. Nevertheless, after a sequence of star chamber hearings he was ordered deported to fascist Italy. The case was appealed through the courts, including the Supreme Court which refused to examine the case. A bill was introduced in his behalf, had two hearings, and Ferrero himself testified before the Congressional Committee. However, Congress adjourned before final action was taken on the bill.

A 60-day stay was granted on October 7, 1938 a few hours prior to his leaving for Ellis Island to sail the following day on the SS Roma for Italy. The stay order took the form of voluntary departure to any country willing to give him a visa. The lawyer was forced to sign a statement saying he would ask for no more stays.

Ferrero came 33 years ago to the new world presumably established as an asylum for all the oppressed of the old world. Now he is told "to go elsewhere". In Italy he is doomed. If he can get refuge in some other country all would be strange: habits, customs, language, besides humiliating conditions in connection with his maintenance.

If we accept this arbitrary ruling today, intended to deny all democratic rights to non-citizens, tomorrow we will face more drastic ones that will be applied alike to citizen and non-citizen, native or immigrant.

Many liberals, radicals, and labor organizations have denounced this outrage by wire and letter to Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor, Washington, D.C.

Demand the cancellation of deportation proceedings against Vincent Ferrero.

Send contributions to: Ferrero Defense Committee, Room 1500, 100 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y.

OH! YEAH?

"In a democracy the road to the highest place runs alongside the cradle, and, as in our country, a President may be chosen from a farm or a tailor shop, and a commander from a tanyard." -W.J. Cameron, Ford Radio Hour.

MICHIGAN POLITICIANS VIE FOR LABOR VOTE

NEITHER MURPHY NOR FITZGERALD CAN BENEFIT THE WORKERS

"...Democracy like no other system puts the human personality on a pedestal...the man on the assembly line...on the board of directors...the belle of Palm Beach...the waitress on the corner cafe...the children of the slums...and the sons of Wall Street. Democracy recognizes them all alike. Why shouldn't we be proud of a system like that?

"...It cannot be true that we are committed forever to the system of men working a few months, then going back on relief.

"...What is the answer? We haven't found it yet. But we are going to find it." (our emphasis)
Governor Murphy, Nov. 4th.

DETROIT, Nov. 7.- The working-men and working-women of Michigan are preparing to vote soon, primarily for the man who will sit in Lansing in the executive chair for the next two years.

The Michigan gubernatorial election has attracted national attention. It competes with the Dewey-Lehman contest in New York State. President Roosevelt has taken special pains to endorse the re-election of Governor Murphy against Frank Fitzgerald, reactionary Republican candidate, to defend him against the Dies Committee's accusations, to endorse his handling of the great auto strikes of 1937. Murphy's victory or defeat will be an important barometer of the popularity of the New Deal among the basic proletariat. The entire C.I.O. and A.F.L. membership in the state has been mobilized for Murphy's victory. The U.A.W. has spent over \$50,000 on Murphy's behalf. The Stalinists proclaim to the skies the need for supporting Murphy. The Lovestonites have become peddlers of literary dope for this Roosevelt "darling".

The C.I.O. and A.F.L. bureaucrats work for the election of Murphy because through him and his "famed industrial arbitration and peace" they hope to prevent "violence and bloodshed" (militant strike action by the rank and file). President Martin of the U.A.W. wants it because he is seeking to stabilize the auto industry (no strike struggles). Murphy has shown he can bring Knudsen, Sloan, Chrysler, and the others together with the UAW heads to discuss such a plan. The Democratic section of the American Legion wants Murphy because he put an end to the great organizational drive of the C.I.O. last year, when it seemed possible to organize the entire industry and to complete the march on the Ford Rouge plant. The Stalinists want him because of their national policy of supporting the New Deal against the needs of the workers.*As for the

* On September 30, Hathaway, editor of the Daily Worker, spoke here

Lovestonites, they along with the Stalinists hope to form a Labor Party out of Murphy's success. The Trotskyites pussy-footed the Labor Party question by not issuing any propoganda on the election to the workers here at all.

The UAW officials boast that they are the sole financial support of Murphy to convince the workers that if he is defeated, the workers will be mercilessly crushed without opportunity to fight back. W.P.A. workers are told that they had better prepare "to leave town on the next freight" if Fitzgerald wins. Auto workers not called back to work are told this is "a political move to defeat Murphy". The calling out of the troops by Governor Davey of Ohio in the recent strike of the Lorillard Tobacco Company at Middlecton gave the labor fakers the opportunity to print this as "what would happen in Michigan if Murphy loses". The ballot box is pictured as the decisive factor. Elect your friend, then peace and plenty will be had for all.

MURPHY AND FITZGERALD BOTH "FRIENDS OF LABOR"

Both Murphy and Fitzgerald are for peace between labor and capital, for the preservation of the present capitalist system. As Marx stated, they will do everything for the worker except get off his back. Both are for "restoration of business prosperity", "increasing national purchasing power", and "prevention of industrial conflict". The truth is that the capitalist class as a whole is arming both for an imperialist war and for a war against the working class. It is far easier for them to do so under the cloak of a New Deal "pro-labor" administration than under a conservative one because workers have more confidence in the first.

In a certain sense such men as Murphy are more of a danger to the working class than Fitzgerald. With honeyed words on "behalf of labor", Murphy will be able to put over his program of compulsory arbitration, banning of "outlaw" strikes and mass picketing. He advocated this policy openly last year in an interview in Liberty magazine. Under the "New Dealism" of Murphy Roosevelt will be able to put over the coming WPA layoffs. (The United Automobile Worker of October 29, page 4, speaks of a 500,000 layoff in January unless additional appropriations are made. Hundreds of thousands of auto workers will be laid off in the coming period and thrown on relief (\$12 a week average for families); or receive unemployment compensation (average \$12 for ten weeks), or perhaps be fortunate enough to join the aristocracy of the unemployed, the WPA (\$13.85 a week).

Neither Murphy nor Fitzgerald nor any other capitalist politician--whether by "industrial arbitration" or by the national guard--can solve the questions of unemployment, disemployment, wage-cutting, war mobilizations, short seasons, starvation relief and WPA. Only that organization which works for the overthrow of this whole damnable system

and gave the party's official endorsement of Murphy. Then the Republicans charged that "Murphy is a tool of the Reds". November 2 at the Michigan election rally of the Stalinists, William Z. Foster did not mention Murphy by name, but did attack Fitzgerald and called for his defeat, so as not to embarrass Murphy. At the same time Murphy repudiated the "Communists" (but not their votes).

and truly represents the interests of the workers can do so.

Regardless of the results of the elections great strikes are ahead for Michigan workers. If Fitzgerald wins, the workers will strike in retaliation and angry opposition. A victory for Murphy would bring out new struggles among the auto and WPA workers. Our leaders tell us that we can now get the 32 hour week under Murphy? That we can fight speed-up successfully? That we can increase our wages and general standard of living? Let us strike for it. That WPA workers can get \$90 a month under Murphy's administration? Well, then, what are we waiting for? That under Murphy we can organize without restriction? Let's take Ford's Rouge plant. Murphy will protect us.

The elections at best cannot serve the interests of the workers except as a forum for propaganda. It is on the economic field that the immediate struggles will be fought out, that the Michigan worker will learn who does and who does not prostitute himself to the capitalist system. They will learn the truth about the system. They will come to look to the revolutionary, permanent solution of their problems.

FLASH!

FITZGERALD'S VICTORY PUTS WORKERS ON EDGE

FLASH!

DETROIT, Nov. 9.- Complete elections returns reveal that Fitzgerald has defeated Murphy by some 100,000 votes, and that the Republicans have regained control of both houses of the state legislature. This Republican sweep in Michigan was merely part of the general trend throughout the nation against the New Deal which brought this old line party 14 governorships, 81 seats in the House, and 8 in the Senate.

The defeat of Murphy was a distinct surprise, and above all a tremendous setback to the New Deal. In part it can be explained by the vote of the small businessmen and up-state farmers. But many workers voted for Fitzgerald. It was their reversion against the sterile demagogy of the New Deal. Six years of the latter had failed to bring any permanent and fundamental improvement to the working man, to reduce the army of the unemployed. The workers forgot Hoover; they fell for the Republican demagogy instead of the Democratic.

The victory of Fitzgerald has had a singular effect on the auto workers in this area. All the enthusiasm they had drummed in them by their misleaders on behalf of Murphy has turned into extreme vindictiveness against Fitzgerald. The temperament of the auto workers is militant and aggressive. They dare Fitzgerald to call out the National Guard when he takes office in January. The trade union bureaucrats, noting the drift of the wind, lift their voices and become fly-by-night "militants".

The workers have a chip on their shoulders. Fitzgerald and his vicious anti-labor policies, instead of eliminating strikes, as he boasts of doing, will bring them on, and they will be sit-downs too. Of course, the strikes will be basically against wage cuts and speed up, but the sentiment of the workers described above is also an important force. And then there are the WPA layoffs to be fought.

Our analysis remains correct. Fitzgerald's victory has not altered the situation. The trade union workers will struggle regardless. All they have lacking is the proper leadership.

LABOR PARTY?

ONLY A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY SERVES WORKERS' INTERESTS

(In view of the widespread propoganda for a labor party promulgated by the opportunist sections of the labor movement we consider it timely to reprint here a statement circulated among the members of the Socialist Workers Party (Trotskyists) in an attempt to expose and defeat the labor party ambitions of its leadership. -- Editorial Note)

The decay of world capitalism brings with it an unbearable crisis within the United States. Millions of employed and unemployed workers and farmers are groping for a solution. The process of the radicalization of the workers is taking on an ever-increasing tempo. What they have not yet learned and what it is our duty to teach is that the ONLY solution is the setting up of a workers' state, achievable only through armed insurrection and revolution. This revolution cannot succeed except under the leadership of a revolutionary party that tells this truth to the working class, and constantly exposes and combats every party that does not advance the theory and practice of the proletarian revolution.

Every reformist and centrist party holds back workers from action that would be fundamentally independent - that is, independent of the capitalist class: of its law, its order, its peace, its ideology, its labor fakers. Every Labor, Farmer-Labor, or similar party, is a reformist party, representing the interests of the capitalist class. They seek to perpetuate capitalist society by reforming the evils of the system. In every crisis the working class faces, all reformist and centrist parties will aid the capitalist class in suppression, persecution, and annihilation of the revolutionists.

"LABOR PARTY A DEVICE FOR PRESERVING CAPITALISM"- BURNHAM

The only party that is a labor party in the sense that it advances the historic interests of the working class is the revolutionary party. Though a party be composed 100% of trade unionists, declare itself a "labor" or "communist" party, and support only its own candidates in election, yet if it is not a REVOLUTIONARY party, then it is not at all a labor party, but a CAPITALIST party, for it does not and cannot serve labor in the class war, and inevitably must betray it.

To extend this argument, as well as to illustrate the previous position of comrades now so flagrantly supporting "Labor" parties, let us start by reviewing some of comrade Burnham's statements in the "Socialist Appeal" of September 1936. Attacking Gus Tyler, Burnham ridiculed "the fantastic picture of the ideal Labor party, free from class collaboration and People's Frontism, immune from bribery with a few reforms, and imbued with the basic philosophy of the class struggle. No such labor party ever did, does, or could exist. Tyler is dreaming of the leopard changing its spots."

Comrade Burnham said "that a labor party - any labor party - is a reformist party.... This - reformism - is the basic, determining, decisive characteristic of a Labor party...It, like all reformist parties - Labor or not - acts in all crucial situations as an agent of the bourgeoisie within the working class....In war-time, reformist parties support imperialism. In revolutionary situations, reformist parties do not merely fail to aid but actively suppress the revolution."

Burnham continued:"Now, in the decline of capitalism, reforms of any dimensions, immediate demands, can be won if at all only as the by-products of REVOLUTIONARY struggle, (to use Lenin's phrase) (our emphasis), only by the sharpest collision against the forces of the class enemy. The incontrovertible facts of capitalist decay remove the last remaining prop in the theoretic underpinnings of reformism.

"To sum up: A Labor party, then, like any other reformist party, is not merely non-revolutionary, but anti-revolutionary. It is a device for preserving capitalism, not a means for its overthrow. It is a mighty obstacle in the path of the revolutionary movement, not a boost forward." (our emphasis).

Burnham declared:"that an American Labor Party's purpose, both in the minds of its leaders and in its objective social effects, cannot be anything else than to try to stave off the development of revolutionary class consciousness."

Burnham pointed out that "There is only one program toward which revolutionary socialists have any allegiance whatever: the program of revolutionary socialism. A program three-quarter revolutionary is not at all necessarily better than one which is one-half revolutionary: the former may well be more difficult to expose, may look much more like the real thing, and therefore constitute a greater obstacle to revolutionary development."

"ALL SHORTCUTS ARE MERE ILLUSION"

"If revolutionists begin by hiding the role of the Labor party, by fostering illusions with respect to it, they will themselves share in the inevitable betrayal which every reformist party carries out in every crisis: and the masses will understand this and draw the conclusion. Thus, far from overcoming isolation, isolation at the crucial time will only be guaranteed."

"The whole argument from isolation - the motivating force of almost all left-wing pro-Labor party sentiment - is a perversion. Revolutionists can avoid isolation only through their real strength, the depth of the influence of their ideas, their actual penetration of the mass organizations. There is no magic formula for gaining this strength and influence and penetration. (our emphasis). They can result only from the uncompromising clarity of ideas and principles, and the militant direct participation in the class struggle. To the extent that they have been gained, no device of any bureaucrat can bring about isolation; to the extent that they are lacking, all shortcuts are mere illusions." (our emphasis).

"OUR LINE'S BEEN CHANGED AGAIN"

Apparently those statements of Burnham had no meaning except as a factional weapon against Tyler. Today, with all the callousness of Stalinism, "Our line's been changed again."

In the past it was possible for reformist parties to grow because they were able to wring concessions from the capitalist class. Even the blind realize that the ability of capitalism to offer concessions to the working class is rapidly declining. Consequently, the economic basis for reformism is fast disappearing. The fall in the rate of profit, the constriction of world markets, the general crisis of capitalism, the huge armament expenditures - all these factors contribute to the decrease in the ability of the capitalists to return to the workers a larger part of the product of their labor.

These are the objective factors responsible for the maturing revolutionary crisis in the United States. Necessarily it follows that the job of the revolutionists is to build a revolutionary party, because only SUCH a party can give leadership to the working class in the coming struggle for power. The task of the revolutionists is not to build a Labor party, but to smash it. For this purpose it is necessary for the revolutionary organization to do fraction work within the Labor Party and to engage in united front activity with it. But NEVER, under any circumstances, may the revolutionary organization liquidate into a Labor party or any other non-revolutionary organization. The P.C. position - "positive and unambiguous support to the labor party movement in general and to all its local manifestations" - negates the revolutionary party, constitutes defeatism and capitulation to reformism, and prepares the road for organizational liquidation. Even if our Party is not liquidated organizationally, politically the P.C. position is already liquidation. This means nothing less than surrender to the capitalist system of society.

Therefore the struggle in our Party is not merely a struggle over tactics. For this reason we can have nothing in common with the articles of comrade Draper and Trimble. The positions they have put forward cannot fail to serve as a bridge for capitulation to the P.C. It is necessary to fight in principle and without compromise against the P.C. position, and to adopt the revolutionary one.

The P.C. would build a reformist party, which serves the capitalist class. This we must repudiate. Our job is to build the revolutionary party, which will serve the working class.

LABOR "STATESMEN" RUN TRUE TO FORM

"There are some things we cannot surrender!", cried British Labor Party Leader Clement Attlee. "Life without liberty is not life. If war should come - God forbid - we must meet it with courage!"

"War has probably been averted," wrote Leon Blum in Le Populaire, "but I feel myself divided between cowardly relief and my sense of shame."

Lesson Ten

THE FOUR INTERNATIONALS

A. TENDENCIES IN THE WORLD LABOR MOVEMENT. The World War brought sharply to the fore the old differences existing between the basic tendencies in the world labor movement: reformism; centrism and revolutionary Marxism.

REFORMISM is the expression of the interests of the capitalist class in the ranks of labor. It is a doctrine and system of tactics designed to subordinate the proletariat to the bourgeoisie. It is essentially counter-revolutionary. Its classical representatives today are the parties of the Second and Third Internationals. REVOLUTIONARY MARXISM represents the interests of the international proletariat as a whole. It organizes its independent class activity, unifies its struggles on a national and international scale and puts the proletariat at the head of the struggle for emancipation of all the oppressed classes in society. It aims at the forceful overthrow of the capitalist system and the building of a socialist society. It participates in the struggles of the proletariat for immediate demands as a means to this end. Its classical representatives in this generation have been the Bolshevik party and the Communist International under Lenin's leadership. CENTRISM is the expression within the labor movement of the pressure both of the bourgeoisie and of the proletariat. It attempts to reconcile revolutionary aims with opportunist means, to combine revolutionary phraseology with reformist practice. It is unstable, vacillating between reformism and revolutionary Marxism. In periods of sharpening class struggle it tends to disintegrate, its elements flying to the camps of the revolution or reformism. In periods of lull, it may consolidate and even attract and trap forces moving toward revolutionary Marxism. It constitutes an obstacle on the road to revolution. The designation "centrist" does not sufficiently characterize a tendency or movement. The irreconcilables it is trying to reconcile must be specified concretely; also its general direction and how far it has travelled. Centrism is the subjective expression in the labor movement of the objective situation of the petty-bourgeoisie, crushed between the major classes.

B. HISTORICAL SETTING OF THE INTERNATIONALS. Each of the three internationals played a decisive role in history. They correspond to the three main stages of capitalist development. Shortly after the birth of capitalism when the proletariat first began to assume an independent role in the class struggle the First International arose. The Second International was founded and grew with developing capitalism. The Third International was the outcome of the World War and the victorious October Revolution in the stage of capitalist decline.

C. THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL (1864-76) Before the revolutions of 1848 there existed a secret international organization known as the Communist League. Marx and Engels were its founders and leaders. They were commissioned to write its program, the Communist Manifesto (1847) which laid down the basic concepts of the revolutionary working class movement. Following the revolutions of 1848, capitalism entered a period of lusty growth. National labor unions sprang into being in England and France. The cotton famine produced by the American Civil War (1861-5) and the Polish Insurrection of 1863 gave a profound impetus to the European labor movement. Out of the growing demand of European unions for international solidarity against scabbery organized by mass importation of foreign workers in labor disputes the International Workingmen's Association was organized in 1864 at a

congress in London. It has since been known as the First International.

Throughout its life the First International was torn by internal struggle over policy. The communists under Marx and Engels had first to fight and defeat the Proudhonists, a movement inspired by ruined French small producers who advocated a gradual substitution of capitalism by mutual credit and cooperative associations. In the second half of its existence a fierce struggle was fought against the anarchists led by Bakunin, who believed that smashing the state alone could solve all social problems. He regarded all participation in day-to-day struggles as rank opportunism. He maintained that not the industrial proletariat but the pauperized peasantry, the lumpenproletariat and the young intellectuals would make the revolution. In the main the IwMA was an international organization of revolutionary propoganda groups rather than a mass organization of workers.

In 1871 the International took part in the Paris Commune, the first great struggle of the workers for power. After its defeat the reactionary forces persecuted the International in every land. A wave of reaction swept all capitalist countries. In 1870 the Bakuninists set up a rival organization in Switzerland. This was the beginning of the end. The International office was transferred from London to New York and then to Philadelphia, where it died in 1876, just a few years after the Commune. With all its shortcomings the First International laid the foundation for proletarian internationalism. Its service to the proletariat must not be underestimated.

D. THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL (1889-1914) After 1871 capitalism developed industry on a gigantic scale. Huge combines dominated economy. The earth was divided among the leading powers. A struggle arose among them for a new division. Again the working class movements surged forward. Socialist parties began to grow in various countries. In 1889 an international conference of these parties was held and organized the Second International.

The Second International was more homogeneous ideologically than the First. It was all "socialist". The German and Austrian Social Democracy, Socialist Party of France, labor parties in Belgium and England, and the American Socialist Party were all affiliated. Within the International, however, were united the two otherwise irreconcilable tendencies of revolutionary Marxism and reformism: Debs, Berger, DeLeon; Hardie, Hyndman, Henderson and MacDonald; Bebel, Bernstein, Kautsky and Luxemburg; Bulgarian orthodox Marxists ("Narrows") and the revisionists ("Broads"); Pannekoek, Gorter and Troelstra; Lenin, Plechanov, Martov and Martinov; Jaures and Guesde - were all part of the Second International. The Right and Left Wings represented basically different class forces. The "center" (Kautsky) was the link between the two. It was the buffer protecting the Right wing against Marxist criticism and acting as a screen behind which the Right Wing everywhere took control of the key positions in the various parties.

In the absence of convulsive revolutionary struggles the socialist parties placed all emphasis on day-to-day reforms and in practice forgot, except for verbiage, the revolutionary goal. Thus they became reformist parties. They revised Marxist theories to conform to their day-to-day practices.

E. SECOND INTERNATIONAL AND THE STATE. The Socialist International rejects the Marxian theory of the state. Its Right Wing regards the state not as an instrument of class oppression but rather as a permanent and necessary organ which serves society as a whole. It stands above and removed from class relations. Other theoreticians of the Second International admit the class nature of the state, but believe society under capitalism can,

through the pressure of the working class, develop more and more democracy until socialism can gradually be introduced. The Second International* to all dictatorships, including the dictatorship of the proletariat. Pure democracy is an absolute principle with them, regardless of particular social or class settings. They reject the Marxist method of analysing society.

The tactics and strategy flowing from these theoretical conceptions of the Second International have brought the workers nothing but setbacks. In 1914, at the crucial moment, the leading sections of the International threw overboard all Marxist pretensions and came out in support of "their" countries. To cap this treachery, they openly aided their capitalists in suppressing revolutionary uprisings, as in Germany.

Since the war, the October Revolution and the rise of the Third International, the Second International has taken on new life. The "stinking corpse" again has a being. The period of its new lease on life closely corresponds to and is explained by the degeneration of the Comintern. A new revolutionary wave will deal a death blow to both these treacherous bodies.

F. COLLAPSE OF THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL. The decisions adopted at the Basle (Switzerland, 1912) congress of the Second International to oppose war and to organize socialist revolts in case of an imperialist war were ignored when the war broke out. All the big parties became social-patriotic - socialist in words, patriotic in deeds - except the Swiss, Italian, Russian, Serbian and a few other minor parties. From then on it was clear to the revolutionists that no matter how large the parties, or how big the mass following, the fact remained that the INTERNATIONAL COULD NOT BE REFORMED, could not be used as an instrument for the revolution.

The Second International serves only to hinder the development of workers to a revolutionary position. The Second International may contain militants and leftward moving elements. These elements must be made to see the implications of their position, to realize they must break with the Socialist International, that only a new, Marxist International - the Fourth - can lead the workers of the world to victory.

G. ZIMMERWALD. When the war broke out the International Socialist Bureau refused to convene the Congress which was to have dealt with the war. Clara Zetkin, secretary of the Women's Bureau, called an International Women's Congress at Berne, Switzerland in March, 1915 where anti-war resolutions were adopted. The resolution of the Bolsheviks was rejected. In September 1915 the Italian SP together with the Swiss party convened the first real anti-war International Conference at Zimmerwald, Switzerland. Lenin's resolution: "Convert the imperialist war into a civil war" and break with the Second International was overwhelmingly rejected. The conference condemned the pro-war socialists, urged workers to unite for socialism and peace, but barely mentioned the International Socialist Bureau. The Second Zimmerwald Conference (held at Kienthal, Switzerland in March, 1916) again rejected Lenin's resolution but for the first time denounced the "social-nationalists" and "bourgeois pacifism". It called peace under capitalism an illusion. It condemned the ISB in detail. The centrists were still dominant but losing ground. These two conferences prepared the ground for the Third International.

H. THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL (1919-28) The victory of the Bolsheviks under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky and the establishment of the Soviet government placed Russia in the forefront of the international working class movement. Here was the material basis for the establishment of the

the Third International - the task set by Lenin in 1914. Without such a basis the founding of the International would have been a travesty.

The Third International was established in 1919. It immediately became the center for revolutionary forces both within and without the Soviet Union for the maintenance and extension of the October Revolution to other countries. It attracted myriads of new forces, many of which never fully assimilated the basic principles of revolutionary Marxism.

The first four congresses of the Comintern (up to the 1923 defeat in Germany when Lenin died) made classical contributions to Marxist theory and practice. No revolutionist today can afford to be without their guidance. All important actions of the proletariat in all countries were subjected to minute scrutiny. The basic laws of revolutionary strategy and tactics were formulated and applied in all countries. From 1923 on, however, the isolation of the revolution in Russia as a result of the numerous defeats in Europe laid the foundation for the adaptation of the Comintern to the coexistence of the Soviet state with the capitalist environment (Socialism In One Country). The Communist International degenerated steadily into a mere frontier guard or foreign office, serving the narrow national interests of Russia. It no longer represented the interests of the world proletariat and ceased to be the revolutionary Marxist Party. (See page 30)

Theoretically the Comintern has revised Marxism on a series of fundamental questions. Here are the most important: 1. The international character of the proletariat and the revolution; 2. The relation of class to party (Kuo-mintang); 3. The nature of the capitalist state and democracy (People's Front); 4. The road to power (Democratic Dictatorship of the Proletariat and Peasantry and against the Dictatorship of the Proletariat); 5. Struggle against war and fascism (Social-fascism on one hand and Leagues Against War and Fascism on the other); 6. Character of the Trade Unions (red trade unionism). Ideologically and politically the Comintern has been brought to the position of the Social Democracy. The Fifth and Sixth Congresses widened the gap between Stalinism and Marxism and marked the final repudiation of the revolutionary tasks of the proletariat. The CI has long become a counter-revolutionary force and an objective ally of the world bourgeoisie. Like the Second International it may undergo a period of growth in one country or another, but IT CAN NEVER BE REFORMED. It can lead the proletariat only to defeat. It is the duty of all revolutionary elements to break with it politically and organizationally, and join in the building of the Communist Fourth International.

I. THE FOURTH (COMMUNIST) INTERNATIONAL. The fate of the proletariat and of mankind as a whole depends today upon the creation of a new communist world party, the Fourth International. Its foundations must be laid today, in spite and because of the disintegration which has swept through the world labor movement since the rise of Fascism. A firm clear vanguard working for a new communist international is the only means to counteract this tide of disintegration. The Third International was established on the wave of victorious revolution. But the Russian victory was possible only because the directing forces had been prepared by years of struggle against opportunism during the period of disintegration after 1905 and 1917. The Marxists face the preliminary task today of creating a propaganda and organizing center for the new International, to gather and steel the force to work for the victorious outcome of the next revolutionary upswing of the movement.

SPURIOUS INTERNATIONALS. The movement may expect various abortive attempts by immature or treacherous elements who have broken with the Second or Third Internationals or both, to mechanically set up paper propoganda centers or actual "internationals". The Trotskyists, for example, have founded two such scarcely more than two years apart, behind the backs and without the participation of any section of the world proletariat. Such travesties tend to discredit the Marxist conception of a revolutionary proletarian international, should it become widely known. In trying to escape from their self-imposed isolation, the Trotskyists have veered from the policy of building the 4th International through the Second back to a policy of proclaiming another paper Fourth International opposing the Stalinist Third. A living international must be in a position to TAKE THE PLACE OF, not merely oppose the reformist bodies. It must organize and lead millions of workers through decisive victories against the capitalist system. It must DISPLACE THE CORRUPT INTERNATIONALS IN ACTION. This the paper "internationals" cannot do. The revolutionary masses are the stuff out of which a revolutionary Marxist International is made.

"The Communist International is the concentrated will of the world proletariat. Its mission is to organize the working class of the whole world for the overthrow of the capitalist order and the establishment of Communism. . . The working masses will overcome all obstacles and create this new International. The present triumph of opportunism is short-lived. The greater the war losses, the clearer it will become to the working masses that the opportunists betrayed the cause of the workers and that it is necessary to turn the weapons against the governments and the bourgeoisie of their respective countries." -Lenin

Required reading

War and the Second International - Lenin
Theses of the II Congress (Comintern)
Workers Answer to Boss War (RWL)

Suggested reading

History of the First International - Steklov

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