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INTERNATIONAL NEWS

Organ of the

Provisional

INTERNATIONAL CONTACT COMMISSION

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INTERNATIONAL NEWS

SPECIAL-LETTER FROM FRANCE

Note--As we go to press, the comrades in France send us the following information regarding the demoralization in the French movement following the Spanish defeat and the forward steps taken by the revolutionary Marxists. Paris, July 22, 1939

Dear Comrade Jehler:

I have received your letters....

The P.O.I. -- First a report on the French political situation. The POI is no longer a member of the "Fourth International". The POI was expelled by the I.S. and the Trotskyite organization because the POI refused to enter the PSOP. The first number of the "Lutte Ouvriere" put out by the independent POI has appeared. I am sending you this number.... In January 1939 the majority of the POI Congress decided not to enter the PSOP. But the minority, the Rous faction, entered despite the decision of the Congress. This minority, directed by the Trotskyite I.S., entered and demoralized the independent comrades by a number of violations of discipline and democratic centralism. Two delegates of the SWP arrived in Europe to force the POI comrades to follow the Rous faction's example. There were several new entries since spring. The Revolutionary Socialist Youth (JSR) no longer exists. They have entered the JSOP where there are only young Trotskyites (the Rous, Neville, and Molinier factions) and a right wing group of the PSOP which is not to be won over. The JSR is liquidated but they have not gained a single comrade from the JSOP and they will not gain any.

Recently the Neville faction which vacillated between the independent POI and the entry faction, also entered the PSOP and capitulated to the I.S. and the Rous faction by violating the democratic decision of the Congress. The independent POI is a minority of the old POI. Little by little, the majority has entered. The social composition of the expelled comrades is the best: they are comrades in direct connection with the workers in the shops and trade unions. The comrades don't want to compromise themselves by entering the PSOP. But most of these comrades see no other differences with the I.S. than the question of entry. They agree on the other political questions....

The SP, the CP, and the CGT are losing members. The PSOP is rapidly losing members and sympathizers --- due to indifference. The Trotskyite groups are split apart and disorientated; the liquidationist tendency is growing; everywhere there is indifference, disgust, fatigue, slumber and pessimism.... The comrades of the new POI are disgusted or else full of illusions on rehabilitation by the I.S. or by L.D.....

I think the summary for number 1 of the Bulletin is excellent. Your proposals on publication in four languages are splendid. This would be a great step forward for the Marxist regroupment....

The Fourteen Point Program of the Provisional International Contact Commission for the New Communist (4th) International.

The signatories submit the following political statement which as briefly as possible presents a Marxian position on the basic questions of the day, separating the forces for the New Communist (4th) International from the reformists, centrists, and ultra-lefts. This document is the statement of the groups forming the Provisional Contact Commission for the New Communist (4th) International. The statement shall be the political axis for the International Bulletin which the Contact Commission issues.

1 — IMPERIALISM AND THE TASKS OF THE PROLETARIAT

The decay stage of capitalism is one of wars and revolutions, the violent eruptions of the dying capitalist system revealing the inability of the exploiters to solve their contradictions on the one hand, and on the other hand the inability of the proletariat to fully utilize its powers — because of a lack of leadership — to establish the World Dictatorship of the Proletariat. The basic antagonism of society is between world capitalism and the proletarian revolution (the extension of the October Revolution). The struggles among the imperialists are secondary to this basic antagonism.

2 — THE REVOLUTIONARY MARXIAN ORGANIZATION

The Marxian organization, if it is to unify the proletariat in a struggle against capitalism, must remain politically and organizationally independent of all other organizations, including the reformist and centrist parties, such as the Labor Party, Social Democracy, Stalinism and the various centrist organizations. The Revolutionary Marxian Party must be international in program and organization, providing democratic discussion and rights in arriving at all policies, but unified in carrying them out, with the decisions of the higher bodies, up to and including the International Bureau, remaining in force until over-ruled by still higher bodies.

3 — PARTICIPATION IN THE CLASS STRUGGLE

The Marxian Party fights for the day to day demands of the working class, but at no time separates them from the object and aim of the

ultimate demands for the overthrow of capitalism. The immediate needs can be solved finally and conclusively only by the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism.

4 — REVOLUTIONARY DEFEATISM

The Marxian Party fights for the class war against capitalism, and against all imperialist wars, no matter which nation appears to be the "aggressor" or the "defender," no matter whether allied or not allied with the Soviet Union; no matter whether a bourgeois "democracy" or a fascist state. In an imperialist war Marxists on both sides must work through revolutionary class action for the military defeat of their own army and bourgeoisie during the war time, even if this means the temporary "victory" of the "enemy" bourgeoisie. 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 to smash the whole capitalist system.

5 — THE USSR AND THE EXTENSION OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

The Dictatorship of the Proletariat still remains in the Soviet Union although in warped form, with a rising bourgeois stratum within the bureaucracy, with enormous inroads of private property, and the liquidation of almost all of the proletarian state forms, Soviets, Workers Militias, etc. The Stalinist bureaucracy is not a separate class. Stalinism today is a social reformist force resting on the material base of the October Revolution and its property relations, objectively aiding the restoration of capitalist rule in the S.U. and counter-revolution on a world scale. The theoretical base of Stalinism is the nationalist concept of Socialism in one country. Marxists will support the Soviet Union no matter in what kind of a war the USSR is involved. But such support and defense of the USSR can be accomplished only on the revolutionary line of the extension of the October Revolution and the re-establishment within the Soviet Union of full workers democracy and the soviets, a political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy. The Soviet Union can be defended only by a struggle against world imperialism and its Stalinist and other agents

within the Soviet Union. Revolutionists give their political and material aid within the Soviet Union only to the Marxian 4th Internationalists and to those mass organs, Soviet, Workers Militias, trade unions, etc., in which the masses are able to carry out independent working class action.

6 — THE STRUGGLE AGAINST CAPITALISM

The struggle against capitalism can be waged only on the basis of independent working class action in opposition to all forms of class collaboration, parliamentary cretinism and reliance on bourgeois democracy. The struggle for democratic demands is part of the revolutionary struggle against bourgeois democracy itself, as well as all other forms of bourgeois rule (military dictatorship, constitutional monarchy, fascist state, etc.) Fascism can be defeated only by the defeat of capitalism. Marxists participate in parliament only as an auxiliary to independent class action, as a forum to expose bourgeois democracy, Support of bourgeois democracy in any of its varieties including the Peoples Front, so-called Labor governments (MacDonald, Bauer), so-called Workers and Peasants governments (Bulgaria, China 1925-1927, Thuringia 1923) helps pave the way for fascism. Under certain conditions where the breakdown of the economy creates an armed struggle on the part of certain sections of the bourgeoisie to crush the rising proletarian threat, certain other sections of the bourgeoisie for their own economic and political interests, may be forced into an armed opposition to the decisive section of the bourgeoisie. The working class may use parallel action with such "democratic" sections of the bourgeoisie as did the Bolsheviks in 1917 in the struggle against Kornilov. "March separately and strike together," unlike Popular Frontism, involves political and organizational independence from the bourgeois democratic forces, independent organizations of the proletariat (the Party, Soviets, Workers Militias, etc.), no support material or political to bourgeois democracy, unrelenting exposure of the bourgeois forces in preparation for armed struggle against them as well.

7 — THE CHARACTER OF THE STATE

The state is the product of irreconcilable class antagonisms. It is the instrument by which the ruling class suppresses other classes. Under capitalism it is the instrument of the capitalists for the exploitation and subjection of the proletariat and oppressed. This is true of the colonial and semi-colonial countries as well.

There can be no "anti-imperialist," "non-capitalist," "workers and peasants" state other than the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. There is no state in between the Dictatorship of the Bourgeoisie and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. No matter what the composition of coalition governments under capitalism (POUM, Anarchist, Socialists, left Republicans in Spain, in 1937; Social Democrats and Independent Socialists in Germany in 1918-1919, etc.), they can only serve the interests of the capitalists. Marxists reject all co-operation with or participation in bourgeois ministries.

8 — STATE POWER

The basic question in any revolution is that of state power. Marxists fight for the 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 can only be accomplished through the destruction of the bourgeois state and the establishment of the Workers State during the transition period, the Dictatorship of the Proletariat against the bourgeoisie and its remnants.

9 — THE ROAD TO POWER

To overthrow capitalism it is necessary for the working class to defend itself against the forces of counter-revolution by the use of revolutionary force, by armed insurrection. Without a Party, a vanguard on a Marxist program, a successful revolution is impossible. Every proletarian revolution has a certain period where side by side with the government of the bourgeoisie there develops the dual power of the proletariat — the Soviets of Workers and Soldiers Deputies (Workers Councils). The backbone of dual power and later of the Workers State are the Soviets of democratically elected delegates from the factories, mines, mills, battalions, farms, etc., and the Workers Militias. In colonial countries and economically backward countries, the first phase of the social revolution will be bourgeois democratic (agrarian), but this phase will continue into the proletarian phase. The problems of the bourgeois revolution in the present epoch can be solved only by the proletarian dictatorship. There can be no struggle against imperialism without at the same time actual aid to the colonial peoples for their liberation from the yoke of imperialism. Marxists fight for the right of self-determination for the oppressed minorities and national minorities as an auxiliary slogan. They work to win the proletariat of the colonial countries as **workers, for the proletarian**

revolution. The oppressed agrarian masses, the colonial masses and sections of the urban middle class must be won over to the proletariat as allies in the proletarian revolution. After power is seized in one country, socialism can be built only by utilizing the isolated Soviet State as a center for world revolution. Only by pursuing the program of the extension of the revolution to one or more countries as the "long lever" and the industrialization of the Soviet State as the "short lever," can the single Soviet State continue its growth and development toward Socialism.

10 — THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT AND WORKERS DEMOCRACY

The ruling organ of the Workers State is not the Party but the Soviets of delegates from the factories, farms, etc. The Marxian Party is the guiding force of the Soviets. The Soviets are the instruments through which the class exercises its Dictatorship. Workers Democracy under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat is exercised through the organs of the state, the trade unions, and democratic centralism within the Marxian Party, including the right of all factions within the Party at all times, within the framework of democratic centralism. Those parties which after the establishment of the Workers State do not accept basic principles must be suppressed. However, certain parties, groups or factions which in the first period of the Workers State accept its foundation principles will continue to exist with full freedom of expression within the bounds of the new society until they are by a natural process merged with the Marxian Party, or until their policies drive them into fundamental opposition with the new society, at which point they must be suppressed.

11 — THE CONTRADICTIONS OF CAPITALISM

The fundamental contradiction of capitalism is the contradiction between socialized production and capitalist individual appropriation. Having been deprived of the ownership of the means of production, the proletariat owning nothing but its labor power, is forced to sell that labor power at its exchange value. This value is less than the value of the commodities produced by the labor of the proletariat. The difference between the value of labor and the value of the commodities produced by use of that labor power is surplus value. This surplus value is the basis of all capitalist accumu-

lation.

12 — THE NEW COMMUNIST (4th) INTERNATIONAL

The establishment of the New Communist (4th) International is the basic need of the proletariat today. The 2nd and 3rd Internationals are parties of social patriotism, of betrayal. The road to the New Communist International cannot be achieved on the basis of organic unity of these two internationals. Organic unity on an international scale is excluded because the 2nd International is a social reformist force resting on the bourgeois national states, while the 3rd International is a social reformist force resting on a warped Workers State. Organic unity of parties of these two internationals would only further enmesh the proletariat in the clutches of the bourgeoisie. The Fourth Communist International must be built on the line of independent action in the class struggle, on an anti-capitalist, pro-communist orientation. The 4th International cannot be built on the line of unification with the left centrist groups on a "minimum" program. Revolutionary unity of the Marxists in the New Communist (4th) International can be achieved only by the political and organizational separation from the reformist and centrist organizations—the 2nd and 3rd Internationals, Trotskyites, Brandlerites, London Bureau, etc., and by carrying out the Marxian line in the class struggle against world imperialism and its agents in the workers ranks. The "Fourth International" established in an adventurist way by the Trotskyites is a new centrist international built on a centrist program slightly to the left of the IAG. The Fourth MARXIST International, the New Communist (4th) International, is still to be built. Centrist organizations cannot be reformed. Their membership can be won over to Marxism only by a rejection of the centrist organization's whole past course, a purging of its leadership, a re-education of its membership, and a radical reconstruction of its structure and program. Unification is sometimes permissible with a centrist force moving to the left, but only on the basis of a Marxian program and as an auxiliary to the general line of the Marxists for building the revolutionary Marxian Party.

13 — COMMUNISM

The goal of the Marxists is the establishment of a world Communist Society with the principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs."

14 — MARXISM

The New Revolutionary World Party must be built on the principles of Marxism. Revolutionary Marxism represents the interests of the international proletariat as a whole, organizing independent class action of the working class, unifying its struggles on a national and an international scale, thereby placing the proletariat at the head of all the oppressed masses against imperialism. Its aim is the forceful overthrow of the capitalist system and the building of a socialist society.

Organizational Proposals for Steps Toward the New Communist (4th) International

1 - The Provisional Contact Commission shall be a provisional commission for the New Communist (4th) International.

2 - Shall take full responsibility for the issuing of the International Bulletin, and shall develop and extend contact with other revolutionary forces. The Bulletin shall be in two sections: that is, the section of the forces responsible for the issuance of the Bulletin, and the section for an international forum where all

groups working for the New Communist (4th) International can present their positions.

3 - The International Center shall be in Chicago, Illinois, U. S. A.

4 - Each participating organization which is recognized in its country shall have one vote. The vote may be expressed through representatives or by correspondence if the organization is unable to send representatives.

5 - However, to avoid the serious delays and hampering of functioning which correspondence will entail, the International Center shall be authorized to proceed in its own name with the work of the Commission, subject to the decisions and changes which the Commission may make. As soon as possible the organizations of the Contact Commission shall draw in other forces and establish in International Buro.

6 - All organizations participating in the Commission shall undertake to help finance and spread the Bulletin.

Central Committee, Red Front, Germany

Leninist League, Scotland.

Revolutionary Workers League, U.S.A.

THE MOVEMENT AFTER THE SPANISH DEFEAT

Arising out of the disintegrations, regroupments and recrystallizations following in the wake of the defeat in Spain, the establishment of the Provisional International Contact Commission on a Marxian basis is an extraordinary object lesson to the doubters and waverers of the deep sources of reserve strength of the international proletariat.

But the defeat in Spain has been a heavy blow. The profound changes taking place in class relations, with the Franco executions running into the hundreds daily, with over a half million Spanish refugees in France and other countries, only indicate the extent of this debacle. The effects of this are already making themselves felt upon the labor movement of the world, both negatively and positively.

The defeat not only affects those who were wrong and those who betrayed; its material conditions weigh heavily upon those who presented a correct road to power, but who now have additional obstacles to overcome.

One must understand that the crisis in the labor movement which the Spanish defeat has accelerated is not a crisis of Marxism. The fundamental positions of Marxism as a theoretical structure and as it has been developed and pounded out in the heat of the class struggle have stood the test.

GENERAL TREND TO THE RIGHT

The Stalinist and Socialist leaderships, and their "left" supporters of the Peoples' Front, the Anarchist and POUM leaderships, all in their own way helped pave the way for Fascism to triumph, and in one degree or the other played a counter-revolutionary role.

Out of this defeat only the Stalinists are not facing splits. Due to their bureaucratic "homogeneity" they confront a turn-over in membership and a political swing to the right expressed in the most brazen social patriotism yet witnessed. The Socialist Parties in many countries are passing through splits and struggles that take on the form of polemics over the war question — because the Spanish defeat has strengthened the imperialist war-makers. In France the pacifist wing of the SFIO has taken over control from the outright social-patriotic Blum wing of the party. The CNT-FAI are pro-

ceeding through an international crisis with several splits. The main forces in their Spanish Executive Committee whitewash their own role and blame everything on the Stalinists. On the other hand, the Friends of Durrutti state that the real cause of the defeat was the Anarchist leadership and its policies.

Naturally, the Socialist, Anarchist and POUM forces, together with other centrists and reformists, try to shift the whole blame on Stalinism. It is true that Stalinism played the most despicable role of ALL the capitalist agents in the workers ranks; but this in no way wipes out the crimes of these other forces.

The POUM, too, is passing through an internal crisis. At the time the party was declared illegal and driven underground (two days before its national Congress set for June 17, 1937), a split was in process. Now the pent-up underground forces are striving for new outlets. The political position of the POUM left wing was presented in three Internal Bulletins just prior to this Congress, and was later published by the RWL in English in the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL (Vol. 2, No. 13, Oct. 1937).

THE LONDON (PARIS) BURO

Forced out of London because of strained relations with the I.L.P., the London Buro has now become the "New International Revolutionary Marxian Center." The Brandler-Lovestone group, the right wing POUMists, the Neue Weg (SAP split-off), and part of the ILP, with a number of other names without forces, are doing their best to draw in Pivert and the Holland RSAP. They have learned nothing and forgotten nothing in the Spanish struggle. The regroupment is on such a low level that POLITICAL POSITIONS were not even discussed — the main business revolved within the organizational realm. The only political material they could agree on was the old outworn and well-sounding phrases about war and revolution. Thus, the program of the new Center consists of seven beautiful ambiguities that will delight the heart of every centrist. Such questions as revolutionary defeatism, permanent revolution, material aid to Peoples Frontism, socialism in one country, the road to power, etc.,

etc., are conveniently glossed over.

What is true of the London (Paris) Bureau applies with even more force to its front - the "Congress of International Workers Front against War." As the German Red Front comrades say: "... They are nothing but a new attempt to neutralize the working class in the struggle - in this respect they are striving to gain an equal footing with the 2nd and 3rd Internationals... The IWFAW is a purely pacifist organization which gives itself semi-revolutionary coloration by a few radical sentences... They want to lead the proletariat into the swamp of social patriotism, reformism, pacifism, instead of traveling on the courageous road toward the social revolution, which we hope will lead us... toward the new Communist International..."

The IVKO, the Brandler-Lovestone centrist group, which not so long ago had six parties united with them, is today left with the American Lovestone group and the small emigre German group. Seeing which way the wind was blowing, they led in the international rear-guard retreat of centrism, thereby creating the illusion of "leading" in the new regroupment.

It is rumored that a sharp clash has developed between Lovestone and Brandler as a result of Brandler's desire to continue as a caucus within the new Center, in opposition to Lovestone who wants to submit to the Buro's decision that no fraction work be conducted among the member groups - a decision which these two principled "Bolsheviks" agreed to at the time.

THE TROTSKY INTERNATIONAL

The Trotsky movement, which, liquidated its sections on the eve of the July 1936 uprising, played no active role in Spain, with the exception of a few dozen heroic rank and file comrades from Europe who went to fight Fascism, and who, confronted with realities, were forced into consistent opposition to Trotsky and his Buro, although they too committed the usual Trotsky centrist blunders in action.

The Trotskyite theoretical intervention, although to the "left" of the POUM in words (because they were away from the field of action and could talk after the event), will go down in the annals of the movement as one of the blackest spots of betrayal: of liquidations of their organizations, thus preventing the building of a new party, of support of the North

American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy (before they were expelled from the SP), of material aid to the **capitalist** Peoples Front state, of support of "even rotten bourgeois democracy," and a whole series of other crimes with which we have dealt on other occasions.

Since the Spanish defeat, they have accelerated this cycle of degeneration with a new "French turn," attempting to bureaucratically liquidate their French section into the Pivot centrist group. Their American section has already laid the basis politically for liquidation into the Labor Party; the Mexican section supports Cardenas, agent of American imperialism.

Their paper centrist international, established at a six hour conference with 12 sections not invited, is already in the process of disintegration.

THE INTERNATIONAL CONTACT COMMISSION

As against these forces of reformism and centrism, the Contact Commission for the new Communist (4) International is a breath of fresh air to the international proletariat. Small in numbers, but raising high the banner of Marxism, the Contact Commission can become the rallying center for the independent groups in Europe that are working for the creation of a new revolutionary international. The break-up of the centrist internationals, the splits in the socialist and anarchist movements, make a fertile field for a new regroupment. But this must be accomplished against the pressure of the centrist and right wing forces that are driving for a new centrist set-up.

The Marxists on an international scale must accomplish these first steps BEFORE THE IMPERIALIST WAR BREAKS OUT. Only a small beginning has been made. But such an international force clearly grounded on Marxism and presenting the line of REVOLUTIONARY DEFEATISM WILL BE THE DECISIVE VANGUARD INSTRUMENT OF THE CLASS FOR THE OVERTHROW OF CAPITALISM AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT. In the name of the revolutionary proletariat the new International Contact Commission needs the unity of all revolutionary Marxian forces in this task.

"HAVE THE WILL TO BUILD A PARTY AND THE OPPRESSED OF THE EARTH WILL COME TO YOU!"

REVOLUTIONARY DEFEATISM

At the time when the contradictions of decay capitalism are straining to the breaking point, pushing the imperialist powers with tremendous speed toward the second imperialist war for the redivision of the world, the establishment of the Provisional International Contact Commission for the New Communist (Fourth) International is the one heartening step toward the revolutionary unification of the world proletariat to overthrow the capitalist system. And precisely because the drive toward war is intensified by the imperialists while their agents within the ranks of the working class beat the war drums ever louder, it is definitely necessary for the Contact Commission (clearly to reaffirm the Marxian position on the question of struggle against imperialist war.

The historical task of the revolutionary Marxian forces --- to give leadership to the proletariat in the struggle to overthrow the capitalist system and establish the proletarian dictatorship --- must necessarily be concretized at every juncture of the struggle. In the period of imperialist war the revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie must so be concretized by work on both sides through revolutionary class action for the military defeat of "our own" bourgeoisie, its government and armed forces.

THE CLASS INTERESTS OF THE PROLETARIAT

This policy of revolutionary defeatism is dictated, like all other Marxian policies, by the material conditions prevailing, by the class interests of the proletariat and their relation to the imperialist war. The basic contradictions of the decaying capitalist system become intensified a thousand-fold in the period of imperialist war. In this period the struggle for the revolution becomes the struggle to convert the imperialist war into a civil war.

But the revolutionists are not blind to the fact that, despite the above conditions, when the imperialists first launch their bloody war for the redivision of the world, they will be able, by means of their tremendous propaganda machine, and with the active aid of the Stalinists, Socialists and other social chauvinist agents as well as by the armed force of their state apparatus, to line up the workers either with words or with bayonets, for "defense of the fatherland". This was fully demonstrated on August 4, 1914, when the "mighty words" of the official leaders of the Social Democracy became so much grist in the mill of the imperialists. The revolutionists therefore proceed from the premise that when the imperialist war breaks out, the overwhelming mass of the workers will be caught in the trap of "defense of the fatherland".

PROPAGANDA AND ACTION

The first step, therefore, is for the revolutionists before and during the war to increase their propaganda and agitation by every possible means, both legal and illegal, to explain to the workers that "defense of the fatherland", "defense of democracy against fascism", etc. really constitute defense of the capitalist system for their exploitation and oppression. On this basis, as the war progresses, as the untold miseries and horrors of the battlefield, the hunger and speed-up of the factories continue to mount, the resentment, the anger of the workers will continue to grow and will become intensified by the propaganda and ACTION of the revolutionists. It is within this framework that the struggle to convert the imperialist war into a civil war must be concretized and expanded through the advocacy of, and the PRACTICAL ACTIONS leading toward military defeats and reverses of the bourgeoisie and ITS ARMED FORCES in each country. The transformation of the dissatisfaction and rebellion of the masses into revolutionary action against "their" bourgeoisie must thus be facilitated and developed by the revolutionists, who initiate and carry out such actions leading to the DEFEAT of the bourgeoisie and its armed forces. For such defeats necessarily weaken the power of the bourgeoisie to fight off revolution, and weaken the faith of the workers in "their" bourgeoisie.

The AIM of revolutionary defeatism, therefore, is so to carry on and extend the class struggle, so to weaken the bourgeoisie and its armed forces, so to destroy its domination over the workers, so to increase the rebelliousness of the workers and direct it into ever greater revolutionary class actions (which in turn cause greater reverses and defeats) that the mass of workers will be mobilized for revolution, for civil war. This policy must be carried out even if it means the temporary victory of the "enemy" imperialist. No one can guarantee that the revolutionary defeatist actions will lead to a successful civil war. On the other hand, the military reverses caused by such actions will necessarily lead to the military gains of the "enemy". But every such "gain" of the "enemy" imperialist means a greater loss of faith by the workers in "their own" bourgeoisie, greater resentment, etc., and lays the basis to transform these conditions and attitudes into positive revolutionary actions. The DECISIVE point, however, is that the strategy of revolutionary defeatism must be carried on by the revolutionists in ALL the imperialist countries and armies. It is not a question of the victory of one gang of imperialists robbers over another --- that is the axis on which the imperialists wage the war --- it is a question of the VICTORY OF THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION over imperialism. And this can be accomplished, as explained above, by the revolutionary actions in ALL the warring camps for the military defeats of ALL the imperialists as the MEANS AND METHOD to convert the imperialist war into a civil war. This is no longer an "abstract theory" as it was when Lenin developed it in 1914-15, but it is a theoretical strategy that has stood the test of application in the last imperialist war, and was given corroboration by history in the October and other revolutions.

THE SOCIAL CHAUVINISTS

Against the revolutionists stand the imperialists of the world and their social chauvinist lackeys. The last imperialist war saw opportunism brought to rotten-ripe completion in the treacherous actions of the Social Democracy, which openly advocated "defense of the fatherland", support of "their" bourgeoisie, the vote for war credits, etc. While in the last war these imperialist lackeys waited until the war broke out to reveal their treachery, today the Stalinist and Socialist agents of the imperialists brazenly announce BEFORE the war that they favor "defense of the fatherland" under one pretext or another ("democracy vs. fascism", "defend the Soviet Union", etc.). Their treachery remains the same in content, only hastened by the time element, and the revolutionists must take every step to expose and struggle against them as the agent of the imperialists.

CENTRIST SET - UPS BRIDGE TO SOCIAL CHAUVINISM

While the Kautsky centrists called for the "defense of the fatherland" with only more "left" words than the open social patriots, today the centrists have moved to a more "left" ~~cover~~ and hence all the more dangerous --- cover, and speak about civil war. The two chief international centrist forces in existence are the Trotskyite "Fourth International" and the "new" London Bureau (the International Revolutionary Marxian Center). The latter and its "anti-war" front, the International Workers Front Against War, speak with time dishonored phrases about "opposition to war", and "revolution" and it is clear that this centrist amalgam will play an open social chauvinist role in the future. (cf. pp. 18-21).

To the left of this bankrupt outfit stands the centrist ~~Fourth International~~ "Fourth International" (Trotskyites) who, on the question of revolutionary defeatism as well as all other questions of principle, have already left the path of Marxism and career in typical centrist fashion with phrases to the left and the right, but with actions always more to the right. Trotsky has in the past come out for "revolutionary opposition in Germany (?) and political (!) opposition in France" in case of a war between these two imperialists in which the Soviet Union is allied with France. He has also expressed a number of other centrist positions that completely negate revolutionary defeatism. But under pressure of the forces of the Contact Commission and of those revolutionary elements in Europe still affiliated with his "Fourth International", Trotsky has been forced to a left cover in order to save face. In the last issue of the New International, speaking in the name of the editorial board of the Russian Left Opposition Bulletin, he proclaims: "...The idea of defeatism signifies in reality the following: conducting an irreconcilable revolutionary struggle against one's own bourgeoisie as the main enemy, without being deterred by the fact that this struggle may result in the defeat of one's own

overnment; given a revolutionary movement, the defeat of one's own government is a lesser evil. (his emphasis) (N.I., July '39, p.208)

At first glance this seems pretty good. But close examination shows that the qualification "given (i.e., IF) a revolutionary movement" provides a loop-hole that will inevitably be used to justify the FAILURE to apply revolutionary defeatist actions. The R.V.L. has already pointed out (4th International, vol. 4, #3) that it is not enough to speak about the "wish" for revolutionary defeatism and justify the failure to execute a defeatist line because of lack of forces. Trotsky now presents this error in a more "leftward" form. For, from Trotsky's standpoint, where do revolutionary parties exist that are strong enough to carry out such actions? In every country in Europe his forces have sustained splits and nowhere do they exist as a real party (only small leagues). Hence, when the war comes, since there are no revolutionary parties, the strategy of revolutionary defeatism will be declared null and void. This "Marxist". Such is the logic of his position, leading inevitably to social patriotism. At Zimmerwald Lenin was able to get only 8 votes for his position, but instead of proceeding from Trotsky's false basis, he clearly pointed out that it was not only the question of "wishing the defeat, but practical actions leading toward such a defeat". Moreover, even this left-centrist cover-up Trotsky is negated in action by the Trotskyites. In the U.S. members will tell you: "Yes, we are for revolutionary defeatism", but when you read their papers and magazines, you find "For a People's Vote on War" as their KEY anti-war slogan; and this is carried with their work for a Labor Party which if established before or during a war, would play the same role as did the Mensheviks in Russia, the role of the capable governmental lackey of their "own" imperialism. These contradictory and false centrist positions of Trotsky inevitably lead to social patriotism; the revolutionary forces still within the ranks of his paper "International" must recognize this and take the necessary steps to split and join with the Marxists in order to strengthen the international proletarian forces that stand for a revolutionary struggle against war.

UNIFICATION OF THE MARXISTS

These Marxist forces are small, and only the first step has been taken toward their unification. Even now they are hounded and persecuted by the forces of world imperialism, both "democratic" and fascist. And this persecution will be augmented a hundred-fold in the war, when the carrying out of the revolutionary defeatist principles will everywhere constitute high treason. But we know that this is the only correct revolutionary struggle against imperialist war, and for the proletarian revolution, and we are prepared to undertake this struggle. In this connection it is necessary to point out that, to carry out this principle in action, not only must all possible legal channels be utilized,-- but the organization of an

illegal apparatus, the training of capable illegal cadres, the functioning of the party in complete illegality when conditions force this --- these tasks are absolutely indispensable and the steps must be taken NOW to insure their effective realization.

The consolidation of the international Marxist forces on the line of revolutionary defeatism for conversion of the imperialist war into civil war, and the legal as well as illegal functioning of these forces to achieve all possible practical actions leading to such defeat and to the mobilization of the masses for revolution --- this is the decisive answer of the Marxists to the mad drive of decay capitalism toward another predatory slaughter. This is not an easy road, it will not be pleasant travelling; but it must and will be taken. "Revolutionary Social-Democratic work (Bolshevism) may be difficult at present (1915), but it is possible. It progresses in the whole world and in this alone lies salvation". LENIN

LENIN ON REVOLUTIONARY DEFEATISM

"When we say revolutionary actions in war time against one's own government, we indisputably mean not only the wish for its defeat, but practical actions leading toward such a defeat." --
Collected Works, vol. xviii, p. 197.

"Revolution in war time is civil war. TRANSFORMATION of war between governments into civil war is, on the one hand, facilitated by military reverses ("defeats") of the governments; on the other hand, it is IMPOSSIBLE in practice to strive towards such a transformation without at the same time working towards military defeat."
Ibid., p. 198

"An understanding concerning revolutionary actions within even one single country, not to speak of a number of countries, can be realized ONLY by the force of example of earnest revolutionary actions, by their being launched, by their DEVELOPMENT. It is impossible, however, to launch them without wishing the government's defeat, and without contributing to such a defeat. The change from imperialist war to civil war cannot be "made", as it is impossible to "make" a revolution --- it grows out of a multiplicity of diverse phenomena, phases, traits, characteristics, consequences of the imperialist war. Such growth is IMPOSSIBLE without a series of military reverses of those governments which receive blows from THEIR OWN oppressed classes."
Ibid., pp. 199-200

"The only policy of a real, not verbal, breaking of the 'civil peace', of accepting the class struggle, is for the proletariat TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE DIFFICULTIES OF THE GOVERNMENT and its bourgeoisie WITH THE AIM OF OVERTHROWING THEM. This, however, cannot be achieved, it cannot be striven at, without wishing the defeat of one's own government, without contributing to such a defeat."

Ibid., p. 200

"If perish we must, let us perish in the struggle for our own cause, for the cause of the workers, for the Socialist Revolution, and not for the interests of the capitalists, land-owners and Tsars --- this is what every class conscious worker sees and feels. Revolutionary Social Democratic work may be difficult at present, but it is possible. It progresses in the whole world and in this alone lies salvation."

Ibid., p. 213

"Unity with the opportunists is an alliance of the workers with 'their' national bourgeoisie and a split in the international revolutionary working class....The war has proven the inadmissibility of this combination in the future. To keep UNITED with opportunism at the present time means PRACTICALLY to subjugate the working class to 'its' bourgeoisie, to make an alliance with it for the oppression of other nations and for the struggle for the privileges of a great nation; at the same time it means splitting the revolutionary proletariat of all countries."

Ibid., pp. 230-31

TASKS OF OUR DELEGATES AT THE HAGUE

"On the question of combatting the danger of war in connection with the conference at the Hague, I think that the greatest difficulty lies in overcoming the prejudice that this question is a simple, clear and comparatively easy one.

"We shall retaliate to war with a strike or revolution' --- that is what all the prominent reformist leaders usually say to the working class. And very often the seeming radicalness of these replies satisfies and calms the workers, co-operators and peasants.

"Perhaps the most correct thing to do would be to start by refuting this opinion in the sharpest manner; to declare that particularly now, after the recent war, only the most stupid or hopelessly false people can assert that such a reply to the question of combatting war is of any use; to declare that it is impossible to 'retaliate' to war by revolution in the simple and literal sense of these terms.

"It must be explained to the people how great is the secrecy with which war arises, and how helpless the ordinary workers' organizations are in the face of war that is really impending, even if these organizations call themselves revolutionary.

"Again and again it must be explained to the people in the most concrete manner how matters stood in the last war, and why

they could not be different.

"Particularly must it be explained that 'defense of the fatherland' becomes an inevitable question which the overwhelming majority of the toilers will inevitably settle in favor of their bourgeoisie.

Therefore, first, explanation of the question of 'defense of the fatherland'. Second, in connection with the latter, explanation of the question of 'defeatism'. And finally, explanation of the only possible method of combatting war, viz., the preservation and formation of illegal organizations in which all revolutionaries taking part in the war shall carry on prolonged work against war -- all this must be brought into the forefront."

Selected Works, vol. x, pp. 316-317

THE "CONVENTION" OF THE "FOURTH INTERNATIONAL"

EXCERPTS FROM A LETTER FROM EUROPE

.....The "International" Founding Convention which was held in September 1938 lasted six or seven hours. The Trotskyite press reports on this convention are absurd lies. A number of European countries were not present and not invited. This includes these sections and groups: Switzerland, Holland, Norway, Sweden, Hungary, Rumania, USSR, Spain, Italy, Denmark, Czechoslovakia, Austria. But all these sections --- except the Austrian --- are named in "Unser Wortes" false report (German Trotskyite organ, Dec. 1938) as sections or groups of the "Fourth"; but the report utterly ignores the fact that these sections were neither invited or present. The report lies by saying that several sections...could not attend for "financial reasons". This is a lie! The International Youth Conference (!) also lasted about a day (six hours). At the adult Conference present were the sections from France, Belgium (only the Belgian I.S. member), England, Poland (which declared against proclaiming the "Fourth"), Greece (emigre), Germany (emigre with no connections in the country...). That is all. Of the non-European sections only a rather strong American delegation. At the Youth Conference were the same delegates, excepting one from Belgium....

* * * * *

"Whoever has not understood when reading Marx that in capitalist society, on every acute occasion, at every serious conflict of classes, it is only possible to have either the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, or the dictatorship of the proletariat, has understood nothing of either the economic or the political teaching of Marx."

-- LENIN, "The Third International and Its Place In History"

PROBLEMS OF THE WORKERS STATE

THE SOVIETS AND WORKERS DEMOCRACY

Stalinism, under whose control the workers state in the Soviet Union has been tortured and distorted almost beyond recognition, has given powerful impetus in recent times to the opportunists of all shades to say, either that the workers state does not exist today, or to oppose proletarian dictatorship in general.

Nevertheless, no one has successfully challenged the Marxian methodology and science, either in theory or action. In the intervening years since the October revolution, filled with tragic experiences of proletarian defeats and betrayals, every other school of thought in the labor movement has been tested --- and found wanting. Only Marxism has been able to present a scientific analysis and prognosis of the contradictions and development of capitalism in decay in the epoch of wars and revolutions. The only successful proletarian revolution in history was achieved precisely on the program of scientific Marxism.

But to remain satisfied with the thought that Marxism has proven better than the other political tendencies is not enough. Like every other science, Marxism has grown and developed, and will continue to develop. A problem of the greatest moment confronts the revolutionist today: Is Stalinism an inevitable outgrowth of Marxism, must the revolutionary proletarian dictatorship evolve into a bureaucratic, bigoted, intolerant, anti-revolutionary regime of Stalinism? We propose to deal in this article with one part of this question.

DEVELOPMENT OF STALINISM

In our opinion such a conclusion flows from a superficial understanding of Stalinism. Stalinism came to the fore within the Russian Communist Party as a definite reflection of the new material conditions arising on the basis of the defeats of the proletariat in Western Europe, the reactionary pressure of the peasantry and the backwardness of the country. But while this revisionist force thus had a material base, its success was due in large measure to the failure of the Marxist wing of the Party, under Trotsky's leadership, to make a bold and determined fight to the finish. It was this soil that proved so fertile to the anti-revolutionary nationalist bureaucratic excrescences, and to the eventual destruction of workers democracy in the Soviet Union.

The economic level of the capitalist country seized from the exploiters is of first importance in considering the level of workers democracy and its material base. A highly developed economy with the working class a majority of the population will in the very first stages of the revolution have far more workers democracy

than the Russian Soviet Union even at its best stage, due to its low economic development and its great peasant population.

The Soviet Union has bequeathed to Marxism enormously valuable lessons for the proletarian revolutions of tomorrow. The Stalinist identification of the proletarian dictatorship with the "dictatorship of the party" -- more precisely, with the dictatorship of a ruling caste who have made a bureaucratic instrument of the party -- is a perversion of revolutionary principles.

WORKERS CONTROL THROUGH SOVIETS

Workers democracy under the dictatorship of the proletariat demands as its most elementary condition that the broadest possible layers of the masses be involved in the administration and conduct of the affairs of the Workers State. It is the SOVIETS through which the proletariat as a whole participates in, broadens and develops workers democracy. The trade unions, workers militias, and other organs of the working class must be an integral part of this structure. These organs make up the political forms of the Workers State. The workers control the state through the soviets.

The relationship of the Party to the Soviet State is an ideological one, of giving guidance and leadership through its cadres within these organs.

We will be asked: what guarantee is there of this relationship? There is none, just as there is none for the revolution. Marxism is not an insurance agency. There is only the guarantee that a non-Marxian course of action will bring disaster. But an application of the experiences of the past decade will help. There is only one road to power and to Socialism, and that is by a Marxian line of action.

THE NEED FOR A PARTY

The proposal by some to do away with parties indicates a failure to think the problem through. Political parties and states will exist so long as there are classes in society. The proletariat needs a party, steeled in the struggle, enjoying the confidence of the class. The party must be based on democratic centralism, with the fullest freedom of discussion on the part of its members, together with unity of action. In this connection, we must recognize that Lenin's prohibition of factions, even temporarily, at the tenth Party Congress, was a grave error. The right of groups and factions within the party to present and fight for their positions is indispensable to democratic centralism, and to the broader question of workers democracy.

Parties groups and factions which accept the proletarian dictatorship and its foundation principles must have full freedom of expression within the bounds of the new society, until by a natural process they are either merged into the Marxian Party, or until

their policies drive them into fundamental opposition to the new society, at which time the proletariat must treat them as it treats the class enemy. We are of the opinion that after the seizure of power this process will be of short duration.

INDUSTRIAL BASE FOR WORKERS DEMOCRACY

In contradistinction to the geographic base for the parliamentary structure of bourgeois democracy, the Soviet State must be based on direct representation from the factory, mine, mill, trade union, farm, collective, military forces, etc. Not geographical but industrial --- that is the base of the soviet structure and workers democracy.

The disastrous results of the nationalist policy of socialism in one country have doubly emphasized the truth that socialism can be built --- and workers democracy extended --- only by utilizing the new Soviet State as a center for world revolution. Only by pursuing the program of the extension of the revolution to one or more countries as the "long lever" and the industrialization of the Soviet State as the "short lever" can the single Soviet State continue its growth and development toward socialism.

These principles, emasculated and destroyed by Stalinism, must be restored to their rightful place as the basis of workers democracy in the proletarian dictatorship. Underneath them lie certain definite material pre-conditions.

CONTROL OF THE ARMY AND DEMOCRACY

To keep an effective check on the bureaucratic and revisionist tendencies that are bound to crop up in the workers state apparatus as a result of the heritage and pressure of the defeated but still powerful bourgeoisie in the transition period, the working class must be ARMED. The armed masses of the workers, functioning through their soviets, are the best guarantee of workers democracy. An armed working class in every factory, mine and mill will be supplemented by a Red Army where the border is in danger of invasions. The Red Army must in no way be cut off from direct and intimate contact with the masses of the people. It too must be organized on the basis of workers democracy in the ranks. It is a part of the people --- their standing Red Guard.

Just as the Soviets control the Workers State, so do they control the armed forces of the state. Here too, the Party exerts only an ideological influence --- it cannot have the function of control over the armed forces.

LESSONS TO BE LEARNED

Without workers democracy the proletarian dictatorship is at best a lamed and limping thing. The proletarian revolutions of tomorrow have much to learn from the Soviet Union, though unfortunately, with Stalinism at the helm these lessons will be largely negative --- what to avoid. But with the elimination of the Stalinist identification of party and proletarian dictatorship, with an armed working class standing ready to defend its rights, the way will be clear for a healthy, advancing dictatorship marching forward toward the goal of the elimination of classes and with this, the elimination of parties and the state.

THE TROTSKYITES / AND PIVERT

A letter from France provides the following news:

... The P.O.I. organ appears only once a month. Every time they think it's going to be the last. The Trotskyite leadership in America, it is rumored, wants to dissolve the P.O.I. completely. In the P.O.I. itself complete demoralization and disunity reign.

... There have been many arrests and the Daladier regime is already in practice a military dictatorship. The prisons are full of revolutionary workers. The emigres are landing in concentration camps more and more.

... Liquidationist tendencies are growing. There is not a single Bolshevik nucleus...

PSOP --- I suppose you read June '36, the organ of the PSOP. For several weeks there has been a centrist campaign against the Trotskyites, --- against the entryites who are still in the PSOP. Pivert is against "Trotskyite methods and concepts". But these people deliberately confuse Trotskyism, Stalinism and Bolshevism. This isn't hard to do, since there is no Bolshevik organization. The PSOP also publishes a letter from the Mexican section protesting against the totalitarian methods of Trotsky and the Pan-American Bureau....

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"The interests of the capitalist states and the interests of the proletariat in foreign politics are diametrically opposed to each other, and it is impossible to speak of harmony of interests in the domain of foreign relations."

--LENIN, Selected Works,
vol. iv, p. 332.

THE INTERNATIONAL WORKERS' FRONT AGAINST WAR

6-9-39

Comrades:

In my opinion I cannot better reply to your wish for information and our position on the International Workers Front Against War than by literal quotation of the following report from one of the members of our organization, who was in Paris at the end of April and the beginning of May as an observer at the Congress....

"The glorious week in Paris is now at an end. If one were to believe the New Leader and other pro-London Bureau papers, the "international week" in Paris was the revolutionary outcome of the masses pressure, a continuous series of conferences and meetings at which the revolutionary spirit soared in the skies and at which the fate of the world for the next twenty years, at least, was settled.... In reality all these conferences and gab-fests were like reunions of ancient dodderers with yard-long beards; they regaled each other in quavering voices about the good old times; they were unsociable and quarrelsome, as dodderers often are, each moment at loggerheads over unimportant details; all these conferences received the most decisive 'no!' in regard to working class publicity everywhere in the left circles. The PSOP to which, allegedly, the majority of the Parisian Socialist Party has gone over, and which conceives its chief task in the movement (aside from issuing revolutionary Marxian theories) to be its development into a mass party (with no success up to now) --- this PSOP either didn't think it worthwhile, or wasn't in a position, to create greater interest among the Parisian working class.

THE LONDON (PARIS) BUREAU

"Along with the conferences of the Front Against War there also took place conferences on the re-establishment of the London (Paris) Bureau. After a few member parties complained of the terroristically enforced motions of the POUM, the situation was relieved by the milder pressure to pass the motion of the Italian maximalists, which proposed merely to widen the scope of the Bureau --- but if this is not possible, the Bureau is to go on functioning in its old form. The Bureau, as it now exists in Paris ("a vigorous movement", according to the New Leader), includes, along with the old parties, the I.L.L. of the U.S. and the International Union of Opposition Communists (IVKO) --- Brandler. The IVKO which is to be liquidated into the London Bureau is quite a funny affair. They are an opposition, to be sure, but for quite a considerable period their main opposition has been directed against the ILP, founding member of the London Bureau; hence the ILP stipulated as a basis for acceptance of the Brandlerites: 'Whilst mutual fraternal public criticism is encouraged, the parties are invited to refrain from working through fractions inside other parties.'

"This is one of the chief points in the Constitution of the new international center. The Brandlerites are Communists, but only to the slightest degree --- they are more like an international association. While not so very long ago six large parties were united in the IVKO, which had four of its own daily papers, (Swedish Socialist Party, German KPO, Neue Welt of Alsace-Lorraine, Bringolf of Switzerland, Lovestone and Roy of India), now their German section is the only one left. And the latter is a small emigrant organization which hardly maintains any organizational contact with the German illegal groups now. According to their own statement, they can get out a quarterly paper only because financial aid comes from Lovestone. These are the great gains of the London Bureau. The PSOP and the RSAP of Holland are still debating on whether or not they should enter.

REJECT REVOLUTIONARY DEFEATISM

"The International Workers Front Against War (IWWFAW) is a purely pacifist organization which gives itself semi-revolutionary appearance by making a few revolutionary speeches. This line flows as much from their general printed matter as from the careful deliberation of their members. To establish this point: the IWWFAW refuses revolutionary defeatism. In the thesis of the IWWFAW all reference is lacking to the problem of revolutionary tactics and class strategy in the struggle against imperialist war and fascism. The IWWFAW avoids in any form the problem of revolutionary war in our time. A compromise solution regarding the Soviet Union has been achieved: although it is stated that the proletarian revolution is dead in the Soviet Union and that a bureaucratic regime exists, they come out confusedly for defense of the Soviet Union, with no clear statement as to what is to be defended. Even the call the IWWFAW sent out after the Paris conference paints this same picture:

"The workers in the fascist lands are invited to rise up in case of war, not to struggle for establishment of a Socialist society, but with the unclear slogan: 'In order to vanquish their (the dictators) criminal domination.' Not a word is said of Socialism --- in the entire appeal they do not say what they conceive ought to follow after the workers have opposed imperialist war and taken the power. They hide between idealistic sentences like: 'The establishment of Socialism to save the very destiny of humanity itself.', and 'The establishment of workers states can, in this stricken world, save what is left of progress in modern civilization, and construct peace, real and abiding, based not on the domination, but on the liberty of men and peoples.' We workers certainly cannot understand from these phrases how Socialism is to arise. It is of further interest to note that in none of the appeals of the IWWFAW is the word Marxism brought out.

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OUR PRESS

PUBLICATIONS OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONTACT COMMISSION

The Provisional International Contact Commission for the new COMMUNIST (4th) INTERNATIONAL will present through the columns of the INTERNATIONAL NEWS its position on the vital questions of the day. We will present theoretical material based on the Fourteen Points, and news of the international labor movement.

The Contact Commission will guard against any attempt to establish a bureaucratic set-up, and some of the columns of this publication will be given over to groups or factions which have as one of their major objectives the establishment of a new Communist International. The Contact Commission invites the proposals, suggestions, and criticisms of any and all groups working for the social revolution, which will be published together with a reply by the Commission.

PLAN FOR PUBLICATION IN FOUR LANGUAGES

The Contact Commission has already established ways and means of issuing its material in German and English. It is also working on a plan to start within two months the regular publication of its material in French and Spanish. We invite the co-operation of the various organizations toward this end.

FIRST STEP TOWARD THE NEW COMMUNIST (4th) INTERNATIONAL

A Contact Commission is only the first step toward the new COMMUNIST (4th) INTERNATIONAL. Our next objective is an INTERNATIONAL BURO with mass influence in several countries.

Steps forward toward an international revolutionary Marxian organization that can effectively challenge world capitalism need the full co-operation of all serious organizations working toward this end. The Provisional Contact Commission will do everything possible within the framework of a principled Marxian position to make possible full collaboration with the many different groups in order to iron out our differences and weld together one powerful consolidated international force. In turn we hope that the various organizations will at least meet the Provisional Contact Commission half-way.

"H AVE THE WILL TO BUILD A PARTY AND THE OPPRESSED OF THE WORLD WILL COME TO YOU." -- Lenin

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