

# **Draft Program**

**of the  
Revolutionary Workers League  
of the United States**

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ISSUED BY THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE



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**REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS LEAGUE  
1904 Division Street  
CHICAGO, ILL.**

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The following Draft Program is submitted by the Political Committee of the Revolutionary Workers League U.S. It is the result of more than 2 years work. The 2nd Convention of the organization in Chicago December 1937 accepted the outline for this document. Since then a special committee of the Central Committee has worked on the document. In its present form it is still subject to the final approval of the Central Committee and membership, although it has been accepted for line by the 2nd Convention and the 5th Plenum of the CC.

The Program is an International Program which gives special consideration to the problems of the working class under American Imperialism. It is not in its present form a specific U.S. program, although American Imperialism is dealt with at some length not only because the R.W.L. is located in the United States, but because of the importance of the U.S. in world politics. The Program must be concretized for each country and section.

There are a number of quotations from Marx and Lenin in the document without the source being given or quotation marks put around them.

January 1939

PROGRAM OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS LEAGUE U.S.

INTRODUCTION

WORLD CAPITALISM - ITS GROWTH AND DECAY

History of existing societies; Materialist concept of history and capitalism; Capitalist appropriation; two-fold character of Labor and of Capital; Birth, growth, decay of capitalism; Capitalist contradictions; accumulation; uneven development; accumulation and the proletariat; accumulation, crises, wars, revolutions; Finance Capital - Imperialism; the redivision of the Earth among the Imperialists; Capitalism a brake upon further progress.

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# WORLD CAPITALISM-GROWTH AND DECAY

To overthrow Capitalism it is necessary to understand it: to have a scientific guide to action.

Like all previous class societies, Capitalism has its roots in private property, in the exploitation of man by man. Like all other social systems of exploitation, it came into being by means of sharp class struggles between oppressor and oppressed. Having vanquished the previous Feudal type of enslavement of man by man, Capitalism proceeded to a revolutionary reconstruction of society, lifting mankind to new productive heights and a higher order in general. But like every other revolutionary reconstruction of society (Chattel Slavery, Feudalism) the capitalist reconstruction has taken place at the expense of the exploited, those who fighting for their freedom, found themselves slaves of new masters.

## MATERIALIST CONCEPT OF HISTORY AND CAPITALISM

So long as the means of production are privately and not socially owned classes in society (exploited and exploiter) are inevitable.

The Class Struggle has its driving force in the mode of production of the social system. The manner in which every society is divided into classes and the manner in which the wealth of society is distributed are determined by the mode of production. The determining changes within a social system in its bloody evolutionary development and the revolutionary changes to new social systems, can be traced to changes in the mode of production and exchange. In each given society the class relations, politics, laws, science, ideology, art, education, etc. (in short, the superstructure) are determined by the material conditions of its historical development, and in turn have their own effect on that development.

Capitalism replaced the handicraft system because of its superior mode of production. The Capitalist mode of production is based on the private ownership of the means of production, commodity production, wage labor, and the creation of surplus value. In its first period, when it served to release the energies of mankind to better utilize the forces of nature, Capitalism was progressive.

But Capitalism, developing through a series of revolutions in the mode of production and exchange, has now, in its decay stage - when it is a fetter on the further development of those forces of production - prepared the groundwork for its own overthrow. So in its time did the series of revolutions in the latter stage of Feudalism, with its production monopolized by closed guilds, give way to the manufacturing system of production, replacing the corporate guilds with an ever growing division of labor in each single workshop itself.

## CAPITALIST APPROPRIATION

At its birth Capitalism ushered in socialized production - an enormous step forward for mankind. But it retained, as before, individual appropriation (capitalist appropriation), due to the private ownership of the means of production. With it came Commodity Production, production for the market, on the one hand; and wage laborers who created surplus value for the owners of the means of production, the Capitalists, on the other. Having been deprived of the ownership of the means of production, this new class, the Proletariat, owning nothing but its labor power is forced to sell that labor power at a price equivalent to the cost of producing more labor power; in other words equivalent to the price of subsisting and rearing a new progeny of wage laborers. But the price paid for labor power is nowhere equivalent to the value of the products produced by that labor power. That Surplus Value, over and above what the Capitalist pays for his labor power, is the basis for all Capitalist accumulation; it is the expression of the productive relations between wage workers and capitalists, between exploited and exploiters.

Labor and the means of production remain the main elements of the new mode of production, just as in past systems. But the special manner in which these two factors are united distinguishes Capitalism from other social systems. For in this case the determining factor in the labor process is the control of capital, the means of production, by the capitalists. Since those who toil no longer control or own the means of production, the products become the property of the exploiters and not of the workers who produce them.

### TWO FOLD CHARACTER OF LABOR AND OF CAPITAL

Capital is a social relation of production, a historically limited transitional social relation, and represents accumulated "dead" labor. The Capitalist monopoly of the means of production enables the capitalists to transform labor power that belongs to the wage-worker into labor which belongs to the capitalist, thereby realizing the control of "living" labor by "dead" labor.

The two fold character of both labor and of capital permits a relation between men, a social relation, to be masked as a relation between things, commodities. On the surface it appears as if the wage worker produces one commodity and is repaid with wages to buy other commodities. But actually what occurs is that the wage worker creates out of his "living" labor (labor power applied to raw materials, machinery, etc.) "dead" labor (the finished product). The use values which the wage worker creates is, under Capitalism, exchangeable with other use values at the rate of socially necessary labor time put into the manufacture of the particular commodity (its exchange value). But the price paid for this "dead" labor (the commodity) is at variance with the price the capitalist

pays for the "living" labor (labor power). Because he owns the means of production and is able to conceal this social relationship, the capitalist appropriates the dead labor, sells it on the market, and pockets the difference between the price gained for the commodity (dead labor which has an exchange value) and the price he pays in wages (the exchange value for living labor). Thus under capitalism a greater value is created than the original investment. Part of this is used for the expansion of the productive process (new machines, etc.), and leads to even greater accumulation and exploitation.

The two fold character of Capital - variable and constant - likewise conceals the social relationship of production. For the constant Capital (raw materials, means of production, etc.) in itself creates nothing and produces no profits for the capitalist. But his variable Capital (the Capital used to buy labor power) when applied to the means of production and raw materials, brings that surplus value, which is the source of the accumulation of Capital. By failing to make this division in Capital, the capitalist and his paid economists attempt to make it appear that it is in fact the Constant Capital (machinery and the like) which brings the gains to the capitalist, while the truth is just the contrary.

### BIRTH, GROWTH, DECAY OF CAPITALISM

This dual character of Capital is at one and the same time the making and undoing of the Capitalist System. Capitalism, as the first world-wide system of society, to exist must constantly revolutionize the instruments of production. Local, national, and international competition ceaselessly forces the introduction of new machinery and time-saving devices in order to undersell that competition on the open market. In the birth and growth of capitalism this expansion of the mode of production, despite periodic crises which grow ever sharper, at the same time bring an expansion of production itself. But in the decay stage it hopelessly gluts the market and keeps industry not only at a standstill, producing less, bankrupting more and more sections of economy, but the accumulation of capital contracts more and more.

These three stages (manufacturing, industrial, and imperialist) mark the birth, growth and decay of the Capitalist System.

### CAPITALIST CONTRADICTIONS

The fundamental contradiction of the Capitalist System, the contradiction between socialized production and capitalist individual appropriation, is inherent not only in all three stages of capitalism but in every single commodity. This contradiction exists as an enormous centralization in each given factory, accompanied by an equally enormous anarchy of production as a whole - over-production, etc. It develops into a contradiction and antagonism

between production and national boundaries; between production and the world market.

It manifests itself primarily in the social relation between the two classes of modern society, bourgeoisie and proletariat, where, with each new development and expansion of the mode of production, the Class Struggle flares up more violently, and crises, wars and revolutions become symptomatic of the contradictions of accumulation.

#### ACCUMULATION

During the transition from handicraft to capitalist society there occurred a certain accumulation of capital known as primitive accumulation. Bourgeois economists represent this period as one in which the strong, sturdy, and thrifty accumulated wealth at the expense of the lazy, weak, and inept. But in actuality this period is nothing less than the historic process of divorcing the producer from the means of production, and accumulating through brigandage, piracy, slavery, etc. of sufficient surplus wealth to be used as Capital. Part of this process was the forcible expropriation of the agricultural people from the soil. They were driven from their homes, branded, tortured by laws grotesquely terrible, into the discipline necessary for the wage system.

#### UNEVEN DEVELOPMENT

It is possible to note some of these factors at work even today. For Capitalism carried with it the material conditions of the previous societies, remade to the image of capitalist needs. The capitalist countries starting at different levels of development, are developing unevenly at different tempos. But the interrelation of world capitalism brings combined forms of advanced and backward techniques, compelling backward sections to make leaps and bringing forth new patterns of combined development. The bringing together of different stages of social development, brings forth a variety of forms, all moulded to the basic pattern of the capitalist mode of production.

#### ACCUMULATION AND THE PROLETARIAT

The contradictions of capitalism express themselves on the one hand in the greater accumulation of capital; and on the other hand in the increase of the proletariat - the class of exploited which abounds in hunger and misery.

The industrial reserve army of the unemployed during periods of stagnation and relative upturn under capitalism weighs down the labor army, and during periods of overproduction and paroxysm hold it in check, objectively acting to throttle attempts to make economic gains by the rest of the working class.

Accumulation of wealth at one pole is at the same time accumula-



tion of misery, agony of toil, slavery ignorance, brutality, mental degradation, at the opposite pole.

### ACCUMULATION, CRISES, WARS, REVOLUTIONS

The increasing economic and social disparity in capitalist society, and the consequent sharpening of the antagonisms in social relations - the Class Struggle - has lead finally in this epoch of decay capitalism, the epoch of Imperialism, to a period of wars and revolutions. Revolutions by the proletariat to end the system of wage slavery; and wars between the imperialists to patch up the economy of one or another nation at the expense of the markets and spheres of influence of the others, and so to avert, for the time being, the Proletarian Revolution.

Capitalism in all three of its stages carried with it periodic crises and depressions. The accumulation of capital in the stage of developing capitalism proceeded through a generally declining rate of profit (the constant rationalization of industry increases the investment in constant Capital and thereby makes the RATE of profit smaller), but at the same time an INCREASE of the mass of profit.

But the increase of productive forces and the inevitable decrease in world markets - constantly being miled dry - leads inexorably to periods when markets become glutted, production ceases temporarily and Capitalism reorganizes itself to overcome the crisis and depression - big capitalists swallow up little ones, surplus goods slowly shrink, etc. In the stage of expanding capitalism there was a progressive readjustment between expanding productive forces and this world market (new industries, new discoveries, greater utilization of the existing markets, etc.) - a readjustment in which mankind was able to make further steps forward.

But in the decay stage this progressive readjustment is no longer possible. Accumulation can not continue its progressive cycles. During the decay stage with the contraction of capitalist accumulation not only does the rate of profit fall but there is a fall in the mass of profit as well - in spite of sporadic extension of sections of industry and commodity production in given spheres.

### FINANCE CAPITAL - IMPERIALISM

The present decay stage of capitalism is one in which the concentration and centralization of production of capital is developed so highly that monopolies play the decisive role in economic life. Banking and industrial capital are fused into a financial oligarchy, finance capital. The export of capital is today decisive as distinguished from the export of commodities. And from this flows the formation of international capitalist monopolies which divide the world among themselves. It is the stage of Imperialism, where

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not only ~~between~~ between bourgeois and proletariat is most pronounced, ~~antagonism~~ because of monopoly and finance capital the antagonism between sections of the bourgeoisie itself is aggravated almost to the breaking point. It is a period in which there is an increasing decline of production, of industry, even though in this or that given industry or in this or that given country, there may be a temporary advance.

The concept of super-imperialism, introduced two decades ago by Kautsky, that Capitalism is becoming so centralized that eventually one oligarchy of capital will dominate all the economic life of the world and organize Capitalism, thus eliminating international struggle - this concept is as fantastic as it is foolish.

The contradictions of capitalism, the ever-shrinking market, cause not only greater antagonism between the capitalists of one nation and those of another nation, between one group of capitalists and another, but within each country and group, each oligarchy itself. There can be no stabilization under capitalism; there can be only increasing antagonisms between the classes and inside the capitalist class itself.

#### THE REDIVISION OF THE EARTH AMONG THE IMPERIALISTS

The attempts by the bourgeoisie to gain new markets for ever increasing surplus capital and commodities led to the plundering of backward colonial nations of the world for those markets. The first division of the Earth among the leading capitalist nations terminated with the crisis of 1871, the Franco-Prussian War, and the Paris Commune that developed out of it.

At the turn of the century new struggles for the first redivision of the Earth took place. British and German imperialism drove into Africa. The Spanish-American war between a declining European power and a rising American power gave the United States hegemony in the Americas and great penetrating wedges toward Asia. The Russo-Japanese war gave the rising Asiatic imperialist power, Japan, a position of advantage for the coming struggles. Russia's defeat was one of the important factors which gave rise to the Russian Revolution of 1905.

Then came the crisis of 1912, which developed into the first World War, ending with the victorious October Revolution in Russia, and the second redivision of the Earth.

Now the imperialists are carrying out the preliminary struggles (Chaco, Ethiopia, Manchukuo, China, Spain, Austria, Czechoslovakia) for the next redivision of the Earth.

The inability of the exploiters to solve the economic contradictions of their system has led them to external economic measures against the other imperialists (tariff restrictions, devaluation,

trade treaties, etc.) measures which inevitably lead to further political measures and to military conquest of colonies, war, etc. on the one hand; and on the other hand, internal economic measures of RESTRICTING PRODUCTION, of an organized economy of scarcity, of open dictatorship and Fascism, in order to prevent a complete breakdown, to smash the proletariat and prevent a social revolution.

To accomplish this economy of scarcity, the capitalist State more and more sheds its mask as an "impartial" arbiter between the classes, and more openly lends assistance to industry and finance. The first stage is governmental regulations to control given industries - especially pronounced during war times. The second stage is that of the State stepping in and taking over certain sick industries, paying the owners in bonds instead of their present stocks. This stage is sometimes called State Capitalism. Capitalism in decay can not exist without introducing forms of State Capitalism, in order to restrict production, in order to hold in check the proletariat. State Capitalism, the full ownership by the State of the means of production, is impossible under capitalism.

To confuse forms of State Capitalism (government ownership) under decay Capitalism, when it is an economy of scarcity, with what is sometimes erroneously called State Capitalism under the first period of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and its transition economy - where the productive forces are reorganized for GREATER PRODUCTION, toward a Socialist Economy - is to confuse similar forms with entirely different contents.

#### CAPITALISM A BRAKE UPON FURTHER PROGRESS

The period of wars and revolutions is only the social, political, and military expression of the capitalist system in decay. Capitalism has reached the point where it has been transformed into a brake upon the further development of science and society, upon mankind. Only through the elimination of the basic contradiction (socialized production and private accumulation) by the expropriation of the expropriators and the establishment of a Socialist Economy can the productive forces be released and mankind make further steps forward.

CHAPTER I

# WARS AND REVOLUTIONS

The decay stage of capitalism is one of wars and revolutions. Since the last World War there have been more than a dozen armed conflicts involving capitalist nations. They have taken various forms, such as the struggle between the imperialist puppets (Gran Chaco war - U.S. and Britain manipulating Bolivia and Paraguay); imperialist aggressions against colonial peoples (Italy against Ethiopia, Japan against China); and the dozens of instances where threats of armed force were used for imperialist aggrandizement - U.S. against Nicaragua, Cuba, Liberia; Great Britain against Egypt, Near East, etc.

In the same period there have been over two dozen revolutionary upheavals - Germany 1918-19, 1921, 1923; Italy 1920; Esthonia, Bulgaria 1924; China 1925-27; British General Strike 1926; Spain 1931-38; Cuba 1935; Austria 1934; and many more in Mexico, Latin America, India, and in and around the Near East.

These wars and revolutions are the violent eruptions of the dying capitalist system, revealing the inability of the exploiters to solve their difficulties on the one hand; and the inability of the proletariat to fully utilize its powers - because of a lack of leadership - on the other hand.

The failure of the proletariat to smash the exploiters state, seize power and maintain it in all of these revolutions except in the victorious October Revolution clearly shows that the working class needs more than merely a revolutionary situation. An unorganized class, or one organized under a leadership that objectively or subjectively is opposed to the proletarian revolution - in other words, the lack of a Revolutionary Marxian Party to guide the class in action against the capitalist state - that is the outstanding reason for the failure of the proletariat in this 20 year period.

The first big defeat of the working class came when the German workers, betrayed by German Social Democracy in 1918 were defeated and their leaders murdered. At the same time the false policy of the unified Communist-Socialist Party of Hungary, under Bela Kun, and the international capitalist intervention which prevented the Russian Red Army from covering the short distance between itself and Hungary, led to the bust-up of the temporary Hungarian Red Dictatorship. The failure of the Syndicalists and Social Democracy to smash the capitalist state in Italy enabled the Fascists to march on Rome and to establish their power.

But the decay of post-war Europe was so deep that soon new revolutionary developments were at hand. In 1923 one of the most favorable situations in history was passed over by the rotten CI

leadership of Stalin-Bukharin, in Germany and Russia, while the self same Social Democrats again drowned the proletarian uprising in blood. The 1923 defeat and the invasion of the American dollar through the Dawes plan enabled the German (and world) exploiters to temporarily stabilize their power, and strengthened opportunism in the labor movement against the Marxists.

This objective situation and the backward economy in the Soviet Union was the material base for the revisionist doctrine of "Socialism in one Country" propounded by the Stalinist leadership of the CI; the false theories of a capitalist Workers and Peasants Governments - coalition governments; the bungling of the Bulgarian revolution; and the subsequent treachery in China and Great Britain.

The defeats of the Chinese Revolution laid the basis for the present invasion of Japan into China, and the German defeats made possible the accession of Hitler to power in Germany 1933.

The most important social revolution in the recent period has been taking place in Spain since 1931, and today has taken the form of Civil War. A pre-revolutionary situation exists today in France.

The Spanish events have shown more conclusively than any revolution since October that the Marxian Party is the most indispensable weapon of the proletariat in order to seize power. Without such a Party the Spanish Revolution has received blow after blow, with the bourgeoisie, both People's Front and Fascist, liquidating one gain after another of the first period of embryonic dual power - July to September 1936.

#### TWO FOLD ANTAGONISM OF CAPITALISM

The relationship of the revolutions of this period to the imperialist wars, brings out most clearly the two fold antagonism of Capitalism, an antagonism which really flows out of the basic economic contradictions of the Capitalist mode of production. The primary antagonism is the antagonism between world capitalism and the proletarian revolution (the extension of the October Revolution); the secondary antagonism is between the imperialists themselves. The defeats of the many revolutions and the degeneration within the Soviet Union, has permitted the antagonism between the imperialists to appear foremost on the surface and given the imperialists a greater play in the struggle against each other. But the basic antagonism nevertheless still remains and must remain the antagonism of exploiter versus exploited.

#### THE SOVIET UNION AND THE ANTAGONISMS

From 1917 to 1923, with Lenin guiding the CI and the Soviet Union, the first Workers State was a material base for the extension of the proletarian revolution and a bulwark against Capitalism. But since the rise to power of Stalinism and its nationalistic theory of "Soc-

ialism in one country" the Soviet Union no longer represents the vanguard of the forces working for the proletarian revolution against the capitalists. Today under the bureaucratic hand of Stalinism, the Soviet State is used as an instrument of the enemy class, by one group of imperialists against another group. The struggle of the proletariat against world capitalism and for the preservation and extension of the October Revolution carries with it a struggle against Stalinism.

Nonetheless the overthrow of the Soviet regime, for which Stalinism has paved the way, would be an enormous defeat for the world proletariat and a victory for imperialism. Warped as it has been in economy and political structure, the Soviet Union still stands - because of its socialist property relations - as a potential rallying ground and material base for new onslaughts against capitalism, providing the proletariat can clean out the Stalinist bureaucracy at the head of the S.U.

#### WORLD CAPITALISM AND THE SOVIET UNION

The victorious October Revolution was the first breach in the world capitalist chain. The proletariat smashed the exploiters' rule in the weakest link, Russia; they established a new type of society, the transition from capitalism to socialism; overthrew bourgeois property relations; and in its place introduced the nationalization of the means of production, land, etc. under the control of the Workers State.

In this period, in spite of the backward economy inherited and the imperialist intervention on 21 fronts, the new social order marched forward, despite many necessary temporary retreats (such as the NEP Economic Policy). It proved that planned economy, with the socialized means of production, was infinitely superior to capitalist economy.

But with the backward economy in the Soviet Union, and the defeat of the proletariat as the material base upon which revisionist elements and stratum of the proletariat were strengthened as against the internationalist elements, the Marxists, a change occurred in the S.U. From 1928 onward the Soviet Union has proceeded through a number of zig-zags on an entirely nationalist course. The first process of the proletariat mastering the art of politics as the ruling class in the interest of the majority, gave way to a bureaucratic usurpation of power by the Stalinist bureaucracy, which although it arose from the proletariat, usurped its power, elevated itself above the class and gradually became transformed into a composition mainly of petty bourgeois elements, which based itself upon a bureaucratic control of the proletariat, functioning objectively as an agent of world capitalism.

The defeats of the world labor movement reflected themselves po

tically in the growth of revisionism and nationalist prejudices in the powerful Stalinist clique inside the Communist International. This took shape finally in 1923-24 in the rounded theory of "Socialism in One Country". To defend this anti-working class line, the Stalinist clique was forced more and more to adopt bureaucratic measures and build its bureaucracy against the Marxists. In 1928 it succeeded (aided no little by Trotsky's organizational and political errors - such as relinquishing his army post, unprincipled bloc with Zinoviev, a failure to push the struggle internationally, etc.) in expelling the Marxist Left Opposition from the Russian Communist Party and the International.

The position of the Marxists that Soviet economy was surrounded by world capitalist economy and calling for the extension of the October Revolution, in opposition to the Stalinist theory that socialism could be built in one country, that the S.U. was free from the circumstances of the capitalist market surrounding it, were quickly affirmed after their expulsion. The 1929 world crisis had its repercussions in the Soviet Union and finally culminated in the struggles of the peasants and middle farmers against the state in the so-called bloodless revolution.

The deadly Stalinist blows against the Marxists, the left wing elements and the proletariat, enabled the rising bourgeois elements to honeycomb the decaying Workers State and contribute to the development of bourgeois political forms, elements of bourgeois property relations, serious breaches in the nationalization of industry, and even to seriously challenge today the Stalinist control.

Stalinism today is a social reformist force resting on the material base of the victorious October Revolution and its property relations, objectively aiding the restoration of capitalist rule in the Soviet Union and counter-revolution on a world scale. Stalinism caught in the maize is constantly being pushed to the right under the pressure of the world bourgeoisie and the bourgeois and petty bourgeois strata inside the Soviet Union and within the bureaucracy. Stalinism still retains the upper hand, due to its base in the October property relations, but the rising bourgeois stratum and the middle petty-bourgeois in the collectives, etc., in their struggle against the proletariat are slowly forcing Stalinism to give way. The bourgeois force is not an independent force, but is itself party of the bureaucracy.

All this is laying the basis for an explosion that will follow the present intensified class struggle in the Soviet Union. In this decisive struggle of the counter-revolution to overthrow the existing property relations - an armed insurrection by the counter-revolution - the bureaucracy will break up and the majority go over to the enemy camp. The proletariat can still restore the proletarian structure of the Soviet Union by conducting an armed political revolution against the present bureaucracy and the inevitable intervention of world imperialism, re-establishing the Soviets and workers democracy, and working for the extension of October.

## WORLD CAPITALISM AND THE COLONIES

Under decay capitalism the super-exploitation of the colonies becomes more intense. The capitalist system has subordinated and combined all of the backward economy of the colonies to its own needs. It has developed an extensive colonial system for super-profits, combining the forceful expropriation of the serf, slave and peasant from his land, with the introduction of the most modern industrial equipment and plants.

Under present conditions colonial capitalism and its capitalists can play no independent role. The native colonial bourgeoisies are subordinated to one or another of the leading imperialist nations, which in one form or another dominate the economy of all the colonial world.

In the decay stage of capitalism it is not possible for the colonial or semi-colonial countries to pass the stronger links of capitalism in competition. They are too hemmed in by the decreasing economy of capitalism, the economy of scarcity. As a consequence of this economic factor the colonial and semi-colonial bourgeoisie can not even solve the tasks of their own bourgeois revolution, let alone the present tasks of capitalist decay.

## IMPERIALIST ANTAGONISMS

When Germany attempted to "organize Europe" to her needs for further conquest in the early part of the century she confronted Great Britain as the main rival to be displaced.

With Germany defeated in the last war, the preparations for the new world war find the outstanding antagonists today for the redivision of the world, the two former "allies", Great Britain, struggling to hold on to a crumbling empire, and the United States. But whereas in the last world war two nations, Germany and Great Britain, dominated the scene; today not only the U.S. and Britain, but rising Japanese imperialism, with a good part of China and Manchukuo as her recent conquest, and Germany recovering from the World War defeat and again expanding into Austria and central Europe as a step towards the Ukraine and Asia, are the key figures, with Italian and French imperialism playing subordinate roles.

## THE HAVES AND THE HAVE-NOTS

The United States, Great Britain, and France constitute the three main "have" countries. In other words they have better withstood decay capitalism because of their superior economic positions in world capitalism. Germany, Italy, and Japan have been tighter pinched and decay capitalism has hit them much harder. The "haves" - because of their more powerful economic conditions - are able better to cloak their war moves with so-called "peace" gestures.



The "have-nots" appear aggressive only because:

- 1- The defeated proletarian forces within their countries permits the imperialists greater latitude of open war moves.
- 2- The internal weaknesses of these nations drive them more sharply; and
- 3- They must take aggressive measures, due to these factors, in order to stave off further proletarian revolutions.

#### SPECIAL POSITIONS OF THE IMPERIALISTS

The United States, with the Americas and oceans for itself, and Japan, as the only imperialist power located in Asia, have great advantages over Great Britain, France, Italy and Germany, who are crowded in one small continent, and must first get their own house (Europe) in order before they can strike out for Asia.

Both Japan and Germany - primarily because of the defeated Chinese revolution of 1925-27 and the defeated German proletariat in 1933 - are in a better position in relation to the Soviet Union than before. The S.U. is in the most precarious predicament in its whole history.

#### ANGLO-AMERICAN ANTAGONISM

Within the imperialist camp the sharpest basic antagonism is between the declining British Empire, and the "rising" American Imperialism. Great Britain is the ruler of the biggest political empire on earth, partly disintegrating. And the U.S. is the biggest economic power on earth, which in order to survive must gain political hegemony over much larger areas of land, so that it can broaden the market for its surplus capital and commodities. To survive, American imperialism must re-organize the whole world to its imperialist needs. The main loser in such a reorganization could obviously be only the British Empire.

#### ASPECTS OF THE TWO FOLD ANTAGONISM

Within the framework of the two-fold antagonism there are two important aspects: first and foremost, world imperialism has been able to take advantage of the contradiction between the proletarian leadership (the 2nd International and Stalinism) and the interests of the proletariat itself - diametrically opposed to those of its present organizations and leadership - in order to hold in check the proletariat and the extension of the October Revolution.

Second, the three have-not nations, Germany, Italy, and Japan, utilize the antagonism between British and American Imperialism to further their own ends.

German imperialism stabilized itself temporarily by utilizing the false policies of social-democracy and Stalinism, and the American

dollar, to crush the proletarian revolution, and establish Fascism. Italy conquered Ethiopia by utilizing the Anglo-American antagonism, using the U.S. (oil, etc.) against Britain. Japan smashed into American and Russian interests first in Manchuria by leaning on England against America and Russia; and is now driving into China by exploiting the same antagonisms, only in this case hoping to lean on America against England.

No imperialist nation today can individually challenge the United States or Great Britain. A struggle between these two would involve the whole world. Since neither of the two titans are ready at present to risk a military struggle, the policy of the haves - of playing one against the other - has so far been successful, although its continued success is by no means assured.

### FACTORS OF THE PRESENT ANTAGONISMS

The outstanding factors contributing to the present antagonisms are:

- 1- The defeated proletarian revolutions since 1923 and the degeneration of the Soviet Union under Stalinism, which has given capitalism another opportunity to attempt to "solve" its unsolvable contradictions.
- 2- The economic position of American imperialism which makes the U.S. the biggest driving force for imperialist war today.
- 3- The success of Japan in taking important steps towards hegemony over Eastern Asia and her part of the Pacific.
- 4- The new rise of German imperialism.
- 5- The declining position of British imperialism.
- 6- France, Italy, and Russia under Stalinism, can only play the role of allies of one of the four imperialists U.S., Great Britain, Japan or Germany.

### AMERICA, EUROPE, ASIA

The post war position of the imperialists, with America's economic supremacy and the utilization of the American dollar to help stave off Communism, reveals the mutual relations between America and Europe in the struggle of decay capitalism. The struggles in Europe are preludes to the Asiatic struggles, an attempt by the European and American imperialists to gain the strongest position for the drive towards Asia.

American dollar diplomacy in its activity in Europe and Latin America has as its main objective Asia. Germany under Hitler, openly speaks of the "drang nach osten", the march towards the East, and is consolidating in Europe as a step in that direction. Japan is attempting to entrench itself in Asia. Great Britain - before Japan's present raids - was the most entrenched power in all Asia.

Although the Latin American and African markets are still a very important factor in imperialist conflicts, there can be no doubt that the main struggle of the imperialists is today over Asia. The preparations of the imperialists for the next world war have as

their goal the exploitation of the colonial masses and colonial markets of Asia, primarily China and Russia.

## PART II

### THE CONTROL OF THE PROLETARIAT

The bourgeois state in decay capitalism uses two main methods in order to keep the proletariat in check. They can, in general, be classified as the "conservative" and the "democratic" methods, the right and left arms of capitalism.

Both, although greatly different as to method, in essence are but two sides of the capitalist rule.

At every stage of capitalism both these methods are ready for use, although according to the conditions, one may be more to the fore than the other. In decay capitalism the pressure of the class struggle forces capitalism to adopt the most extreme forms of these methods. The "democratic" method takes on the most left wing form, the so-called Peoples Front form; the "conservative" method becomes Fascism.

Wherever the economic base of capitalism is relatively strong and the proletariat relatively not ready for revolutionary struggles, the cheapest method to hold the workers in check is a form of the "democratic" method, the left arm of capitalism. But when the left arm has failed in its task and the class struggle deepens and threatens to go beyond the bounds of capitalism, the capitalists fall back on the more costly open dictatorship. The left arm prepares the way for the rule of the right arm of capitalism.

Each capitalist method is represented usually by one or more parties at one time, who because they represent certain specific economic interests of specific sections of the capitalist class, have their internal conflicts with other parties of the bourgeoisie. A section of the capitalist class may favor, for its own needs, one form of bourgeois rule, and switch to another form when its needs demand this switch.

### THE ROLE OF THE REFORMISTS

The control of the working class, especially in decay capitalism, can not be accomplished merely from outside the ranks of the proletariat. Without the bourgeois agents inside the ranks of the working class - men in our period such as Scheideman, MacDonald, Jouhaux, Vandervelde, Thomas, Lewis, Green, Browder, etc. - without these agents, capitalist rule is seriously impaired. The role of the reformists is to imbue the working class with the doctrines of class collaboration, with the need of the working class to **DEPEND** on the bourgeois state, its apparatus, and the enemy class itself for salvation from the misery of capitalism.

## THE PEOPLES FRONT

The People's Front - a government by the reformist parties or by a coalition of reformists and bourgeois liberals - is the epitome of the work of the bourgeois agents within the ranks of the proletariat. It is the extreme form of boss rule which the bourgeoisie falls back on when all the other so-called "democratic" governments are unable to further delude the masses and force them to follow the lines of class collaboration. It rules in the interests of finance capital - the "democratic" capitalists using the reformists to help stem the tide of revolution. The People's Front is a desperate effort, before the naked and open dictatorship of the bourgeoisie is introduced, to crush the class struggle. By imbuing the masses with all sorts of delusions about "fighting fascism" and bringing in socialism "gradually", the reformists and bourgeois liberals in the People's Front disarm the working class of all independent activity, and thus with an unprepared and deluded proletariat prepare the way for Fascism.

## BONAPARTISM UNDER DECAY CAPITALISM

In the economic sphere there is a continuous thread between the People's Front and Fascism; it is represented by greater government penetration into industry, governmental control and ownership. But on the political sphere there is a vast difference in the methods used by both forms of bourgeois rule. For a short time in between both these FORMS there is a temporary period referred to as Bonapartism, when the pressure of the two main contending forces are somewhat "equalized", thereby enabling the rule of the exploiters to rest upon this unstable equilibrium before the final showdown. The Bonapartist stage reveals the decay of the economic base of bourgeois democracy and the need for a proletarian solution before Fascism takes power. In the Bonapartist period - typified by the Von Papen rule in Germany, by the Daladier rule in France 1938, etc. - there begins a rule by decree, the "democratic" parliament is slowly stripped of its powers, and forced class-collaboration by the bourgeois state against the proletariat begins to supersede the work of the trade union and reformist leaders within the ranks of labor.

## FASCISM

The period of wars and revolutions, in addition to having brought forward the extreme left form of the "democratic" rule, has also developed the extreme right form of "conservative" rule, Fascism.

Fascism is the open dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, ruling in the interests of finance capital, but resting upon and put into power mainly by the demoralized petty bourgeoisie because the working class organizations and leadership have been unable to carry through a successful revolution. Fascism rules by open terror, reorg-

anizes economy by greater government control and ownership; develops further the economy of scarcity, completely suppresses the proletariat, its unions, parties and mass organizations; and by its terror holds in check all of the oppressed. Under Fascism government and industry are fused as never before, and labor is placed together - supposedly - with capital in two class unions dominated by the Fascist dictatorship for capital.

Fascism extends the contradictions of capitalism to a higher level. It is highly nationalistic not only in its propoganda, but, in order to preserve itself on an ever lower economic gear, becomes more and more - or attempts to do so - nationalistic in its economy.

Like other forms of reaction, but to a far greater extent, Fascism has organized the private gangs of hoodlums, outside and apart from the regular military forces of the state, that are the shock troops in the struggle to destroy the proletarian organizations and independent action. Without the complete demolition of the proletarian apparatus, Fascism is impossible. In fact, despite the great expense by the bourgeoisie in introducing Fascism - the cost of the hoodlum gangs, etc. - it is the only method left for capitalism at a certain stage to preserve itself.

Like all forms of reaction Fascism must resort to demagogy, but it uses left phrases far more than other demagogic forces, in order to win layers of the discontented. Fascism is counter revolution; it does not create a new system, does not have any new program; it merely brings to the surface the forces existing in capitalist society, coordinating them into a powerful political and military fighting organization against proletarian revolution in order to preserve the decaying capitalist system. It "organizes" production on a RESTRICTED basis, not on a higher level.

Once finance capital is successful through Fascism in staving off the social revolution, it begins to strip Fascism of its middle class verbiage, aspirations and interests. (Sometimes this activity is accomplished only with great bloodshed: note the purges by Mussolini in 1923 and Hitler in 1934). Under Fascism finance capital attempts to establish the "unity" of the nation, in other words "class peace", as the basis for greater latitude for maneuvering against other imperialists and to prepare for the imperialist war.

Fascism as the sharpest expression of capitalism in decay, is a brake upon further development of society. It paves the way for degeneration into lower social forms unless the proletariat rises to overthrow the system which produces Fascism as one of its forms.

# CAPITALIST AGENTS IN THE RANKS OF THE WORKING CLASS

The newly born proletariat in the last stages of Feudalism helped put the bourgeoisie into power. But the gains made by the working class as a class were made even then only insofar as the proletariat struck out independently from the exploiter class. Democratic gains such as free schools, elimination of debtors' prisons, right of free speech, assembly, right to organize - all the democratic gains made were made by independent working class action.

The task of the bourgeois agents in the ranks of the working class is precisely to discourage and channelize independent working class action. The various types of "labor lieutenants of capital" differ in the methods they use, in accordance to the needs of the bourgeoisie under the pressure of the working class. They are all reactionary in content, since the axis of their activity is to preserve capitalism against the revolutionary proletariat and its vanguard.

Nevertheless we do not classify the workers organized in the various tendencies as one reactionary mass, nor do we lump together the various tendencies or the members and the leaders of an organization into one reactionary mass.

## REFORMISM

Reformism is the instrument of the bourgeoisie in the camp of labor dividing the proletariat into national, craft, and other groups. Its base is in the petty-bourgeoisie (intellectuals, aristocracy of labor, small shopkeepers, etc.). It serves the interests of the bourgeoisie. Its aim is to subordinate the proletariat to the bourgeoisie. Whatever immediate demands of the working class it fights for, it does so only on the basis of no opposition to the bourgeois state as such, even though in this or that instance it serves one section of the bourgeoisie against another. In periods of sharp class struggle, reformism openly supports the capitalists in smashing the revolution (Scheideman, Noske, MacDonald, Kerensky, Stalinism today in Spain, etc. etc.). As agents of the capitalists, the reformists' effectiveness depends upon the degree and ability with which they can control large layers of the working class.

## BOURGEOIS REFORMERS

The reformists can be divided into bourgeois reformers and social reformers.

The bourgeois reformers are those who openly defend the capitalist system. Within the framework of the capitalist mode of production, and in its defense, they attempt to obtain "peaceful" relations between capital and labor. In the United States William Green is a right bourgeois reformer; John L. Lewis, a left bourgeois reformer.

## SOCIAL REFORMERS

To the left of both these types are the social reformers, those who claim they are Marxists, that they are for the "socialist" solution, but who map out a road in one form or another for the peaceful transformation from capitalism to socialism, and thereby end up with the support of the capitalist state against the proletarian revolution.

In life the social reformers, in their whole activity, attempt to solve the problems of the working class within the capitalist framework by adding a few patches or changes to the old moribund system. The social reformers in the U. S. are represented by such party leaders as Norman Thomas and Earl Browder.

#### CENTRISM

Centrism is a political force vacillating between Marxism and reformism, with its roots in reformism. It is the expression within the labor movement of the pressure of both the capitalists and the working class, which leads to a fundamental contradiction manifested by the ideological instability of the centrist force, reacting now to the pressure of the proletariat, now to the pressure of the bourgeoisie. Centrism in its many varieties is a subjective reflection in the labor movement of the situation of the petty-bourgeoisie, which crushed between capitalist class and working class attempts to unify the two, to create in a word, class collaboration. The base of centrism, like reformism, is in the petty-bourgeoisie, the declassed, etc. Objectively, it too, serves capitalism. It attempts to combine revolutionary phraseology with reformist practices; revolutionary aims, with reformist means. One of the outstanding characteristics of centrism is its constant attempt in one form or another (either ideological, organizational, or both) to establish unprincipled unity, with one or another of the objective or subjective agents of capital in the ranks of labor:

Centrist organizations include the London Buro, the Trotskyites, the PCUM, the Brandlerites, etc.

#### OPPORTUNISM

The different varieties of reformism and centrism come under the general category of opportunism - in other words, a subordination, in one form or another, of the ultimate goal to the immediate demand. In its full blossom opportunism becomes social patriotism, during war periods, and counter-revolution during periods of proletarian revolution.

#### ULTRA-LEFTISM

To the "left" of Marxism, there are a number of forces - such as Anarchism, Syndicalism, Libertarian Communism, and such post war tendencies as the Bordiguist and Council groups, known as ultra-leftism, sectarian in "principle". Sectarianism does not necessarily imply a lack of contact with the masses, although some of its forms express this isolation. Sactarianism as a political designation means the denial of one or more fundamental scientific theoretical concepts which reflect given objective conditions and the consequent denial of activity in the given spheres.

The various shades of Bakuninism, for instance, by failing to take into account the importance of the bourgeois state and the need for a proletarian state to temporarily supersede it, leaves the proletariat to the mercy of that bourgeois state; in fact, sometimes as the Anarcho-Syndicalists in Spain, become part of that state in order to crush the proletariat.

The Bordiguists and Communist Council groups, by disregarding the struggle for immediate demands, leave the field clear to the opportunists in making the proletariat prey to the bourgeois doctrine of class collaboration.

Like reformism, ultra-leftism has its roots in the petty-bourgeoisie. The history of the development of the Marxian movement includes a history of the struggle against ultra-leftism in its different forms and its different historical settings, as a supplement to opportunism of the same period.

Marx and Engels led the fight in the 1st. International against Anarchism and laid down the theoretical premise for the struggle that continues to this day. In the 2nd International the struggle took on different forms. With the growth of opportunism and parliamentarism, many workers reacted en masse, but not being under the guiding hand of Marxists, swung to the other extreme and adopted syndicalism, which played its great role in the first part of the century, up to the World War.

The World War revealed the basic weakness of these opportunist and ultra-left groupings. The victorious October Revolution and the establishment of the 3rd International caused regroupments to take place. Old forms blended into new, and defeats and set-backs of the working class brought forth new forms of ultra-leftism. In Italy the defeat threw upon the surface the Bordighist movement. In Germany the defeat brought forth the Communist Labor Party, which later became the Council Groups.

## PART II

### THE POLITICAL MOVEMENT TODAY

#### THE ANARCHIST INTERNATIONAL

The Anarchist and Libertarian Communist movement with its anarcho-syndicalist unions, have revealed by program and action in the Spanish armed conflict, that they are a stumbling bloc in the way of social revolution. Their false concept on the question of the state, their complete lack of understanding of the problems of the road to power, their petty-bourgeois ideology and individualist dogma, have led them, in different forms from the Stalinists and Socialists, into the swamp of social-reformism, in support of the "democratic" capitalists against the fascist capitalists.

The first real test of the Anarchists was in the Spanish Revolution. It proved their utter bankruptcy. The basic concepts laid down by Marx and Engels in the 1st International have all proven correct in this respect also. Anarchism and its various shades, is a petty-bourgeois movement; sometimes very militant in form, but totally unscientific, gaining its opposition to capitalism more from humanitarian motives than scientific ones, and reacting to it consequently in thoroughly unscientific manner. It has failed to analyze the historic root of the state and political struggles, and sees the state and politics, instead of the mode of production, as the root of all evil.

#### THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL

After the decline of the 1st International, the organization of the working class into a new 2nd International was a progressive step in helping to organize the proletariat for independent working class action. But the objective situation of the period - the growth and development of capitalism, especially in Germany, aided the "pure" parliamentarians within the 2nd International to dominate it. The 2nd International replaced the revolutionary struggle with the evolutionary day to day reforms; instead of developing internationalism further, it permitted its own organizations to become merely a loose federation of national groups both in ORGANIZATION AND PROGRAM.



Almost from its inception a struggle took place in the 2nd International between the revolutionary wing and the reformist wing, a struggle which became sharpest in the period of the 1905 Russian Revolution. The outbreak of the first World War revealed its rotten structure and its social patriotic role. Without the aid of social-democracy in mobilizing the proletariat in most of the imperialist countries, and especially in Germany, the World War could not possibly have lasted so long, and might very likely have been transformed much earlier into successful proletarian revolutions against the imperialists.

In the post war period the 2nd International (reorganized after its failure to function in the war years) became the main prop of a decadent capitalism. It drowned in blood - - for the bourgeoisie, one revolution after another. The growth of the 3rd International decimated this bankrupt corpse, but with the degeneration of the Comintern under Stalinism, the 2nd International was able to revive itself organizationally. But the 2nd International and its "left" sections remain unchanged - the party of betrayal. It has its roots in bourgeois democracy, still executes the policies of the capitalists in the workers ranks. Like all reformist organizations it can not be used as an instrument of revolution. It must be smashed and leftward moving workers in its ranks won over to Marxism.

### THIRD INTERNATIONAL

The betrayal and collapse of the 2nd International in the first World War posed before the revolutionists the need of a New International. Lenin proclaimed this need at the beginning of the war, in the fight against the social patriots.

The victorious October Revolution laid the material base for its realisation. On the basis of this victory and the revolutionary upswing, the 3rd International, most developed revolutionary World Party in the history of capitalism, grew under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky. This progress continued until the 1923 period.

Nevertheless, even in Lenin's time, a right opposition and an ultra-left opposition constantly attempted to block the road towards revolution. The Marxists, under Lenin's leadership, successfully kept these revisionist forces in check. But with the defeats of the working class and with all the organizational (and later serious political) errors of the Marxist Left Opposition in the Comintern, revisionism gained the upper hand.

The Comintern under Stalinism, became the leader of revolutionary defeats (Germany 1923, England 1926, Bulgaria, Esthonia 1924, China 1925-27, Germany 1933, etc.) With many zigzags, Stalinism has developed to the right, from centrism to reformism, and today plays a counter-revolutionary role in every revolutionary upheaval in a last desperate effort to maintain its bureaucratic power against the Soviets and world working class.

The Comintern today is analogous to the 2nd International of 1914, as the most powerful social patriotic force within the working class. Like the 2nd International, the 3rd International cannot be reformed, cannot be used as an instrument of revolution.

### ORGANIC UNITY

The degeneration of the 3rd International to the historic position of the 2nd International, has posed the question of organic unity of the two organizations as a solution of the task of building the Marxian vanguard. Unity of these two Internationals, however, would be a unity that would further smash the proletariat in the clutches of the bourgeoisie. By the greater illusions it would spread in the working class, by the unification of both its apparatuses - unified in order to struggle against Marxism and proletarian revolution, it would be an even greater stumbling block on the road to revolution, than both parties are today individually or collectively.

Organic unity of these two reformist forces is a rejection of the Marxist method of building an international Party. Working class unity can only be accomplished on the basis of a Marxist program. Organic unity of the 2nd and 3rd Internationals would be a condemnation of the split of 1919. It is part of the policy of supporting the "democratic" capitalists as against the Fascist capitalists.

### THE LABOR AND FARMER-LABOR PARTY

Similarly the attempts to build a Labor or Farmer Labor Party in the United States by bourgeois and social reformists, as well as a number of centrist organizations, would accomplish the same end, although in a different form from organic unity. The Labor Party is far more dangerous than the advocacy of a two class Farmer Labor Party because it helps confuse advanced workers who already see the fallacies of this reformist two class party. But a Labor Party, too, built on a so-called "minimum" program, can be only a reformist Party, a new capitalist party. The only kind of party that serves the interests of the working class is the Revolutionary Marxian Party. Such a Party can be built only by ceaseless struggle against capitalism which carries with it a struggle against the bourgeois agents within the ranks of labor.

But the Labor Party proposes precisely to unite as many as possible of the bourgeois agencies within the ranks of labor into one reformist Party of capitalism. Such a Party can only serve to further hold the working class in check, to further canalize independent working class action, to supplement the treacherous work of the reformists in the trade union field (for instance the CIO & AFL leadership) on the political field.

The Marxists counterpose to the reformist Labor Party the line of independent political action of the working class through the political and organizational independence of the revolutionary Marxian organization. At no time must the Marxist Party affiliate with the Labor Party. Members of the Revolutionary Marxian Organization who are members of trade unions that affiliate against their protest to such a Party, work in the Labor Party through the trade unions as a fraction carrying out the position of the Marxian organization.

### THE LONDON BURO AND NEW ZIMMERWALD

To the left of the reformists stand the centrists. Outstanding world centrist organizations, although very small in comparison to the 2nd and 3rd Internationals, are the London Buro, the Trotskyites, and the International Brandlerites, who are today uniting with the London Buro.

The London Buro was a loose federation of centrist organizations of varying shades, from certain semi-Stalinist outfits, to such extreme "left" sections as the POUM, which uses Marxist phrases, has a centrist program and is in the present Spanish Civil War, reformist in action. Today, the London Buro has crystalized into a centrist international. The typical Party of the London Buro is the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain. The Buro itself has the vaguest of vague centrist program. For the sake of unity it has consistently permitted the wattering down to the right of whatever positions it has had. It would be principally false today for the Marxists to affiliate to the London Buro.

Under certain conditions, as with Lenin at Zimmerwald, as a step toward the creation of an independent center, it is permissible as a temporary auxiliary tactic, to affiliate to a loose centrist international set-up, providing the Marxist organization keeps its political and organizational independence, and works as an independent force within the centrist set-up to win over and achieve a regroupment of the left forces on a Marxist basis and bust up the centrist outfit.

But to make the building of a centrist set-up the line for recrystallizing the forces of a new Fourth International, instead of making it merely a possible temporary auxiliary under certain conditions to the line of building an independent Marxian center, such a position, known as the "New Zimmerwald" line, is a breach with Marxism, an attempt to establish a "left" organic unity of centrist and possibly Marxist organizations.

New Zimmerwald, like the theory of organic unity, attempts to crystallize a united national or international organization of so-called lefts by a series of stages. Like the London Buro it attempts first to build "councils" of action which cover not specific actions but an abstract opposition against fascism, war, or some other evil of capitalism. By such steps the New Zimmerwaldists hope to establish finally a unified organization on a "minimum" left program - in other words on a left centrist program.

Marxists reject affiliation to the London Buro and the line of New Zimmerwald as the ROAD TO BUILDING THE NEW FOURTH INTERNATIONAL. The Fourth International must be built not by unification with centrist organizations, but by the political and organizational separation from centrist organizations and the winning of their elements among others to a Marxian line on the basis of an anti-capitalist orientation.

#### THE INTERNATIONAL BRANDLERITES

The Brandler right opposition, which began with the Brandler-Thalheimer group in the 1923 false line of the Comintern in Germany, is today only a shadow of its former self. The Lovestone group in America is its largest force. Having supported the Comintern even after its expulsion as a right opposition to it, the Brandlerites have only recently cut loose from the Comintern. But they have done so on a program far to the right even of their own former program. In the United States they support a social pacifist anti-war organization, advocate the Labor Party, aid the worst trade union bureaucrats and red-baiters in the country, and support all sorts of bourgeois bills and programs. Despite their present opposition to Stalinism, they stand on the same fundamental line of socialism in one country. They are a bankrupt sect, with a totally economist approach, that will shift from one unprincipled unity or orientation to another.

### TROTSKYITE CENTRISTS

Under the leadership of Trotsky the Left Opposition was formed in the Soviet Union to struggle against the Stalinist revisionism and undermining of the proletarian dictatorship. The Left Opposition was the Marxian trunk of the Comintern. After its expulsion in 1927-28, the International Left Opposition continued the struggle for Marxism. But important political errors in the organizational realm were carried over on a larger scale into the International Left Opposition. These errors within the ILO program, primarily the false evaluation of the then centrist CI as Marxist and the consequent orientation on it and attempt to reform it, were extended gradually to other spheres. But the decisive turning point from Marxism to centrism came on the heels of the German defeat and the subsequent "French Turn" when most of the Trotsky sections liquidated into the 2nd International on the revisionist premise that social democracy can become an instrument of proletarian revolution.

From this period on all of the basic concepts of Marxism were revised: the role of the Party, the question of revolutionary defeatism, role of the state, of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, and a number of other fundamental positions.

The Trotskyites, although they still call for a 4th International, can build only a centrist international, if they build anything at all. The Trotsky movement can not be used as an instrument of proletarian revolution; it is an obstacle to it. To affiliate to or liquidate into the Trotskyite organization is capitulation and revision of Marxism.

### CENTRIST ORGANIZATIONS CAN'T BE REFORMED

Although it is possible, during certain periods, especially proletarian upsurges, to win over even the bulk of the members of a centrist organization to Marxism, it is impossible to reform a centrist organization in the sense that Lenin "reformed" the Bolshevik Party of 1917 in his struggle over the April Thesis. In that instance Lenin fighting against a centrist leadership was able to again steer the Bolshevik Party (a Marxian Party) on the road to revolution without fundamental changes in the party.

But this is not true of a centrist organization. Its membership can be won over to Marxism only by a rejection of its whole past course, a purging of its leadership, a re-education of the membership, and a radical reconstruction of its structure and program. Unification is sometimes permissible with a left centrist force, but only on the basis of a Marxian program and as an auxiliary to the general line of the Marxists for building the revolutionary party.

### REVOLUTIONARY MARXISM

Revolutionary Marxism represents the interests of the International proletariat as a whole, organizing independent class action of the working class, unifying its struggle on a national and international scale, thereby placing the proletariat at the head of the struggle of all of the oppressed masses against imperialism. Its aim is the forceful overthrow of the capitalist system and the building of a socialist society. It participates in the struggle for immediate demands as a means toward the end, always coordinating this with its ultimate aims.

# THE COMMUNIST 4<sup>TH</sup> INTERNA- TIONAL

Every class in history that has attained power had a conscious vanguard guiding it.

The vanguards of the capitalist class, the parties of capitalism, are part of the capitalist superstructure, and reflect in important respects the mode of production under capitalism. Bourgeois Parties are national, and both centralized and anarchistically autonomous in certain respects; just as bourgeois economy attempts to solve its problems within the national scope; just as bourgeois economy is centralized within each factory but anarchistic on the market.

The proletarian vanguard must consciously guide the proletariat to a new type of society, the transition period between capitalism and Socialism, a temporary state necessary to eliminate remnants of the bourgeoisie and its economy, before Socialism can be instituted; and like the parties of other classes must reflect in its important aspects the mode of production it intends to help bring about.

The proletarian vanguard - the Revolutionary Marxian Organization - must be international in scope, in program and organization; must be based on democratic centralism; must be politically and organizationally independent of all other parties.

## MARXISM

The Marxian program consists of the application of Dialectical Materialism - the scientific theory of knowledge - to the field of political economy and the class struggle.

Dialectical Materialism conceives of the process of nature as one of a contradictory development of opposites through a process of birth, growth, and decay, a process of evolution culminating in revolutionary changes.

Dialectical Materialism applied to history is called Historical Materialism. Historical materialism is the theory that "the mode of production of material life determines the social, political and intellectual processes of life. In a certain stage of their development the material forces of production of society come into contradiction with the existing relations of production, or, which is only a juridical expression for the same thing, with the relations of property within which they had hitherto moved. From forms for the development of these forces of production, they are transformed into their fetters. We then enter upon an epoch of social revolution."

Marxism is the combination of theory and practice in order to change the world; to liberate mankind from capitalism. The Marxian organization brings the socialist ideology to the class from "without". The class by itself may obtain the stage of class consciousness; may organize itself, for instance, into trade unions with class struggle program. But socialist ideology is the highest stage of class consciousness. The most developed section of the working class - the vanguard, the Marxian Party - having reached socialist consciousness, must impart this scientific understanding to the rest of the class, in

action, in life itself; and must crystalize this work into greater organization of both the class in its unions, Workers Councils, etc.; and of the advanced section of the class into its Party.

#### POLITICAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL INDEPENDENCE

The Party, if it is to serve the unified interests of the proletariat, must remain politically and organizationally independent of all other parties; although it must attempt by various methods - fraction work, united front work, etc. to penetrate other so-called working class parties.

#### THE PARTY, THE CLASS, AND STATE POWER

The Party serves the INTERESTS of the class, but must not stoop to the backward desires of the class, which at this or that given period may be determined as a result of bourgeois education or pressure from the bourgeoisie. Under capitalism the Party acts as the vanguard force of the class; under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat the working class rules through the Workers Councils under the ideological leadership of the Party which fights in the interest of the class. The Party is NOT the Dictatorship. The class Dictatorship is exercised through the Workers Councils, supplemented by the Trade Unions and other organizations.

#### DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM

The form of the Party under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat must approximate the form of the economy of that state. It must be international, permitting of democratic discussion and rights in arriving at all policies, but unified in carrying them out. The Party under capitalism must also have this structure if it is to carry out its historic task.

Democratic Centralism, like the Marxian program itself, of which it is a part, can be - under certain material conditions - distorted and revised into bureaucratic forms, into a non-Marxian organizational form. This revision in the organizational sphere of Marxism has at its root, no matter whether it comes to the surface before or after the development of bureaucracy, revisionism of the fundamental line of Marxism.

#### HISTORICAL TASKS OF THE PARTY

"The Party that does not keep step with the historical tasks of its own class will become an indirect tool of the other classes at the best, and a counter-revolutionary instrument if not corrected". "When history makes an abrupt turn, even the most advanced parties are for a longer or shorter period of time unable to adapt themselves to new conditions. They keep repeating the slogans of yesterday, slogans which were correct yesterday, but which have lost all meaning today, becoming devoid of meaning 'suddenly', with self-same 'suddenness' that history makes its abrupt turns".

The Party must keep abreast of each given step of the historical process, must UTILIZE ALL THE LESSONS GAINED BY THE PROLETARIAT IN ITS STRUGGLES, if it is to win to its banner the masses for proletarian revolution.

PART II

PROPAGANDA GROUP WITH A MASS ORIENTATION

The Revolutionary Marxian Organization in its first stage of development takes on the form of a League or group. The political formula of this League, based on a general Marxian program, is the two fold condition of theory and practice of a propaganda group, with a mass orientation (action in the class struggle.) The transformation of the League into a Party is not a question of mere numbers, although the question of numbers is part of the problem. Numbers differ in each country; likewise the same number in a given party can denote either a weak or strong Party. To evolve to the higher level of the Party, the League must be able to transform its mass orientation into mass INFLUENCE. This new stage is a cadre party with mass influence - a Party not of the general mass, but only of its most advanced and leading sections.

A propaganda group with a mass orientation can win the advanced workers - workers with other political attachments, or those well developed politically - and the broad layers of the class, only if it carries out an anti-capitalist, pro-communist orientation. To concentrate on the advanced section of the class - to develop the theory that the main enemy is Stalinism (as the Trotskyites do) - can lead only to sectarianism and opportunism. A similar fate awaits those who concentrate on and tail-end the backward prejudices of the broad masses.

The main enemy is capitalism. The bourgeois agents in its ranks are part of the bourgeois structure. To concentrate the whole, or almost the whole of one's activity, on this part, is to negate the struggle against the whole. Similarly to follow the desires of the broad mass - desires developed and maintained by the bourgeois superstructure - means in effect to be following bourgeois class collaboration ideology.

THE NEW COMMUNIST (4th) INTERNATIONAL

Although the Communist Fourth International does not exist today, its foundation must be laid in the present period. The Revolutionary Marxian Organization must work for the building of the New International as the most essential need of the working class if it is to achieve power.

Such an International will be a democratic-centralized World Party, with national sections working to smash world imperialism and establish a world proletarian state. Its world program will take into consideration the peculiarities of each country, the uneven development of capitalism, and will have to map out specific "national" programs for the working class in each country.

As a first step in this direction, the Revolutionary Workers League of the United States, is working towards the developing of contact with revolutionary forces in other countries and the establishment of an International Buro, based upon the principles of Marxism.

# THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION

History has placed on the order of the day the social revolution of the proletariat against the exploiters. Although the present period of decay is marked with imperialist wars and political revolutions, colonial wars of liberation, the crowning point and decisive struggle against world capitalism is the struggle to overthrow the existing property relations, smash the exploiters state, and in its place establish new socialist property relations and a new type of State, a Workers State.

## A REVOLUTIONARY SITUATION

The social revolution is not the product of any group of individuals no matter how thorough or capable they may be. It is the result of the objective economic breakdown - the inevitable economic breakdown of capitalism, which can and must be guided through correct channels by a subjective force ( the Marxist Party, if it is to be successfully concluded.

The three key factors that distinguish a revolutionary situation from other periods are:

1- Economic breakdown.

2- The inability of the exploiters to continue to rule in the old ways. With the increasing crises and depressions the divisions in the ranks of the bourgeoisie become greater and greater; the antagonism between the bourgeoisie and the petty-bourgeoisie increases; the smaller booty garnered by capitalism as a whole can obviously only have the result of a much sharper struggle in its division. Add to that the maturing of the class struggle arising out of the same situation. In these factors lie the explanation for the inability of the exploiters to continue to rule in the old ways.

3- The class struggle is sharpened and the masses are thrown into action of a revolutionary nature. The economic struggles for immediate demands become metamorphosed into political struggles against the state and for ultimate demands.

But to transform these historical factors into a successful social revolution, a fourth factor, the Revolutionary Marxian Organization, which guides the masses in action against the class enemy plays the decisive role. For despite the favorable objective situation the activity of the masses may be derailed or channelized into bourgeois channels by the reformists, centrists and other agencies of capital, as in Spain today, Russia under Kerensky, Germany under Ebert, etc. Only the Marxian organization - the vanguard of the class - can point out the aims, methods, strategy of the social revolution, developed on the basis of the total experience of the class, and lead the class toward the seizure and maintenance of power.

## THE AIM OF THE REVOLUTION

The basic question in any revolution is that of state power. Possession and control of the economic apparatus does not in itself solve the problem of power. Without an instrument of force and oppression against the enemy class - remainders and reminders of which play a role for many years after the seizure of power - without this instrument (the State) the proletariat can not seize or hold power. Unless this is understood, there can be no intelligent participation in the revolution, let alone directing it. Our aim is the social revolution, a proletarian revolution which will establish the workers' rule and change decisively the mode of production, replacing the profit system with production



for use. But this aim can be accomplished only through the destruction of the bourgeois state and the establishment for a certain period during transition economy to socialism, of the Workers State, the Dictatorship of the Proletariat against the Bourgeoisie and its remnants. The bourgeois state can not be made to serve in the interests of the proletariat. It must be overthrown and replaced by the Workers State, which in the United States will take the form of Workers Council Government.

#### THE CHARACTER OF THE STATE

The state is a product of irreconcilable class antagonisms. It is the instrument of the ruling class, used for the subjection and exploitation of the exploited and oppressed masses. So long as there are classes in society, there will be the state. The character of the state changes on the basis of changes in the mode of production. The three systems of exploitation - chattel slavery, feudalism, and capitalism - have all had states based on the exploitation of man by man.

Regardless of its form, each state is a DICTATORSHIP over the oppressed masses of the people - no matter whether it is a monarchy, Republic, bourgeois "Democracy", a People's Front, or Fascist State. Its function is to defend the property rights of the rulers with force of arms against the ruled. It throws reforms and concessions to the working class, under capitalism, only under pressure and only in order to maintain its stability. But these are merely maneuvers within the general framework of the dictatorship AGAINST the oppressed. Before classes appeared in society, there was no state. When classes disappear, under communism, the state will disappear. But in that period, between capitalism and communism, when economy has not reached a high enough stage for socialist production, for the COMPLETE liquidation of classes and of the former rulers, the bourgeoisie, the Workers State remains as a temporary instrument to accomplish that end.

#### THE CHARACTER OF THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION

The revolution varies according to the economic development and conditions in each given country. In economically backward countries where the majority of the population are peasants, the first PHASE of the social revolution will be bourgeois democratic (agrarian). This does not mean that in the present epoch we will witness an agrarian revolution in such countries today and later on a proletarian revolution. On the contrary, the bourgeois (agrarian) phase of the revolution continue into the proletarian phase; and the problems of the bourgeois revolution can be solved only by the proletarian revolution. In the advanced capitalist countries, with the majority, or a near majority of the masses belonging to the working class, the revolution will be from the very beginning, the proletarian revolution, both in form and content, even though in parts of most of these advanced countries, there will be agrarian carryovers that will color the struggle.

#### THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION

An important aspect of the problem of the social revolution is the question of its dynamic development until the proletariat smashes the bourgeois state and establishes its own rule. The SOLUTION of the working class problems, as well as the solution of the problems of the oppressed masses, can be obtained only by the permanent development of the revolution from one stage to the next until state power is seized. This is called the permanent revolution.

In the early stage of imperialism, bourgeois democratic revolutions in backward countries were possible and the bourgeois regime resulting from such a revolution could be stabilized for a period. Nevertheless, the proletariat was the motor force of these revolutions. A solution of the agrarian and democratic tasks could be achieved only by the proletariat carrying the revolution over to the proletarian revolution and the seizure of power.

Today, in backward countries, this relation between the agrarian carryovers, the bourgeois democratic revolution, and the proletarian revolution takes on the content of an agrarian (bourgeois) PHASE, as the first stage of the PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION. This is due to the economic development of capitalism which has passed beyond a condition of a bourgeois democratic revolution separate and distinct from the proletarian revolution.

The next important aspect of the permanent revolution is the relation of the establishment of proletarian power in one country to world economy. The building of socialism in one single country, under the pressure of world capitalism, is impossible and represents a reactionary national revisionism which is a negation of the social revolution. Only by utilizing the isolated Soviet State as a center for world revolution, only by pursuing the program of extending the revolution to one or more countries as rapidly as possible can the single Soviet State continue its growth.

The permanent revolution in relation to this second aspect of the problem, demands first of all, steps toward the extension of the October revolution, and as part of this, the industrialization of the Workers State, with an increase workers share in material things and workers' democracy to the degree of the internal development, in order to take advantage of the revolutionary situations that mature, and transform them into successful revolutions.

The third aspect of the permanent revolution expresses the class antagonism in those countries where the Dictatorship of the Proletariat has been established. In these countries, the class struggle continues, only under the new condition that the former exploited majority controls state power. This continues until economic development lays the foundation for the elimination of classes and the withering away of the State.

#### FORM AND CONTENT OF THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION

The strategy of proletarian revolution follows no blue print. To repeat mechanically the lessons of the victorious October Revolution in other countries, would lead to defeat. The peculiarities of each country (e.g. the Negro question in the U.S.) must be taken into account. Each revolution has new and different forms that must be considered. But at the same time, we must not forget that the fundamentals of capitalism are worldwide and the fundamental questions of every revolution are the same in content, though different in form. In that light we can consider a general strategy of proletarian revolution and the lessons of the October Revolution in Russia.

The task of the vanguard is to unify in ACTION the proletariat and the majority of the oppressed for a struggle for power. This does not mean political and organizational unity of the so-called working class parties; on the contrary, in order to put forth a PROGRAM that serves the INTERESTS of the class, it is necessary to conduct the sharpest political struggles against these agencies of the bourgeoisie in labor's ranks. The unity in action of the oppressed masses against the ruling class can only be achieved on the basis of the revolutionary

PROGRAM; without this program, strategy and goal, the struggle is beheaded from the start.

The program itself is flexible as to tactics and strategy, although its basic principles (surplus value, position on the state, proletarian dictatorship, permanent revolution, independent class action, etc.) remain unchanged. There is a distinction for instance, between the line of action during so-called "peaceful", pre-revolutionary periods, when the vanguard is primarily concerned with participating in and raising the struggles of the masses for immediate demands to a higher political plane of class struggle; and periods of revolutionary upsurge, when there is the actual struggle for power. Similarly there is a difference between the strategy in the struggle for power and after power has been seized.

### WORKERS COUNCILS AND THE PARTY

The Party cannot take the masses into its organizational folds and the Party cannot utilize this most powerful social force without some proper organizational channels. Under capitalism, the most effective weapons are the industrial unions and in a period of revolution, although the unions play an increasingly important role, the Workers Councils, springing up at the time as the higher form of proletarian organization to become the decisive organs through which the vanguard Party functions as the guide to the class. Workers Councils are not "created" by the revolutionists. Like the Unions, they are the products of the new conditions of the social revolution. When the objective conditions are ripe, the revolutionists take the initiative in organizing and developing these instruments.

After power is seized, the Workers Councils, composed of delegates directly from the factories, farms, etc., become the ruling organs of the state. Nevertheless, Marxists make no fetish of Workers Councils, just as they make no fetish of any ORGANIZATIONAL form. Under the domination of the revisionists, the Councils may, under certain circumstances, be obstacles to revolution.

Soviets which are merely a mechanical bloc of parties with the membership of those parties making up the total membership of the Soviets, are fatal caricatures. The Soviets of workers, soldiers and peasants take on different forms, spring up through different channels, etc., but no matter what the forms are they must embrace the decisive sections of the workers in the given spheres of economic life. The Soviets are based on primarily industrial rather than geographic structure, although they can have an element of the geographic in their structure. Freedom of political expression in the revolutionary period must be maintained. The Soviets, through their administrative bodies must maintain control of the economic life, the armed forces and the general function of society if the proletariat is to become the ruler of society.

In periods of revolution, the Soviets are a dual form of state in opposition to the bourgeois state. As such the Soviets must endeavor to remove from its officials all of those who enter the bourgeois government, no matter what form it takes, be it a coalition government, "labor", or "workers" government. The leaders of the Soviets must be allowed to rule ONLY THROUGH THE SOVIETS.

### DUAL POWER AND THE PARTY

Every proletarian revolution has a certain period which side by side with the government of the bourgeoisie there has developed another, as yet, weak, embryonic, but undoubtedly real and growing government - the Soviets of Workers and Soldiers Deputies.

This power is the type of the Paris Commune of 1871.

The fundamental characteristics of this type of power are:

1 - Its origin is not in law previously considered and passed by the bourgeoisie but in the direct initiative of the masses from below, everywhere; in the outright "seizure" (to use a popular expression) of the mines, mills, factories, and land.

2 - Instead of the police and the army - institutions separate from the people and opposed to the people - there is the direct arming of the whole people; orderly government is thus assured by the armed workers and oppressed masses themselves, by the armed people itself.

3 - Officials, bureaucrats, are either displaced by the direct rule of the people or at any rate, placed under special control; the officials of the dual power are not only elected by the people but also become subject to recall at the initiative of the people; instead of bureaucrats forming a privileged social stratum occupying snug, highly remunerative berths, the new officialdom is composed of workers skilled in handling the "tools" of government and receiving salaries not exceeding those of the average skilled workers.

#### THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

The Dual Power - the embryonic Workers State existing side by side with the old bourgeois apparatus - is finally resolved by an armed struggle, an armed insurrection against the powers that be, and the liquidation in toto of the old state. The new society and state that arises is the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

The Dictatorship of the Proletariat is a persistent struggle, sanguinary and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, educational and administrative, against the forces and traditions of the old society. The force of habit of millions and tens of millions is a terrible force. Without an iron party steeled in the struggles, without a Party enjoying the confidence of all that is good and honest in the given class, without a Party capable of keeping track of and influencing the moods of the masses, it is impossible to conduct the struggle successfully.

The dictatorship of the Proletariat is based upon new property relations, upon socialized property relations, with the nationalization of the decisive sections of the economy (to begin with and as far as possible under the given circumstances) under the control of the working class through its organs of power and with socialized instead of individual appropriation. The organizational form of this Dictatorship is the Soviet structure with its organs of force, the Workers Army, and its other administrative bodies.

The proletariat needs this state for the purpose of crushing its antagonists. The proletarian state is a "transitional phenomenon" which is needed "in the revolutionary struggle". In the proper sense it is not a state. It is a special transitional form of a state, the first state to be based upon productive relations that are for use rather than for profit, the first state to be based on the rule of the former exploited majority instead of the exploiting minority, the first state that has as its purpose the utilization of the forces of production to such an extent that classes disappear, and the state itself begins to wither away. It is the first state that prepares the way for real and universal freedom, a freedom possible only under the higher economic order of Communism.

## THE PARTY AND THE DICTATORSHIP

The Marxian Party and the Workers State (the Dictatorship of the Proletariat) are not one and the same, as the Stalinists and other revisionists would have us believe. The Workers State is based on democratically elected Soviets of workers from the factories, farms and mines, no matter whether they belong to the Party or not. The Party and the Workers State are not entirely separated, on the other hand. The Marxian organization is the guiding force of the Soviets, through which the class exercises its dictatorship.

### THE SOVIETS AFTER POWER IS SEIZED

The Soviets in the period of dual power and the Soviets as the instrument of Proletarian Dictatorship represent two different stages of the struggle. Under capitalism, in the period of dual power, all "working class parties" (reformist, centrist, Marxist) must be given full freedom of expression. The masses themselves will judge and test the various positions in action; and if given full freedom of expression will be able to select the Party representing its class interests, the Marxian organization, and move to the seizure of power.

There can be, however, only one party that serves the INTERESTS of the working class. Those parties which after the establishment of the new order do not accept it are parties of the bourgeoisie attempting in one way or another to prepare the way for the re-establishment of the bourgeois order. They must be suppressed as all parties of the exploiters must be suppressed.

This does not include, however, certain parties, groups, or fractions, which in the first period of the Workers State accept the Proletarian Dictatorship and its foundation principles. Such parties and groups will continue to exist with full freedom of expression within the bounds of the new society until they are by a natural process merged into the Marxian party, or until their policies drive them into fundamental opposition to the new society.

The suppression of anti-working class and counter-revolutionary parties does not mean the suppression of Workers Democracy. The right of factions within the bounds of democratic centralism in the Marxian party, and the freedom of expression in the union, workers council, etc, will assure the democratic rule of the proletariat.

# STRATEGY & TACTICS OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE

## REVOLUTIONARY STRATEGY

Revolutionary strategy must be based upon the world character of capitalism. World capitalism today brings to the surface, in abrupt changes, revolutionary situations, which, if not transformed into successful revolutions by the vanguard and the masses, will be seized on by reaction to establish some form of counter-revolutionary power.

Revolutionary strategy and tactics flow from revolutionary theory. The cornerstone of revolutionary strategy is the policy of independent action of the working class. The development of this independent action - the bursting asunder of the bonds that tie the proletariat to the bourgeois system - has undergone a process from the birth of capitalism. Each step in the direction of the independent action of the class must be studied by the Marxian vanguard so that none of the errors of the past are made; its lessons are assimilated; and the proletariat shall not be forced to repeat past mistakes and defeats.

In the present epoch of wars and revolutions, revolutionary strategy and the tactics which are subordinated to that strategy, have taken on greater importance than ever before. Marxism is an inter-linkage of theory and practice. Failure to develop the scientific practice - strategy - from the scientific theory, inevitably leads to the negation of that theory.

## DEVELOPMENT OF REVOLUTIONARY STRATEGY

The 1st International was the first big step taken to make the proletariat conscious of itself as an international and an independent force. The strategy it laid down in the course of its existence was one based on a period of still progressive struggles of the bourgeoisie, in which the proletariat was correct to give its support under its own independent banner. It was a strategy worked out in opposition to Utopian Socialism, Anarchism; Proudhonism, and Bakuninism.

The 2nd International by reassembling the forces of the proletariat internationally under the banner of Marxism, gave the labor movement new impetus. But almost from the first the 2nd International was hopelessly divided into two generally opposing forces, with the revisionists dominating its apparatus. The strategy of the majority was that the "movement is everything, the end is nothing". Such a strategy could not but end in the social patriotism of 1914 and the counter-revolutionary role of 1918 onwards.

The victorious October Revolution and the establishment of the 3rd International developed revolutionary strategy to a higher stage. Based on the lessons of the 1905 and the two 1917 revolutions it developed that strategy to fine detail, including the forms of the working class rule and power. But the growth of Stalinism as a revision of Marxism supplanted this development with the nationalist theory of Socialism in One Country.

The 4th Communist International is necessary today to re-establish Marxian principles and revolutionary strategy in their rightful place. Based on the experiences of the victories and defeats of the last twenty years it will develop a strategy even more comprehensive than that of the 3rd International under Lenin. The Revolutionary Workers League, as a movement for the building of the 4th Communist International, has made revolutionary strategy a central point of its program. That strategy and line has already been tested and found correct in the RWL's theoretical work and some practical activity in the Spanish Civil War.

#### WHAT IS REVOLUTIONARY STRATEGY

Revolutionary strategy is a combined system of analyses of events and actions based on these analyses, which have as their aim the development of the proletariat towards the conquest of power. Revolutionary tactics are the single acts that fit into this strategy. The manouevring ability and flexibility of revolutionary strategy is of a subordinated, auxilliary, and expedient character in relation to the principled method of revolutionary struggle. The execution of revolutionary strategy and tactics is dependent on the weapon of the class, the Revolutionary Marxian Party.

#### THE CLASS STRUGGLE

Revolutionary strategy is based on the class struggle, the irreconcilability of classes. It is the application to the various situations of the policy of independent class action.

The irreconcilability of classes under capitalism does not mean that the exploited class, the proletariat, never makes any gains or reforms under capitalism. But there is a distinction between the material gains made by independent working class action (class gains), which are a step in the direction of greater class solidarity under revolutionary leadership toward the proletarian revolution; and those granted by the bourgeoisie (reforms) in an attempt to deaden the class-consciousness of the proletariat and thereby to channelize working class action. Even though the material gains in both instances may be similar, the two types of gains are in their class nature antipathetical. Material gains "granted" by the exploiters are (objectively) due to class pressure no matter whether granted after or on threat of class action, or through the labor lieutenants of capital in order to check class action.

## IMMEDIATE DEMANDS AND ULTIMATE DEMANDS

The Revolutionary Marxian organization fights for the day to day immediate demands of the working class, but at not time separates them from the aim and object of the ultimate demands for the overthrow of capitalism. Immediate demands gained will never solve the problems of the proletariat; they can at best ameliorate them for a time. Under decay capitalism the bourgeoisie is less and less capable of granting reforms. The bourgeoisie takes those gains back in a hundred different forms: inflation, speed-up, rationalization, stretch out, political appeals for patriotism, etc. The immediate needs of the working class can be solve finally and conclusively only by the full and complete overthrow of capitalism. Revolutionists struggle for immediate demands in that light, as a means of developing step by step the consciousness of the proletariat to the need of the overthrow of capitalism.

The opportunists are concerned with the immediate demands as an end in themselves, while the ultra-lefts are totally oblivious of these necessary struggles of the proletariat and are concerned only with the ultimate demand. The revolutionists try to achieve a proper correlation of these actions to help guide leftward moving layers of the working class on the road to revolution. In the period of revolution the immediate demands merge and blend as one with the ultimate demands.

### THE ORGANIZATION OF THE UNORGANIZED INTO INDUSTRIAL UNIONS WITH A CLASS STRUGGLE POLICY

Revolutionists work to organize the unorganized workers for the struggle for immediate demands in the economic sphere into industrial unions with a class struggle policy; and to consistently raise the political level of these workers toward revolutionary struggles.

Wherever the workers are already organized the revolutionists must work in the reactionary trade unions in order to win the broad layers of the class to a revolutionary policy and to defend their daily needs against the exploiters.

Revolutionists work wherever the masses are - whether in the CIO, AFL, Independent Brotherhoods, or other unions; or if not organized work to organize them. Both inside and outside these organizations the Marxists work for a class struggle policy based on industrial unionism. At all times, however, the class struggle policy is decisive, not the structure. Despite the differences in structure, for instance, between the CIO and AFL, both organizations are equally reactionary, both favor class collaboration instead of class struggle policy. The class relations in the U.S. (after 1929) being to the left of the period of AFL domination, was the objective base for the CIO mass organization, in spite of the class collaboration policy of the CIO leadership.



Wherever revolutionists work they attempt to organize progressive groups within the unions based on class struggle policy, in opposition to the reactionary leaderships and toward the end that the workers control their own union. Such left groupings must be coordinated on a national scale into a national left-wing force for a struggle against the boss and against all class collaborationists.

Revolutionists struggle for rank and file control of the unions, not for "rank and file leadership" of the unions. On the basis of a class struggle policy and industrial structure the revolutionists struggle for the unification of the whole trade union movement. But trade union unity is not a catch phrase with revolutionists. We work for one union in the industry with a class struggle program. But unity on a class collaboration program can not help the workers. The class collaborationists because of unity with the bosses and the exploiters are in reality splitting labor's ranks.

Revolutionists struggle against Jim Crowism, Anti-Semitism, etc. in the union. There can be no talk of democracy or of effective working class struggle in the Unions where Jim Crowism against Negro workers exists.

In the actual struggles of the trade unions against the exploiters, in strike action, etc., revolutionists must conduct a struggle on two fronts. In order to win the struggle the workers must fight the boss agents in the union as well as the boss. Workers can fight the boss, can win the strike only on the basis of a fight at the same time against class collaborationist policies.

#### UNEMPLOYMENT

In the period of decay capitalism, unemployment, always a phenomenon under capitalism, reaches unheard of proportions. In the U.S. more than one third the working population is fully unemployed and another large section partially unemployed. With the rationalization of industry most of these millions will never be reabsorbed into industry. They can find work and security only with the overthrow of capitalism.

The unemployed worker comes into conflict with the bourgeois state more often and more sharply than other sections of the class. The program of any unemployed organization must have as a central point that unemployment can not be solved under capitalism and the need of a new social order.

The pressure of class conditions forces the reformist controlled unemployed organizations into an open and direct subservience and tie-up with the bourgeois state and its war plans, sacrificing and running counter to the elementary needs and interests of the unemployed masses. Revolutionists work in these organizations in an attempt to win the membership to class struggle policies. Because of the vast field of unorganized and the class collaboration-

ist character of the existing unemployed organizations which stand as an obstacle to any real drive to organize the unorganized unemployed, revolutionists wherever possible work towards the establishment of an independent unemployed organization with a class struggle program, an organization that will take in not only workers on relief but workers on the Works Projects established by capitalism.

The unemployed workers can be a potent force in the organization of the working class. The trade union movement especially must aid in the organization of the unemployed and coordinate the work of the employed and unemployed workers.

Both in the trade union and unemployed fields revolutionists fight at all times for the right of every member to have full political expression. "No politics" in the mass organizations can mean only one thing: bourgeois politics. Revolutionists fight for the right of every member to present his own political point of view, and attempt to win over the majority to the class struggle and Marxian point of view.

#### DEMOCRATIC DEMANDS VERSUS "BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY"

Revolutionists are unalterably opposed to bourgeois democracy, a form of bourgeois rule. Revolutionists, however, never fail to fight for democratic demands under all forms of capitalist rule. Such demands can be won, and in fact were won, only through sharp struggle. The rights to organize, picket, free speech, free schools, elimination of the debtors prisons in the U.S., etc., were won only with the loss of hundreds and thousands of lives in struggle against capitalist "bourgeois democracy". In the decay stage of capitalism the bourgeoisie is unable to grant democratic demands as it did in the progressive stage. As a consequence the struggle for democratic demands becomes part of the revolutionary struggle against bourgeois democracy itself.

#### MASS PICKETING, DEFENSE GROUPS, WORKERS MILITIA

Among the many democratic rights won by the working class the right to picket is one of its most powerful weapons. As the economic condition of capitalism grows ever weaker and the bourgeoisie strikes harder against the oppressed masses, the working class is forced to use more militant tactics in order to defend itself. Mass picketing is an important weapon in every strike. It serves the purpose of winning over the workers who are still working, of stopping scabs and materials from entering the struck plants, of gaining support from other sections of the working class, and of spreading the strike. The "sit-downs" in which the workers take over the plants to prevent their operation in the strike go a step further. They are a challenge to the bourgeois private property rights.

Supplementing the sitdowns and mass picket lines, workers must organize Defense Groups (Flying Squadrons) to defend themselves against the police, national guards, paid thugs of the various corporations, and reactionary and Fascist bands. Such Defense Corps are the embryos of the Workers Militias established during dual power.

### OPPRESSED LAYERS OF THE POPULATION

The working class is not homogenous. It has certain natural subdivisions: youth and aged, men and women, Negro and white, nationality, etc. The bourgeoisie uses these natural divisions to pit one against the other in order to drive down still lower the standard of living of the masses in general.

#### YOUTH

Youth are one of the most oppressed strata of capitalist society. On the one hand decay capitalism has no room for youth in industry; on the other it uses youth as the cannon fodder in imperialist war.

The youth must be organized as an important part of the organization of the unorganized of the United States. Its most advanced section, like that of every oppressed stratum, must be organized into the Revolutionary Workers League. But for the purpose of working among the youth and winning them to the full program of the Marxian organization, because of their psychological and other factors, a special youth organization must be built by the Marxian organization, as its youth section.

The youth section in no way mechanically duplicates the work of the political organization of the workers. It supplements its work in the special problems of the youth under the political guidance of the Revolutionary Marxian Organization. It coordinates its special youth work with the campaigns of the political organization which is the vanguard. The youth organization is politically subordinate to, and organizationally autonomous of the Revolutionary Marxian organization. In organizing the youth into trade unions, unemployed organizations, etc., it coordinates organizationally its fraction work with that of the political vanguard organization.

Revolutionists demand for the youth equal pay for equal work, independent relief for all youth equal to adult, the coordination of free education and practical vocational training, the right for all working youth regardless of age to vote, etc., as a means of narrowing down the division between youth and adult.

#### WOMEN

Another oppressed stratum of the working class is woman. Trained and brought up under capitalism to be subordinate to man, she is

used by capitalism to supplant male workers in industry at an increasing rate. The rationalization of industry and the simplification of each task in the large plant system has made the employment of women more possible than ever before. But in the plants and on the farms female workers receive proportionately a far lower wage than male workers.

In the social field the lot of woman is one of a social subordinate. The double sex standard ostracizes her under circumstances where the male finds no difficulty whatsoever.

Revolutionists must take into account the natural problems of woman and the social problems created by private property, to fight for equal pay for equal work, for equality of opportunity with the male, and for certain immediate demands peculiarly necessary for women, such as adequate rest periods, vacations with pay for certain periods before and after child-birth, etc.

#### THE AGRARIAN QUESTION

The Marxian organization, as the vanguard of the proletariat, represents the interests of ALL of the oppressed. It must therefore present a solution not only to the problems of the agricultural workers - who are part of the working class - but to the sharecroppers, small and middle farmers, who are likewise oppressed by capitalism through heavy mortgages, taxes, limitations of crops and government control, who feel the pinch of the so-called cooperatives, etc.

The small farmers and sharecroppers compose a section of the petty-bourgeoisie. The capitalist process since its inception has been throwing the farmer off the land and into the factories. This section of society by itself, with its political instability, lack of cohesiveness and organization flowing from its essentially petty capitalist economy, can never give leadership to the oppressed. History has proven beyond a shadow of doubt through many struggles, defeats and victories, that none but the city industrial proletariat under the leadership of a Revolutionary Party can emancipate the great rural masses from the yoke of capitalism and landlordism, from ruin and hunger. There is no solution for the poor farmers and agrarian workers except by joining with the revolutionary city proletariat, to support it in revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of the rule of the capitalists and landlords.

The Marxian organization supports the struggles of the small farmer against evictions, against high mortgages, high rents, etc., and attempts to coordinate this action with action by the proletariat at the point of production. It fights for a cancellation of mortgages in the small and middle farms. It supports the militant strikes (milk strikes, etc.) against the exploiting middle

man, the produce markets of the city. It exposes such limitation schemes as the AAA, which invariably operate in the interests of the banks and the large farmers against the small ones, and in the interests of large industry against agriculture, and in fact has thrown thousands of farmers off the land.

In the United States the slogan "Land to the Farmer" will cover only a small minority of the farm population - the small farmers in New England, certain parts of the South and a few other sections. The revolutionists must demand the nationalization and socialization of the big bonanza farms in the midwest and west, and the establishment of large cooperative farms (on a sound economic base and not by "decree") in the smaller and middle farm areas. The Marxian organization says to the agrarian population: "Seize the land owned by the banks and large landowners - do not wait for any formal passage of laws sanctioning their seizure".

The American farm situation is much more related to the proletarian struggles than in any other country. Many of the leading agricultural states are at the same time the leading industrial states: Illinois, Michigan, Ohio, Pennsylvania, New York, etc. The American proletariat will be unable to carry out its historical mission if its vanguard isolates itself and shuts itself up in its narrow trade union roles and restricts itself to petty factional self-sufficiency. The Revolutionary Party must carry the class struggle into the rural districts and gather around itself the laboring masses in the country.

The Revolutionary Party must win first of all the hired agricultural laborers, working on the farms for wages. These workers must be organized into industrial unions and the most developed of them drawn into the Revolutionary Party to be trained for leadership of the rural population.

The Party must organize the Negro and white share-cropper tenants in the South into non-Party organizations with class struggle policies, to fight, among other things, against Jim Crowism, lynchings, and social and political discrimination against the Negro masses. These struggles will be led by the revolutionary agrarian wage laborers and must be coordinated with the trade union and other struggles against Jim Crowism in the industrial sections.

The Party must gather around itself the numerous poor farmers, petty agrarians who must work for wages part time even though they own their own farms, sharecroppers and tenants. It must teach these oppressed masses that they have everything to gain by the victory of the proletariat, a victory which will bring them the abolition of mortgages, of payment of land rents in money or kind to the landlords, abolition of high interests on loans, and the distribution of free land to the propertyless croppers, tenants and laborers.

## PART II WAR AND CIVIL WAR

Marxists are not opposed to war in the abstract - unlike the reformists, pacifists, etc. Marxists are opposed to imperialist wars, but are for the class war, for colonial wars against imperialism, and for civil war against capitalism.

### IMPERIALIST WAR

Imperialist war is the continuation of imperialist political and economic struggle by other means - military means. It comes at a time when economic crisis is at its sharpest.

Revolutionists answer the imperialist war with class struggle strategy that will lead to civil war for the overthrow of capitalism. That strategy can be only the strategy of revolutionary defeatism, of the revolutionists on both sides working for the military defeat of their "own" army and country during the war time, even if this means the momentary "victory" of the "enemy" army. In periods of war time all struggles for immediate demands flow from the line of revolutionary defeatism. Only on the basis of the disruption of the bourgeois state and apparatus by the strategy of revolutionary defeatism can the proletariat, under the guidance of its vanguard, turn the imperialist war of the capitalist brigands, into a civil war of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie to end once and for all the profit system and imperialist war. Without the strategy of revolutionary defeatism in ALL imperialist countries in war time the overthrow of capitalism is impossible.

No matter which imperialist nation on the surface appears to be the aggressor nation in imperialist war, no matter which appears to be the defender, all imperialists are the aggressors, the driving force for war. It is the economic contradictions of capitalism, the need for new markets for capital and goods, for colonies and spheres of influence, and the continued exploitation of the old markets, which drive ALL imperialists to war. Similarly there is no distinction between the "democratic" and the Fascist nations, between nations allied or opposed to the Soviet Union. All are imperialist nations driving for war and the continued and increased exploitation of the workers and oppressed. For the working class these distinctions make no fundamental difference. The strategy of revolutionary defeatism applies in all instances.

Those who support the bourgeoisie in peace time - the opportunists, class-collaborationists - likewise call for the "defense of the fatherland", the support of imperialism in war time. "Unity with the opportunists" in war time "is an alliance of the workers with 'their' national bourgeoisie and a split in the international revolutionary working class". The support of the war mongers is social chauvinism, opportunism brought to completion.

## COLONIAL WARS

The tasks of the bourgeois democratic revolution (land reform, industrialization, etc.) can't be completed in any backward nation under the rule of world capitalism. In the present period of decay capitalism the colonial bourgeoisie can play no independent or progressive role. It can serve as a puppet for one imperialism or another. It is totally impotent in fighting imperialism AS A WHOLE. The colonial bourgeoisie fears the aroused masses far more than it does the imperialist oppressor, and will betray the masses rather than see a social overturn. Under these circumstances, while revolutionists support all colonial wars against imperialism, they give all their material and political aid only to the revolutionary vanguard and the armed masses themselves in struggle in the colonial countries. Imperialism can be ousted in the colonies only by proletarian revolution, with the aid of the proletariat of the advanced imperialist nations.

The Chinese struggle against Japan and the Ethiopian struggle against Italy have proven this point to the hilt. The butcher ChangKai Shek, who slaughtered thousands of workers and denied them even a semblance of democracy, can not oust imperialism from China; he can merely substitute American or British imperialist domination for Japanese domination.

The proletariat in the colonial countries - small as it is - is the only force capable of mobilizing the large peasant and semi-feudal population for a struggle against imperialism, and at the same time, against the colonial bourgeoisie, the puppet of imperialism. In the struggle against imperialist oppression or invasion, the proletariat and oppressed masses must organize their independent militias, and workers, soldiers, and peasants soviets. With these instruments of dual power it may be necessary for a certain period to march separately from the colonial bourgeoisie but strike together against the imperialist invader. Such parallel action does not imply, however, either material or political support to the colonial or imperialist bourgeoisie, and is a tactic within the framework of the struggle against the imperialists and their lackeys as well.

## DEFENSE OF THE U.S.S.R.

No matter what kind of a war the USSR is involved in, Marxists support the Soviet Union. It will be a struggle between the proletarian dictatorship, despite its warped condition, and capitalism. We favor the independent action of the working class in Russia against world imperialism and against its agent within, Stalinism. But we point out that despite the fact that Stalinism has warped the first Workers State, any war of the USSR is in essence a revolutionary war on the part of the Workers State, and as such we must defend it.

Defense of the USSR and support - either political or material - to Stalinism are two entirely different things. The defense of the USSR essentially depends on the world proletariat as well as the Russian proletariat, and can be accomplished only on the revolutionary line of the extension of the October Revolution and the re-establishment within Russia of full Workers Democracy and the Soviets. The program of Stalinism is diametrically opposed to the needs of the defense of the USSR. Stalinism can not defend the Soviet Union. It paves the way for counter revolution in Russia. To give support to Stalinism, even in a disguised form of material aid ("and political criticism") as the Trotskyites do, is to give up the Defense of the USSR to the agents of imperialism.

Marxists give their material aid in Russia only to the Marxist Fourth Internationalists in an attempt to build a new Communist Party in Russia, and to those mass organs, Soviets, Workers Militias, etc., in which the masses may be able to regain a measure of workers democracy and to carry out independent working class action.

Revolutionists do not oppose shipments of munitions, etc. to the S.U. They endeavor to send them to the workers organs fighting on an independent class line. They demand workers control of all such shipments and of production in general. The bourgeoisie can not be trusted to deliver material labelled for the Soviet Union to the Workers State; furthermore, what it does send to the SU will be consigned to Stalinism or some other anti-working class force. The revolutionists do not sabotage shipments of munitions because those munitions will fall into the hands of Stalinism; except where Stalinism or other bourgeois agencies in the Soviet Union come into open armed conflict with the workers; nevertheless, they attempt as far as possible to get such material aid into the hands of the Marxists and the masses in action in Russia.

In those countries which may be "allied" to the SU in war time, Marxists continue to carry out the strategy of revolutionary defeatism and attempt to turn the imperialist war into civil war.

### PART III STRATEGY OF THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION

As a product of capitalist decay the revolutionary situations have increased in the imperialist stage. So, too has the role of the working class. When capitalism was young the workers played an important role in all social revolutions, but were too weak to effectively challenge the rule of the exploiters. The revolutions of 1848 revealed this condition. But in the Paris Commune of 1871 a change could be seen. It was a curtain raiser revealing the historical mission of the proletariat. By the time of the 1905 revolution the role of the proletariat was revealed as the driving force of the revolution.



Since then the revolutions have developed on a much higher plane and at a more rapid tempo. Over two dozen revolutions have taken place in all parts of the world since the victorious October Revolution. The lessons of these many revolutions are incorporated in this programmatic material.

Above all these lessons prove that without a Party, without a leadership, without a revolutionary Marxian program, no successful revolution is possible. The Russian Revolution and Lenin's program reveal the lessons of proletarian revolution more clearly than any other struggle in history. They show the need of irreconcilable struggle against defensism (imperialist war) and its supporters; for the capture of the Soviet majority; for the overthrow of the Provisional (bourgeois democratic) government; for the seizure of power by the Soviets; for a revolutionary peace policy of socialist revolution at home and the extension of the October revolution internationally.

#### POLITICAL STRUGGLES

Every struggle for immediate demands forms a cohesive link with the struggle for ultimate demands. Every economic struggle is a political struggle which the Vanguard Party must help bring out more clearly and sharply. Democratic demands in periods of war or revolution take on revolutionary forms. Revolutionists must counterpose the demand of the workers independent control of the armed forces, and the arming of all the people to the bourgeois army under the control of the bourgeois state.

#### ARMED INSURRECTION

The bourgeoisie, which through its state rules by force, will not give up power peacefully, by being voted out of power, or any other such means. To overthrow capitalism it is necessary for the working class to defend itself against the force of counter-revolution by the use of Revolutionary Force, by armed insurrection.

Armed insurrection is an art which all Marxian organizations must study and develop. The fate of a whole social revolution may depend at times on the proper use of this art.

#### MARCH SEPARATELY AND STRIKE TOGETHER

In the armed struggle against Fascism, and in the armed struggle for power, the proletariat are often confronted at a certain stage of the struggle with a simultaneous armed conflict of the reactionary or Fascist capitalists against the "democratic" capitalists. That is, the "democratic" capitalists place themselves at the head of the working class in order to channelize workers action, derail it and in the end openly turn around to smash the working class.

Under this three cornered struggle the proletariat must utilize the friction within the camp of the exploiters by using the strategy of marching separately from the "democratic" capitalists and striking together against the reactionaries.

This means complete political and organizational independence from the "democratic" bourgeois forces. The proletariat maintains its independent organizations (Workers Councils, Workers Militias, Workers Control of factories and production, etc.) refusing under all circumstances to give them up; these organizations do not under any conditions subordinate themselves to the "democratic" bourgeoisie; the Vanguard Party continues its agitation against the "democratic" bourgeoisie; the struggles for immediate demands is not given up. Where the proletariat is so weak it does not even have its independent organs, but is swallowed up within the bourgeois army and apparatus, the strategy takes on the form of agitation and work for the creation of these independent organs. The strategy demands that no material aid be given to the "democratic" bourgeoisie. Material aid to these forces is a negation of the workers struggle and is capitulation.

March separately and strike together means to concentrate the main energy against the right arm of the capitalists under the particular circumstances, and at the same time by different means carry on the struggle against the left arm, the "democratic" capitalists, in order to defeat both the Fascists and "democratic" capitalists at the proper time.

#### WORKERS MILITIA

The most important organ under the Soviets is the Workers Militia, the armed working class itself, which like the Soviets is based on the economic unit, the factory. The Workers Militia operates on the principle of the democratic election of officers, subject to recall by the militiamen, plus full centralization and discipline during action. After power is seized, the Workers Army established by the new Workers State attempts to maintain - within the limits of the economic advancement or backwardness of the particular country - the structure of Workers Militia.

#### WORKERS CONTROL OF PRODUCTION

The slogan "Workers Control of Production", which under capitalism is used as a propaganda slogan, as a bridge to mobilize the masses from the struggle for immediate demands to the struggle for ultimate demands, becomes in the revolutionary and pre-revolutionary periods a slogan for action. The beginnings of Workers Control of Production can be achieved in this period under the organs of Dual Power. But the full control of the decisive sections of industrial production by the proletariat can be accomplished only under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, the Workers State.

## FOR A GOVERNMENT OF WORKERS COUNCILS

In those countries where industry is highly developed, where the majority of the toiling masses belong to the working class, a popular slogan for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat is that of a "Workers Government". For the United States our slogan is "For a Government of Workers Councils". In countries where the workers are a minority, the slogan "Workers and Peasants Government" may be used to denote the same concept, the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. We reject the concept of a capitalist "Workers and Peasants Government", or a non-capitalist, non-proletarian "Workers and Peasants Government". Our use of this slogan is confined only to backward countries and only to denote Workers Power under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

We reject in principle the Stalinist position of support of the Democratic Dictatorship of the Proletariat and Peasantry, and the Trotskyist position of support to a Workers and Peasants Government as a "transition" to the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. Between the Dictatorship of the Bourgeoisie and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat there can exist no other kind of state. The type of government both the Stalinists and the Trotskyites refer to is a bourgeois government, a bourgeois state. We refuse any support to any such state.

## SUPPORT OF COLONIAL STRUGGLES

The enormous markets offered to capitalism by the exploited colonies has been one of the bulwarks of capitalism. Part of the surplus value extorted from the colonies has been used as a bribe for the workers or sections of the working class (e.g. the skilled workers) at home.

There can be no struggles against imperialism, without at the same time actual aid to the colonial peoples for their liberation from the yoke of imperialism. Especially is this true in the British Empire, where the outbreak of revolution in the colonies will mean the lapse of England into a twenty-rate power and the augmentation of the revolutionary forces at home. In the United States aid to the struggles of the colonial masses of Cuba and Latin America (as well as Canada which is economically dependent on the U.S.) will greatly weaken the American imperialists and aid the revolution at home.

Marxists fight for the RIGHT of self-determination for the oppressed minorities and the national minorities, and utilize the slogan as an auxiliary action to win allies against the imperialist oppressor. In the colonial and semi-colonial countries our aim and line of action is to win the proletariat AS WORKERS FOR PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION, and not as allies through auxiliary slogans. The auxiliary slogans are used to win over the other layers of the oppressed,

and for BACKWARD layers of the workers who are not won over on the main line of action.

The slogan "Right of Self-Determination" is a necessary concession just as is the slogan "land to the peasants", to a backward layer of capitalist society. But it must be understood as a concession within the general line of the struggle for a world proletarian society. With the advancement of world economy under the socialist mode of production the inequalities between the "home" country and the "colonial" country will disappear and there will be a natural blending into the world socialist state of those nations or minorities who exercise the right of self-determination to remain independent.

#### ALLIES OF THE PROLETARIAT

The oppressed agrarian masses, the Negro masses, the colonial masses of Cuba, Porto Rico, the Phillipines, and Latin America, and the urban lower middle class constitute the non-proletarian forces under capitalism who must be won over to the proletarian revolution.

The different sections of the urban middle class of today in the end can only serve the interests of finance capital. They can play no independent role whatsoever. Pressed between the contradictions of capital and labor, the middle class does not know which way to turn. On the one hand constantly pushed out of business and position by big capital, increasingly more of its members are forced to become proletarians. On the other hand it maintains its old traditions and aims - that of becoming big capitalists. It vacillates therefore between the two main contending classes and becomes an easy victim of Bonapartist dictators that claim to rule above classes and "for the interest of all".

Unless won over as an ally of the proletariat the middle class will become a Fascist force. Whereas the young progressive capitalism at birth brought forth the revolutionary Jacobinism of the lower middle class, decay capitalism ushers in the opposite, Fascism, a bourgeois movement which utilized the middle class discontent for the needs and interests of finance capital.

In the United States the rural middle class - the farmers - is of the same social stratum as the urban middle class, although there is great friction between the small farmer and the "new" middle class in the cities which is tied hand and foot to finance capital. In more backward countries, the peasantry is a much more oppressed stratum of society and can be depended on to play a proportionately greater role than the middle class of the advanced countries.

The alliance of the proletariat and the peasantry must by no means be understood in the sense of a merging of the different classes or of the parties of the proletariat and peasantry. The attempt

to create such a merger (the "bloc of four classes" in China in 1927, the various Peoples Fronts, Farmer Labor and Labor Party movements) always and inevitably lead to defeat. Not only the merging but even the prolonged concordance would be detrimental for the socialist revolution of the working class.

Proletarians and semi-proletarians of town and country must organize separately. Do not trust the possessors, even the small ones, even though they "labor". We support the peasantry in its struggle against finance capital, but we must remember that it is a movement of another class, not the class which can or will accomplish the social revolution.

Distrust the peasantry; organize separately from it; be ready for a struggle against it, inasmuch as it is a reactionary or anti-proletarian force; but attempt to work with it and win it over to proletarian revolution. For if the peasantry does not follow the workers it will follow the bourgeoisie. There is, there can be, no middle course.

#### THE UNITED FRONT

The Marxists struggle against the People's Front, which subordinates the workers to one section of the exploiters in their fight against the other sections; and instead propose the united front of the working class. The purpose of the united front is to bring to bear the greatest amount of working class pressure possible against the capitalists and to gain the immediate class objectives; to train in struggle and educate the masses in action; to expose in action all misleaders; and to win the rank and file to class struggle and to revolutionary Marxism.

The united front must at no time result in a compromise in principles.

The leadership of the masses is not guaranteed to the Marxist organization even in the revolutionary period. That leadership must be won in action. The united front, as a tactic for increasing the striking power of the masses, at the same time is a tactic for gaining influence over larger sections of the working class and oppressed.

The united front is a temporary agreement between a number of organizations of working class composition to struggle for an immediate demand or demands. It is unity IN ACTION, not in parliamentary manouvers or discussions and resolution-passing; and it must permit each organization the right of criticism of the other organizations in the agreement, even though, of course, slander and personal attacks should not be indulged in, nor issues not pertinent to the united front dragged in mechanically. There must be constant attempts to bring in those organizations that at first

refuse to participate. Each organization retains the right or minority expression and political criticism.

The United Front is no substitute for independent class activity or for the Marxian Party as such. If this is kept in mind and the organizational and political independence of the Party maintained throughout a united front, such tactics can bring great results not only in relation to the specific demand, but in politicalizing the workers and helping to win the proletariat from the centrists and reformists.

The United (Workers) Front must not be understood as a People's Front - the reformist (primarily Stalinist) revision of the united front. The People's Front is not a temporary agreement of working class organizations for Action. It is a permanent agreement primarily for parliamentary manouvers. It is the subordination of the workers organizations to the bourgeoisie. It is a unification on a "minimum" political PROGRAM, where the United Front is a unification on a minimum program of ACTION. In the former case the PROGRAM can be nothin but a reformist or outright liberal bourgeois program - since it is a "minimum". In the latter case we have a class struggle ACTION.

#### COALITION GOVERNMENTS

Parliamentary activity as a whole is merely an auxiliary to extra-parliamentary activity, to class action. Revolutionists participate in parliamentary campaigns (and in parliament where elected) to expose the bourgeoisie, to help disintegrate the capitalist forces, to utilize the tribunal to reach vast sections of the masses with the message calling for the overthrow of capitalism, including its state and parliament (Congress in the U.S.). But there is a world of difference between participating in the legislative arms which can be used as a forum to reach the masses, and entering into or participating in coalition governments, in bourgeois cabinets, (even if it be a left coalition government, such as Brandler was instructed to enter in Saxony in the German Revolution of 1923 - a "Workers and Peasants" government so-called). Participation in such governments is a position of taking responsibility for the bourgeois state apparatus, and working together directly with the bourgeois top state executive committee. It can lead only to a diminution of extinction of class action - as it did in the German revolution of 1923 and in countless other instances.

Parliamentary activity of those who participate in coalition governments as a principle - the reformists - has as its cornerstone the "capture" of the "democratic" bourgeois state and the peaceful transformation from capitalism to socialism. History has proven time and again that the attempt to utilize the bourgeois state for the gradual evolution to socialism is a brake upon the maturing proletarian revolution. Entry into the cabinets of bourgeois

states is the highest form of class collaboration, steps which the bourgeoisie falls back upon only when the danger of maturing class struggle threatens it and an agency within the ranks of labor must be found to channelize that class struggle.

Marxists can rule in the interests of the proletariat in only one type of government, the government of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, based on workers Councils and assuring Workers Democracy.

#### CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLIES

In the bourgeois revolutions Constituent Assemblies played important roles in furthering the democratic aims of the bourgeois revolution. There are countries today, however, in which the bourgeois revolution has not yet developed to any high level; the country is in a backward state where the agrarian carry-over, and the land-owner domination tied up with finance capital, make possible the utilization of friction between the national bourgeoisie and land-owners, and the proletariat and peasantry. In such countries the proletariat can advance the demand for the Constituent Assembly as A PURELY Y AUXILIARY slogan. That slogan was tenable in Russia in 1917. It is false, however, in Spain 1936-39, because the Spanish Revolution - the democratic phase - has already passed far beyond that stage.

The slogan of Constituent Assembly is an auxiliary action to win allies and must be concretized in each given situation. Even some backward countries at certain periods it would not be advisable to advance the slogan; it may be advisable to boycott.

In Fascist or countries of extreme reaction the advancing of the slogan by the reformists and "liberals" is a historical anachronism serving no revolutionary purpose. Bourgeois democracy (which must not be confused with democratic demands) is no solution for the problems of Fascism, although the bourgeoisie can revive it for short periods to head off the class struggle. It can not solve the problems of the working class. The masses are already far beyond such stages. The attempt to establish a Constituent Assembly in Fascist countries can lead only to still further disillusionments and demoralization within the masses. We fight at all times - especially under Fascism - for democratic rights, for the social revolution; we fight against the "democratic" state or its establishment.

#### IMPERIALIST INTERVENTION

There can be no social revolution in any country without the intervention of other imperialist powers in one degree or another. Those who use this as an excuse to "postpone" the social revolution betray the social revolution. Every social struggle - no matter in what country it takes place - is an international struggle in content. It demands the action of revolutionists throughout the world to fight against intervention and to use this struggle against intervention as a springboard towards the proletarian revolution at home.

# THE REVOLUTION IN THE U.S.

## THE ECONOMIC STATUS OF THE UNITED STATES

The United States today is part of the world decay of capitalism. The varied expressions of the combined development of capitalism have reached their most complex forms in the U.S. Its geographical position, its rich resources, the fact that it is the only imperialist power on the western hemisphere, the frontier for expansion westward and southward, and later the "industrial frontier" of new industries, plus its arriving late on the imperialist scene and its gains from entry into the last world war, have made the U.S. the greatest economic empire the world has ever seen - surpassed historically but not yet materially only by the transition economy of the Soviet Union.

This development of the United States has created on the one hand this very high economic development and on the other hand an extremely backward political development of the classes.

The United States, since the war, enjoys the unique position of being at one and the same time the largest producer of raw materials, of industrial commodities, of means of production, and the outstanding exporter of capital. Such a position must obviously intensify the basic contradictions between production and markets, with the other imperialists and oppressed colonials unable to sell back or export capital to the equivalent of what they buy and invest in the U.S. In an attempt to overcome this contradiction the Roosevelt regime has begun a system of sharp limitation of production, primarily in the raw material field, sacrificing agriculture to industry, which will play a more important role with each passing year, no matter what capitalist party is in power.

Despite these contradictions the American colossus is so powerful it has successfully shifted the burden of the crisis onto the backs of the oppressed within the country as well as on the colonies and on the nations that compose the weaker links of world capitalism, nations forced to more desperate measures at the present time in order to survive.

The great accumulation of capital in the U.S. is accompanied with the largest standing army of the unemployed in the whole world; the highest rate of exploitation and the lowest percentage of the population over 40 still alive. Such a relationship can lead only to the most rapid advance in class consciousness and the shift of American capitalism to war, bonapartism, Fascism and social revolution.



## THE ROLE OF AMERICAN IMPERIALISM

The tremendous productive forces of American Imperialism brought to full blossom in the last world war and the "golden twenties" now confronts a shrinking world market with a greater number of imperialist rivals struggling for a place under the sun.

The fundamental factor determining the role of American imperialism in the world is the ever growing discrepancy between the gigantic economic strength of American imperialism, which in the economic sphere has made it the leading world power, and its failure up until now to obtain sufficient markets for these productive forces. Its failure to obtain political leadership to equal its economic position rests upon this contradiction.

For a while in the political field America's political shadow hung over every country; but with the end of the '20s it lost some important struggles: the refusal of the European powers to pay their war debts; the temporary loss of political influence in Germany as a result of Fascism; the inability of the dollar to displace the pound as the international medium of exchange; the failure to check the Japanese invasion in Asia, with or without England; the failure to drive British influence out of Argentina and the influence of other imperialists in some of the smaller South American countries.

America's position by its very nature is one in which her greatest rival is Great Britain. On the one hand the greatest productive power, and on the other the greatest political power on a world scale. Due to that political power - its world colonies - Britain has been able to hold its own against American Imperialism. But the rivalry of these two nations plays a significant role in all imperialist struggles. It is the underlying motif for the realignment for the next World War; with American imperialism as the driving force for that war.

## THE NEW IMPERIALIST POLICY

America's economic might, and its geographic position, having two continents to itself, gives it a key position in world politics. The U.S. appears well nigh impregnable in the Carribean. What America now needs is to make the Pacific an American sea in the same sense that the Carribean is already an American Mediterranean. America must attempt - if it is to exist at all - to organize the world for its imperialist interests just like Japan tries to organize Asia for its own imperialist interests, and Germany attempts to organize Europe as a step towards Asia.

Towards this end the "new imperialist policy" of American Imperialism has passed through its first stage of internal reorganization on the economic field - a reorganization to a greater eco-

nomics of scarcity, to further limitation of production (NRA, AAA., etc.) by government control - and is now passing over to the second stage, away from its "disarmament" propaganda to its "big navy policy", in other words to a more open preparation for war. The fundamental needs of American imperialism can be fulfilled only by a victorious war. It is organizing its masses at home for such a war with all sorts of war propaganda, CCC semi-military camps for the youth, vast increases in armaments, and the mobilization of industry for war manufacture.

The era of the battleship invasion (Nicaragua, for instance) and "dollar diplomacy" has given way to the "friendly neighbor" policy. This merely means that the present administration, because America's economic might is so powerful, finds it is cheaper to penetrate the colonial sphere by economic pressure rather than the "big stick". This new policy always keeps in reserve, and includes the former policy of open force, as a last resort.

America's policy in Latin America defends with greater skill its interests today than the old "Monroe Doctrine" formula. It is in reality the Monroe Doctrine in new garb. In the Phillipines it is far more economical to allow the Phillipines to fight for the defense of "their" own island against "invaders", with the U.S. aiding them to keep their "independence", than it is for Uncle Sam to ask these natives to fight directly for the United States.

The next stage of this new imperialist policy will be the open drive for war, and the imperialist war itself.

#### CLASS RELATIONS

With the increased economic crisis there has been an increased "Europeanization" of the working class in the United States. The rationalization in industry, displacing hundreds of thousands of skilled with unskilled workers, the enormous unemployment, and the crisis itself is pushing the American working class out of its backward political development to the forefront of the world wide proletarian struggles. The crisis of 1929 and the new crisis of 1937-38, which is a continuation of the general downward curve, brought with it a permanent army of millions of unemployed and an intensified class struggle. The new economic situation, developing out of the impasse that the accumulation of capital has reached has increased the struggle between the classes and has aggravated the struggle within the exploiters.

Within the exploiters the main struggle between the Morgan bloc of capitalists and the Rockefeller bloc, and the struggles of the lesser blocs of capitalists, has been greatly intensified. Furthermore the struggles within each group of capitalists has sharpened, with certain of the comparatively lesser lights being disposed of. The conflict between finance capital and the petty bourgeoisie is causing a realignment of political forces in which sectional interests

play an important role.

But while the exploiters struggle among themselves for better positions against each other, and are constantly eliminating greater sections of their own class from the realm of the might, when threatened by the proletariat they inevitably unite to suppress the exploited.

As part of the changing class relations in the U.S. there has been a shift in the trade union movement, with the CIO - an organization with class collaboration policy and industrial structure, as against the craft structure of the equally class collaborationist AFL - becoming the key to the organization of broader sections of the working class behind the bourgeois system and its war plans (the same role that the AFL played in the last war, only on a much wider basis today).

The unification of the working class, American born and foreign born, Negro and white, Americans and Latin Americans has been accelerated by the crisis and the new internal developments. All of this points toward greater class conflicts. Not the least important will be the role of the youth, who have no future today under capitalism.

#### THE NEGRO MASSES

The problems of the 13 million oppressed Negro people in the U.S. constitute an important element in the class struggle. The Negro people are an oppressed minority in the United States, an integral part of the American scene.

The economic grievances of the exploited Negro masses are a complex two-fold question. On the one hand a good section of its population - constantly growing smaller - live in the South under conditions which are to an extent a carry-over from Chattel Slavery. They live as small agrarians, sharecroppers, tenant farmers, and sometimes as peons. On the other hand, another section - a constantly increasing section proportionately - of the Negro population is doubly exploited in the field of industry; exploited first and primarily as wage slaves, and secondly because of their color and chattel slave carry-over conditions, given worse work and lower pay than their white brothers. So long as the exploiters can obtain the aid of the white workers to maintain this position of double oppression of the Negro workers (or any other section of the population) it will be impossible for the workers as a whole to free themselves.

Although the majority of the Negro masses still reside in the South and live as agrarians, the Negro masses can free themselves from racial oppression only through their joint efforts with other workers for the proletarian revolution. Revolutionists must fight

for the full social, economic, and political equality of the Negro masses under capitalism, as a means of rallying the oppressed Negro for the social revolution.

The various movements "back to Africa", or any other movement based on the assumption that the Negro problem constitutes a special racial problem instead of a class problem, is reactionary and leads to the further enslavement of the Negro masses. We reject the concept of the "Right of Self-Determination for the Black Belt"; we reject any solution of the Negro problem by recourse to the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments of the American Constitution, the present Stalinist panacea for the Negro masses.

### THE LATIN AMERICAN MASSES

The iron heel of American imperialism is felt throughout Latin America, but to the highest degree in the Central American area. The bourgeoisie of these colonial and semi-colonial countries merely act as puppets for one imperialism or another, or one section of the American imperialists or another. They play no independent role; the various nationalist movements they sponsor for "independence" can play no independent role, except to change from the domination of one imperialist power or group to another. An anti-imperialist struggle in these countries as well as in other parts of the world can be conducted only by the proletariat with the guidance of a politically and organizationally independent Marxian Party.

The double exploitation in the Latin American countries and the burden of the crisis makes these countries ripe for revolution. In many of them the social revolution may develop before it does in the U.S., although it is not excluded theoretically that the revolution will break out first in the U.S. These revolutions must be considered by the workers and the Marxian Party in the U.S. as THEIR revolution and they must give aid to those masses in action against the United States. These conflicts can be used to arouse and educate the American workers to their real tasks. Even though the revolution starts in Latin America its success depends not only upon its extension into other Latin American countries, but its ability to create full revolutionary support of the American workers to stay the hand of American Imperialism.

The revolutions in Latin America will be proletarian revolutions even though the first phase of these revolutions will have an agrarian make-up (bourgeois democratic phase). Regardless of the fact that the proletariat is the minority in most of these countries, it will nevertheless be the motor force of the revolution. The Latin American masses will be organized by the proletariat and its vanguard Party for the United Socialist Soviet Republics of Latin America.

## CANADA

While the problems of the Canadian masses are somewhat different in form from those of the Latin American people, in essence the problem is the same. Although formally a part of the British Empire, Canada is economically dominated by American Imperialism. American Imperialism considers Canada, just as she does the rest of the Americas, as part of its war apparatus. Because of its proximity to the U.S., the fact that its people are for the most part English-speaking, and the great investments by American Imperialists on the other side of the border, there is more possibility of rapid cooperation between the two sections of the working class of these countries, than most other countries in the Western Hemisphere. The proletarian revolution in Canada will be an important link in the chain of proletarian revolution in the Western Hemisphere to vanquish the American Colossus.

### THE COMING AMERICAN REVOLUTION

The economic power, natural isolation, and backward class relations in the United States has been responsible for the theory that this country will be the last to have a social revolution. This is far from true. The factors that have made it possible for the United States to come out of the last World War as the leading imperialist power are the factors that are today intensifying American contradictions and rapidly changing the whole internal and international relations of American Imperialism, rapidly sharpening class antagonisms.

Under the last few administrations giant subsidies have been made to the exploiters, and crumbs have been thrown to the working class (WPA and relief) in order to hold in check the rising class forces. But American Imperialism with its unpaid war loans, its billions spent "against" the crisis, its war preparations, can not keep up this artificial stimulation. The class struggle will break out beyond this check. The whole structure of American Imperialism with its acute contradictions in the accumulation of capital and its structure that rests upon the quick sands of every continent on earth is making for class struggles and revolution. These contradictions cannot be solved peacefully. America will resort to imperialist war, will attempt to impose greater and greater class restrictions upon the working class. But even a "victory" in the next war would not solve the difficulties of American (or any other) imperialism. On the contrary the coming period will sharply aggravate these contradictions.

The Marxian vanguard must prepare itself in the light of these objective conditions. The concrete American conditions - The Negro, Latin-American, enormous foreign born population, the peculiar American psychology, the size of the country, and even the position of its Capitol far away from its industrial centers, must be

taken into account by the working class in its struggle for power. To mechanically repeat the forms used in Europe will be of no avail. But the essence - the line - of proletarian revolution will be the same in the U.S. as in other countries.

The establishment of a WORKERS COUNCIL GOVERNMENT in the U.S. will be founded on a higher level at the very start than the Soviets in Russia. The economic conditions of the U.S. and the past experiences of the world proletariat will enable the American proletariat to assure far more workers democracy through the Workers Councils at the start, than Russia developed in its best period. Our Dictatorship of the Proletariat will free the whole western hemisphere from the imperialist rule and establish the United Socialist Soviet Republics of America.

## THE TRANSFORMATION OF SOCIETY

After the overthrow of capitalism, "between capitalist and Communist Society there lies a period of revolutionary transformation of the former to the latter. To this also corresponds a political transition period, in which the state can be no other than the revolutionary Dictatorship of the Proletariat. In this period the State, which is essential to the exploiters, is also essential to the proletariat. This state of a transitional type is a new kind of state. Under this transition state a new type of democracy, proletarian democracy takes the place of bourgeois democracy. But under Communism, after the state has withered away democracy becomes a habit and for that reason dies out, giving place, through a higher transformation to the principle of 'from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs'".

In this transition period defeats and setbacks are unavoidable. The transition period "cannot produce justice and equality. ("Justice can never rise above or superior to the economic conditions of society and the cultural development conditioned by them!") "Differences and unjust differences in wealth will still exist, but the exploitation of man by man will have become impossible because it will be impossible to seize as private property the means of production.

"And so in the first phase of Communist Society 'bourgeois rights' is not abolished in its entirety, but only in part, only in proportion to the economic transformation so far attained, i.e. only in respect of the means of production. 'Bourgeois rights' recognizes them as private property of separate individuals. Socialism converts them into common property. To that extent and to that extent alone, does 'bourgeois rights' disappear. Under this period, he who does not work shall not eat. This is not yet Communism, and this does not abolish bourgeois rights".

In general the progress of mankind from capitalism to Communism is to be gauged by the development of the economic forces. There can be no talk of Socialism - the first phase of Communist society - without a higher economic order than capitalism, without economic conditions for the masses far higher than those under capitalism. And there can be no beginnings of the withering away of the state except when economic conditions have become so ameliorated that the incentive to private accumulation has been shattered by a higher economic order.

Socialism is that system of society, directly after transition economy in which all the means of production (land and industry) have been socialized (instead of just the decisive portion socialized under transition economy). Socialism is international

in both form and content. No one capitalist country - no matter how powerful - when overthrown can yield the fruits of Socialism. The pressure of the imperialist powers on the outside and the general interlinkage of world economy will prevent such an outcome. Socialism can be established only after the decisive core of world capitalism has been destroyed in favor of the proletarian dictatorship.

Communism is that social order in which the enslaving subordination of the individuals in the division of labor has disappeared, and with it also the antagonism between mental and physical labor, when labor has become not only a means of living but itself the first necessity of life; when, along with the all rounded development of individuals, the productive forces, too, have grown, and all the springs of social wealth flow more freely - it is only at this stage that it will be possible to pass beyond the narrow horizon of bourgeois rights, and for society to inscribe upon its banner - From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs.

The economic conditions under Communism signify the end of the first cycle of the struggle of man versus nature, in which nature is the dominant force; and the reflection of which is the class struggle. The first phase of this cycle is the period in which nature dominates man, the period of primitive communism, and the transition period to private property societies, the period of barbarism. The second phase is the period where man begins to overcome the natural obstacles through the development of the means of production; it is the period of class societies, of the struggles of man versus man: Chattel Slavery, Feudalism, Capitalism, and the transition period to Socialism, which is at the same time the beginning of a new period in the development of mankind. This third phase is the period of Scientific Communism where man has achieved the economic security for an offensive against nature.