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THE PRESENT "RECESSION."

AUTO WORKERS FACE NEW CRISIS.

THE STRUGGLE OVER DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM

MILITARISM IN THE UNITED STATES.

THE YOUTH AND MILITARISM

DIALECTIC MATERIALISM

CHAPTER ONE-THE PROCESS OF NATURE.

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THE PRESENT "RECESSION"

SABOTAGE * OR - DECAY

With all the messiahs of the New Deal racking their brains for a temporary palliative for moribund American capitalism, the present "recession" in industry grows sharper and sharper. The honeyed talk of the bourgeois press about the fact that "all we need is confidence, optimism, etc." is in sharp contradiction to the action of the bourgeoisie itself. The reports of the Securities Exchange Commission reveal in detail that the big capitalists are getting out from under. Lehman Bros., Dupont, and dozens of others are reported as having unloaded hundreds of thousands of shares of stock. Just like in 1929 the paid financial "experts" of the press, speak about the prospects for ending the recession, etc., while all the while the big bourgeoisie is passing the buck over to the middle class and working class. Despite the experience of this past decade its lessons seem to be completely lost; the idea that capitalism will not recover to its 1929 level, unemployment lifted, etc., can not seem to penetrate the mind of the middle class.

But the facts speak with convincing clarity. General Motors has already begun a \$10,000,000 reduction in the wages of its white collar workers. More than half of the auto workers are unemployed. In the last three months of 1937 millions were thrown out of work, and at a rate TWICE AS RAPID as in any period from 1929 to the present, a period of the worst depression in American history. Steel production fell from 90% of capacity in April to about 20% by the end of the year, and still hangs on in the twenties. Stock values went down over 30 billions of dollars. The index of industrial production (government figures) fell from 117 in August to 79 in February, without a single break upwards.

Like the proverbial ostrich the various experts of capitalism, including Franklin Roosevelt and the stalinists, fail to see in these facts a proof of the Marxian laws of the development of capitalism. Instead they ascribe the present recession to "sabotage" by Wall Street. The bourgeois elements on the other side - the anti-newdealers - ascribe the present recession to the wasteful program of Roosevelt, the high taxes on industry, the AAA, the lack of a balanced budget, the CIO and other such points.

Both these "theories" have a certain infinitesimal grain of truth in them, but they don't even scratch the surface, they don't uncover the real reasons.

THE PROCESS OF CAPITALISM

Capitalism was an improvement over feudalism in that it brought with it a certain amount of centralization in production, a division of labor, and was able to liberate the forces of production as no system previous to that had done. In its wake came the steam engine, the cotton gin, electric and other labor saving machinery. But with this factor came another aspect of capitalism, its anarchy - sharper and sharper competition, nationalism, the anarchy of

the market, etc. Periodically therefore capitalism outstrips the development of the means of production, a huge surplus accumulates (accumulation of capital), and a short or long process - according to the period - ensues in which capitalism must readjust itself to the new level of the means of production.

Stated in another way, capitalism is subject to contradictory factors. Production outstrips its markets. Accumulated capital (means of production and liquid capital) cannot be profitably invested, resulting in an overproduction of capital, means of production and also consumable commodities. This contradiction is the basis of all so-called business cycles. After a certain period of "prosperity", overproduction sets in, and all capitalism then comes to a standstill. - crisis and depression - while the big fish eat up the little fish, big capitalists push out smaller ones, the overstock is eaten up, and the process can begin anew.

This then is the general law of the motion of capitalism. The present recession, together with the period of "prosperity" from 1935 to 1937, however, is distinguished by one factor which makes it different from all other business cycles. As capitalism develops the fixed capital that it has invested in machinery, buildings, etc., due to the constant rationalization and expansion of the means of production - this fixed capital becomes greater and greater. So that the ratio of surplus value - profit - to fixed capital becomes relatively less in each successive period. But the absolute surplus value produced, despite this fact, becomes more. In other words, even though in relation to the fixed capital invested the profits of capitalism are less and less (10%, 9%, 8%, etc.) in actual dollars and cents the amount constantly increases.

PRESENT CYCLE DIFFERS FROM THE OTHERS

In the present business cycle this has been changed entirely. Not only is the relative surplus value less, but the absolute surplus value extracted - actual dollars and cents - has become less. The profit potentialities of capitalism become smaller and smaller. In 1937, despite the fact that the steel output was only a small fraction below its best year as far as production was concerned, the price of steel stock on the exchange was only 1/4 or 1/5 of what it was in 1928-29. Mellon's Aluminum co. which is a monopoly and which in the past 10 years has found many, many more uses for aluminum, is still only 15% of its 1928 price on the stock exchange. The same can be said for world monopolies like International Nickel, gigantic corporations like Anaconda Copper and Kennecott Copper and all the rest. Their profit potentialities are reflected by their low market price.

The "prosperity" period of 1935, 1936, 1937 was itself based only on hypodermic injections by the New Deal; increased expenditures for army and navy, the billion in loans of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, deflation of the dollar, etc. Unlike all other recoveries of American capitalism this "recovery" proceeded with no industrial expansion, no new industries coming to the fore (like auto, radio, electric in the past). How sound it really was can be gauge

from a number of facts. Even at its peak department store sales were fully 20% lower than at the peak in 1929; farm commodities were still much lower than in 1928 - the high for wheat in that year was \$2.15 as against \$1.44 last year; the factory building volume never reached even 60% of the 1929 period - in 1935 it was little more than 1/7, of 1929, in 1936 only 1/3, etc. The "recovery in other words was the recovery of CAPITALISM IN DECAY, a false, artificial and temporary recovery, which would inevitably lead to a more severe crisis and depression in the future. Above all American imperialism had an overproduction of liquid capital, billions in financial capital and no place to invest it.

One of the signs of decay of capitalism is its import export situation. First of all exports fell by more from 1929 to the peak of the "prosperity" period, than did imports. In the second place exports never reached more than about 75% of the 1930 level. In a country which has gone through the great rationalization that American industry has gone through, and with the consequent need of greater and greater markets, this fall in exports is positively catastrophic. If the "unseen" part of the ledger, that is interest on imperialist financial investments were increasing it would more than compensate for the fall in export of commodities and correctly reflect a creditor nation, but in decay world capitalism the U.S. can not obtain this seat of advantage.

So what we are witnessing is not any mere temporary recession, but capitalism in decay, falling deeper and deeper into the pit; the U.S. as a creditor nation is striving desperately to adjust itself to world conditions. THAT IS THE FUNDAMENTAL FACT!

It is reflected by many things on a world scale. Germany, Italy and to an extent Britain and Japan, have been making small inroads into American trade. American investments in Czechoslovakia and the Balkans are threatened by the new Hitler moves against the Balkans; Japan has made great inroads into Asia and Italy into Africa, thus cutting off America's prospects of greater markets for trade and investment.

BOURGEOIS ANTAGONISMS SHARPER

Looked at from this point of view the question of whether Wall Street is or is not "sabotaging" the New Deal policies by closing its factories, etc., takes on an entirely different light. Assuming that some sections of the bourgeoisie are sabotaging the political program of other sections of their class, does this prove that the sabotage is the CAUSE of the present recession, or on the contrary that it is merely an EFFECT of it?

In our opinion, there is no doubt that the latter is the case. In the prosperity periods of capitalism, when it was in its so-called "golden era", the antagonisms and differences, the struggles and conflicts between the various sections of the bourgeoisie could be kept in the background and modified. But as the crisis grows sharper and the need for new markets grows more desperate, the competition between the capitalists increases and consequently the struggle becomes

sharper and the divisions amongst themselves much deeper. Just as in the 1929-33 depression certain large capitalists are today in a life and death struggle, and others are in a desperate battle to defend their economic domain. The struggle between the various contending forces comes down to, therefore, a struggle as to the BEST METHOD OF GETTING OUT FROM UNDER, OF COMING OUT OF THIS DEPRESSION which they all recognize as a much more than temporary one - AS THE STRONGEST CAPITALIST FORCE, INSTEAD OF GOING UNDER ENTIRELY.

The bourgeoisie supporting Roosevelt and the bourgeoisie behind Morgan and Dupont, each have different palliatives to "get out from under". One recognizes the need for continued bones to the unemployed (although much smaller every year, thanks to the class collaborationist aid of the Workers Alliance of America) the need of "pump priming", the need of a reduced farm production in order to attract farm products from abroad in payment for industrial commodities exported from the U.S., greater Government control of industry as a means of putting pressure, and weakening the non-administration capitalists, etc. The so-called "old guard" of the capitalist class favor a different program, one that will protect their domain, which on the economic sphere is the most powerful in the United States.

When Roosevelt speaks of "sabotage" therefore and the need to curb CERTAIN monopolists, it is merely mud in the eye of the working class. It is merely the usual bla-bla of supposedly left agents of capitalism; the usual attempt to gain popular support for reactionary capitalist policies. Underneath, however, there is no fundamental disagreements. Both sections of the bourgeoisie agree on the need of a larger Army and Navy, both agree on the Latin-America policy of American imperialism, the conscript army being organized in the Phillipines by American generals.

Both even agree on the general need for inflation - even though there is a slight difference on the method to ram it down the popular throat. The Roosevelt denials of inflation are as sure a prelude to inflation as his denials of the deflation of the dollar when he first came to power. The American debt is too great, and growing greater, for any prolonged prospect of no inflation.

Both agree on the need for suppressing labor. Roosevelt has been able to lull the working class to sleep for a moment with the aid of the CIO. Others want more stringent measures, with a greater legalistic cover. But even here the lines aren't sharp. One of Roosevelt's outstanding Ambassadors is the prize advocate of one of Senator Copeland's usual bills on how to enslave the seamen, a bill prohibiting and fixing great penalties for strike on the high seas.

STALINISM - ARDENT DEFENDER OF CAPITALISM

Simultaneous with the increased isolation of the Soviet Union and the present orders from Moscow to the American party to befriend American imperialism at any cost, the Communist Party has cast aside any pretensions to an independent policy and has come out openly and solidly behind Roosevelt. It echoes every one of his phrases - it goes even further than its sister reformist party, the Socialist Party dares to go.

The bourgeoisie can be "forgiven" if they try to befuddle the masses with talk about a Wall Street "clique" which is threatening recovery. After all they must defend their own system. But the stalinists, who claim to be a working class party, show their true renegacy and their impending counter-revolutionary action in the United States by giving the very same analysis of the recession as CAPITALISM ITSELF GIVES!

The concept that the recession is due to sabotage, is the fig-leaf in the sphere of economics for their treacherous political acts. The theory attempts to build the illusion in the mind of the working class that capitalism is not dead or dying, but on the contrary there are methods of finding "peace, prosperity", etc. by supporting Roosevelt capitalism, against Old Guard capitalism. It attempts to deceive the working class on its comparative strength, on the comparative weakness of the bourgeoisie. It deliberately inflates capitalism into a much stronger monster than it really is, in order to push its class collaboration policies down the throat of the working class. "Capitalism is still so powerful, fascism is a monster - we can't prepare for the revolution today, maybe tomorrow". That is the logic of their argument.

But the recession is changing many things in the United States. New problems and tasks face the working class. Without a clear perspective of what is coming, nothing can be accomplished at present.

PERSPECTIVE FOR WORKING CLASS

As in all depressions the economic struggles (strike struggles) of the working class grow less (this does not include, of course, political struggles in countries where the working class is more conscious of itself as a class than in the U.S., such as France). The battlefront against American Imperialism will momentarily in all probability shift to the unemployed - providing, of course, the necessary leadership can be built up in it.

The unemployed can have no perspective under capitalism. At least 9 million of them -- according to government figures - will never be reabsorbed into industry, even if a new period of "prosperity" suddenly hits the country. Their only perspective can be for the abolition of the wages system, the overthrow of capitalism, the demand for workers control of production, etc.

But in the past few years, under stalinist guidance, the Workers Alliance - which by the way the Trotskyists helped immeasurably to consolidate by the liquidation of the class struggle Unemployed Leagues into it - the Workers Alliance has become merely a tail to the Roosevelt kite. Here and there minor flunkys of the administration are lambasted; all sorts of demands for all sorts of bourgeois bills are made. But there is no blast against the "good father" in the White House and his defense of capitalism. There is no class struggle policy. It is all lickspittling and bellycrawling.

The CIO, follows the same policy in the organization of the unemployed in its unions. Many of the labor fakers in its ranks, like Frankenstein, do the administration a grand favor by becoming themselves part of the government relief system, part of the government's attempt to swindle the unemployed.

Fortunately, here and there class struggle groups are springing up within the Workers Alliance and outside, which, if properly co-ordinated will be the force that will consolidate a real class struggle movement in the United States.

Other changing factors in the American scene which the working class can expect in the near future, as a result of the present recession, area rapidly increasing war expenditure - increasing much more rapidly than even hitherto; more urgent attempts by the New Deal to establish compulsory arbitration or mediation, or some method that will more adequately keep the working class in check.

Despite the recent expulsion of 3 CIO unions from the AFL, the efforts of the administration to bring about unity can be expected to increase. To push through its war program a unified Labor movement is essential for the New Deal. Jurisdictional squabbles and strikes between the two movements, and the various political bickerings of the two groups causes Roosevelt's "recovery" plans no end of worry. It is weakening his popular base greatly.

It is not yet excluded that the administration efforts will fail. Many CIO and AFL leaders (Dubinsky, Tobin, etc.) favor the course proposed by Roosevelt. There will yet be another regroupment (outside, of course of a class struggle regroupment).

In the ranks of the bourgeoisie and the labor fakers many other regroupments are taking place. A three corner struggle goes on in the Republican Party between Hoover, Landon, and the so-called progressives. The Governor of Vermont threatens in a radio speech that a new party will have to supersede the Republican Party unless a more "liberal" program is adopted. The Democratic Party is rent in two warring camps, pro and anti-New Deal.

It is possible that as a result of these schisms the Labor Party movement of capitalism will make some headway. Certainly the revolutionary movement, the Marxian vanguard, faces much more favorable objective circumstances than practically at any time in history.

Even a small force with the program of the 4th Communist International and the need of the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism can make progress in this period.

A U T O W O R K E R S F A C E A N E W C R I S I S

The key question confronting the United Automobile Workers today is that of unemployment. According to its own census, taken with the cooperation of the employers, there are 200,000 out of 250,000 auto workers unemployed in the Detroit area alone. This unemployment occurs in what usually is the height of the busy season. It is threatening the existence of a part of the newly created bureaucracy in the U.A.W.A.

From reliable sources it is reported that the financial status of the international organization is seriously menaced. At the present time local 212, Briggs Body, has more money in its treasury than the International. This is true not only because of the sharp drop in dues, but because of the lavish and extravagant spending of the International officers: airplane travel, big hotel bills, top heavy salaries, etc. For example, the union moves its headquarters into the exclusive Griswold building and spent \$20,000 on new furniture. All of the officers have had their salaries raised. For a new bureaucracy in a new union they have been quick to adopt the ways of the shop worn AFL skates.

To solve the financial problem the Martin-Lovestone machine has resorted to wholesale firing of organizers. This has become part of the unprincipled clique fight with the Stalinist-Socialist Unity Caucus, who have received the worst end in these layoffs. The Ford staff has been decimated in this process, leaving threadbare any notion of a genuine drive to organize this section of the industry.

CLASS COLLABORATION UNITY

To save their influence amongst the masses the bureaucrats announced that it was unnecessary for unemployed to seek assistance from any organization outside the UAW - that the union would fight for their interests while they are unemployed. On the face of it this appears to be a class struggle position. The militants and revolutionists have long fought for the unity of the unemployed and employed workers in a common struggle against the class enemy. In reality the plan of the UAW, and other CIO unions are using it too, is to register the unemployed and investigate them for the City Welfare Bureau. The Union had an agreement with the bureau on this investigating business. The Governor appointed Frankenstein, UAW vice-president, on his relief board. The state and municipal authorities were so delighted at this class collaboration that they publicly announced that the investigation arrangement with the UAW had prevented "chaos". Only recently after over 40,000 families had been registered and the authorities had no further use for their friend they started an "investigation" which ended with severance of these relations. The UAW leaders let out a hue and cry for the return of these peaceful relations claiming that they were rendering a public service in saving the government money. In pleading for the return of this system Leonard, head of the UAW-CIO committee, said he would put all "chiselers" behind bars.

Some of the locals try to take the unemployment situation seriously. The Chrysler Local organized flying squads to stop evictions. This work is carried on without coordination on a city or state scale. The District Council, which is controlled by stalinists, contented itself with passing resolutions about the "man made depression". The pressure felt in this body as a result of ~~made~~ layoffs was instrumental in driving for the Cadillac Square demonstration.

At the demonstration over 100,000 workers were gathered for a militant protest against unemployment. The CIO and stalinists lack-eyes succeeded in setting the tone of a Father G. ~~pon~~ affair on it. Martin publicly announced the end of the sit down strike "because the workers are organized" - he forgot Ford for the moment. Germer praised the workers for their passivity and Frankenstein's brave contribution was a personal plea for boycott of the "Free Press" - a Detroit daily. It was left to a representative of the Hotel Workers Union, AFL, to give a left cover to the demonstration with ambiguous talk about mass action. All were unanimous on these points: condemnation of the mayor, endorsement of Roosevelt and Murphy's policies, the crisis was a lock-out of the capitalists and the CIO was fighting reactionaries. None of them was able to deal with the real root of the crisis. This would bring them in violent opposition to the interests amongst the boss class they represent. The furthest they went was the endorsement of the pauper Schwellenbach-Allen resolution.

EMPLOYERS CRASHING IN

The employers are making good use of the present slump to the detriment of the union. Because of the stupid propaganda of the stalinists and CIO about the "man made depression" and the lack of a revolutionary party, many workers are turning against the Union. The employers are utilizing the confusion and the weakened condition of the union to destroy the gains made during the sit-down strikes. There has been a rebirth of company unionism. Griffiths, who runs an "association" in the tool and dye industry has organized a national center of "independent unions" and is beginning to function quite openly. Among the important affiliates is the Chrysler Company union. Also promising support is a Ford Brotherhood. Both the AFL and CIO merely poo-pooed the new set up. Nevertheless it is quite a meanace, especially with the present reactionary leadership in control of the Labor Unions. Many of the smaller shops on the periphery of the industry have already gone over to company unionism. Employers are using them as a starting point. For example a false strike was called in the Fitzimmons Co., a body parts manufacturer, over the issue of one worker refusing to join the union. There were no economic demands and no grievances - the International sanctioned the strike and did nothing to support it. The workers in disgust after being promised mass support on the picket line went back to work and tore up their union cards. The employer used the former shop stewards to organize a company union. The ruling class would rather have the CIO than a class struggle leadership if necessary. But they would like to destroy any unionism if they could dispense with it.

In the current elections in the Local Unions the fight between the stalinists and the Martin machine flares up. Red baiting is an issue that both unprincipled cliques are using. The workers are growing tired of this continuous bickering over jobs. Some unfortunately are voting with their feet. In some of the locals, where the disgust of the workers is made articulate by militants, it is receiving a warm response from the membership. The workers are generally more receptive to progressive union policies and revolutionary discussions. The only political force that has yet presented a class struggle policy is the Revolutionary Workers League. The Trotskyists have adopted a policy of purity since their break from the Stalinist unity Caucus: they refuse to unite with the Marxists and militants on a minimum program against the bureaucrats; their progressivism is empty talk. In spite of the fact that they have infiltrated Detroit with many of their colonizers they are generally conspicuous by their absence when issues are raised.

BUREAUCRATIC OVERRULE OF MEMBERSHIP

In the current Chrysler negotiations, after a rank and file committee had worked out proposals and had voted down arbitration, Thomas, UAW vice president in charge of Chrysler, decimated the committee and reversed the decision on arbitration. The whole struggle is to be shifted to the Labour Board and arbitration is to be the main aim. In spite of industry wide wage cuts the leadership has made no economic demands. The stalinists have supplied them with a formula that this is no time to strike.

The workers have just had a taste of arbitration. In the arbitration over the Pontiac Fisher Strike where six workers were fired, arbitrator Hotchkiss announced the decision, reinstating 3 workers and firing 3 - the latter being the leading militants in the recent wild cat strike. Homer Martin announced this as a great victory for the Union, one of the worst sell-outs. This is to be a precedent in the industry for employers to follow.

In the tool and dye industry the crisis is especially intensified. Employers have been shipping millions of dollars of work to the east and neighboring cities in the Midwest where the wages are lower. The union leadership has done nothing to organize the industry in centers like Chicago, Philadelphia, Salem, and other towns where the hourly rate is 30c and 40c below Detroit wages. Hundreds of little job shops that dot Detroit have been left unorganized. They were not organized in the peak of the strike wave! Some of the bigger shops at the expiration of their union contracts have stated that they were cutting wages and would not sign up again. No action has been taken against them. The MESA still exists independently and no real efforts have been made to unite with it or to force it out of the field. Together with the Tool and Dye Makers Society (Griffiths) it acts as a stumbling block for growth of unionism in this section of the industry because to maintain existence it has to make rotten bargains with the employers over wages. This is the oldest section of the industry organized, most highly skilled and paid. Because

of the mess brought on especially by the stalinists who control the Tool and Dye locals of the UAW there is talk of return to craft separatism. Griffiths has been first to use this. It is well known that the Machinist Union, AFL, has been looking for a long time for an opportunity to step in and further muddy up the situation.

In the course of all this decay vigilante groups are organizing all over the state of Michigan. The capitalist press carried on a general and united campaign against unionism. It is quick to rush to the defense of the CIO leaders when their position is menaced by the workers. It was particularly praiseworthy of Martin when he broke the Pontiac strike. The leadership contents itself with dependence on the justice of Murphy and Roosevelt against the vigilantes.

It is commonly accepted amongst the workers who see the lots jammed with cars and factories being retooled with more efficient labor saving devices and speedup being heightened, that thousands of them will not go back to work when things "pick up". The Marxists must emphasize the slogan of Workers Control of Production.

WORKERS RECEPTIVE TO CLASS STRUGGLE

Martin is counterposing contentious objection for the stalinist "Japanese boycott". The only departments that are functioning anywhere near normal are the export divisions. The workers are able to witness huge shipments to Chinese, Japanese and other foreign countries of trucks and autos for military use. The only orders of any size that are being worked are these military orders and that includes work for "our" own government. The workers are giving ear to revolutionary solutions on this question. The union can become a good arena for the revolutionists to bring this message to the workers.

The leadership - Martin as well as the Reuther unity clique - are not interested in organizing the unorganized. They merely want to have a base for class collaboration in the industry. They want to maintain this base so that when they cannot quell strikes, they will head the revolt of the masses in order to decapitate it. This is not confined to the economic sphere. Especially in this key industry it is combined with politics - the CIO capitalist reform politics. The Marxists must tear the mask off the face of these new line labor lieutenants of the capitalists and forge an instrument of class struggle, a national class struggle group inside and outside the AFL and CIO.

SPECIAL NOTICE

The Articles on, " Militarism in the United States." and, "The Youth and Militarism." do not appear in this issue. These two articles will appear as a special Fourth International Supplement.

D I A L E C T I C A L M A T E R I A L I S M

CHAPTER ONE

THE PROCESS OF NATURE

Our introduction to the study of Dialectical Materialism begins with an examination of the process of nature. In nature we must look for the fundamental factors that will enable us to obtain some kind of order out of the seeming chaos. This search for order in no way implies mere dynamic regularity or statistical regularity. It is a search for the INTERNAL CONTRADICTIONARY UNITY OF MATTER IN MOTION, OF ITS CONTENT AND ITS FORM.

If we endeavor to construct a rigid unchangeable law of nature out of our investigation, as the philosophers of all ages have attempted and failed to accomplish, we too would arrive at the same impasse. Even though it is not possible to construct a static permanent law of nature it is a fact that nature has ONE CONSTANT FACTOR which expresses itself in VARIOUS FORMS -- that is CHANGEABLENESS. Changeableness and its various forms of expression IS THE ONLY CONSTANT FACTOR OF NATURE. That is one of the fundamental aspects of an understanding of nature, of society, and the thinking of mankind, and is one of the most important factors in the dialectic process of nature.

This constant factor of nature is matter in motion. "Motion is a form of the existence of matter. Never and nowhere has there been or can there be matter without motion. Matter without motion is just as unthinkable as motion without matter".

OPPOSITES

Matter in motion presents as its most fundamental aspect the permeation of opposites, a process of contradictions, of mutually exclusive yet harmonious parts. These mutually exclusive, yet harmonious parts represent the roots of the antagonism of each and every process in nature. The antagonistic factors must be considered in their: 1- contradictory relationship, and 2- in their development as a process, of beginning, development, and disintegration; of birth growth and decay.

In the light of the foregoing, dialectical materialism represents the specific mode of the motion (dialectic) of matter (materialism).

Let us consider a few of the outstanding examples of the permeation of opposites. Matter and motion of itself is the summary of this condition. There is positive and negative electricity, their mutually exclusive and yet harmonious action. Male and female, and countless other such opposites, that build up and tear down the countless expressions of nature's phenomena.

To speak of opposites, of contradictions within a given process and to fail to explain its ANTAGONISTIC DEVELOPMENT is only to give part of the problem of nature's process. The development of matter in motion through the contradiction of its opposites is a PROCESS OF BIRTH, GROWTH, AND DECAY. All processes in nature proceed through this triad development.

Unity does not imply identity any more than difference implies separation of a given process, any more than development in nature implies progress.

When we speak of the development of a process we do not speak of man made notions of progress. Objectively speaking development implies either a negative or positive process, and can only imply either progress or retrogression if man cares to inject his needs and desires in relation to the condition or thing observed. But the latter concept is used must be an auxiliary to the former. The birth, growth, and decay of ones offspring, that is, living a lifespan, can be presented as a positive development, but likewise the test of diseases within the human organism can be and is presented as a positive test. The concept of positive and negative development, which has nothing in common with progressive and retrogressive, is the analysis of the direction of the cycle of the given process and not man's desires.

Let us continue with the cycle of birth, growth, and decay of the content of each process of nature. Let us consider the negation of the negation.

ENGELS ON NEGATION OF THE NEGATION

We present a few of the examples of dialectics in nature as presented by Engels: "let us take a grain of barley, let such a grain of barley fall on suitable soil under normal conditions; a complete individual change at once takes place in it under the influence of heat and moisture, it germinates. The grain as such disappears, is negated. In its place arises the plant, the negation of the negation. But what is the normal course of the life of the plant. It grows, blossoms, bears fruit and finally produces other grains of barley and as soon as these are ripe the stalk dies, and becomes negated in its turn. As the result of this negation of the negation, we have the original grains of barley again, not singly, however, but ten, twenty or thirty fold. Forms of grain change very slowly and so the grain of barley remains practically the same as a hundred years ago.

But let us take a cultivated ornamental plant, like the dahlia or orchid. Let us consider the seed and the plant's development from it by the skill of the gardner, and we have in testimony of this negation of the negation, no longer the same seed but a qualitative improved seed which produces more beautiful flowers, and every repetition of this process, every new negation increases the tendency to perfection.

"A similar process is gone through by most insects, butterflies, etc. They come out of the egg by a negation of the egg, they go through a certain transformation till they reach sex maturity, they copulate and are again negated, since they die as soon as the process of copulation is completed, and the female has laid her innumerable eggs. That the matter is not so obvious in the case of other plants and animals not once but oftener, does not affect us in this case, we are now only concerned in showing that the negation of the negation actually does occur in both kingdoms of the organic world."

Besides, all geology is a series of negated negations, one layer after another following the destruction of the old and the establishment of new rock formation."

QUANTITY-QUALITY CHANGES

When we speak of quantity-quality changes in nature we really mean that at certain stages of development of each given process a quantitative change takes on qualitative differences.

"The transformation of the form of water which at 0° C. changes from a liquid to a solid and at 100° C. from a liquid to a gas, where thus at both these points of departure a mere quantitative change in temperature produces qualitative changes in the water.

"So also the mere cooperation of large numbers, the melting of several diverse crafts into a united craft, to use Marx's expression, produces a new "industrial power" which is substantially different from the sum of the individual crafts.

"Here we have, for example, a homologous series of compounds of carbon of which many are known and each has its own algebraic formula:

- C_n H_{2n} plus 2 -- Series of normal paraffin
- C_n H_{2n} plus 20 - Series of primary alcohol
- C_n H_{2n} O₂ -- Series of monobasic oleic acids"

This can be repeated in all of the chemical series and each example reveals a qualitative difference produced by a single quantitative addition of the elements, or in the more complex combination several new additions which create qualitative differences.

If we say that quantity-quality changes are the result of evolution, it is a mechanical materialist view of nature. It is true that evolution is an important part. But to leave out the other aspect of the question is to ignore the most fundamental aspect of evolution. That is - revolution. Quantity-quality change is the result of the process of EVOLUTION AND REVOLUTION. There can be no evolution without revolution. Revolution is the stage of the process when the evolutionary development (quantity changes) takes on quality differences. The boiling of water is the revolutionary stage of the process. The birth of a species is a revolutionary stage of a process. The transformation of quantity changes of chemicals into a new chemical combination (quality differences) is the revolutionary stage. The same process can be witnessed in society.

MAN MADE CONTRADICTIONS

One cannot speak of the dialectic process of nature without speaking of: 1- the permeation of opposites and the 2-development in contradiction, the negation of the negation. But to really understand 1- Contradiction and 2- development in contradiction we must know the main aspects of two fundamentally opposite contradictions. One contradiction which is real, which exists outside of our mind in nature, and the other kind of a contradiction which does not exist in nature, and only exists in the mind and fancy of man. The first is a dialectical contradiction; the latter a man made contradiction, a fiction.

"Motion is itself a contradiction since simple mechanical movement from place to place can be accomplished itself by a body being at once and the same moment in one place and simultaneously in another place, by being in one place and yet not there. And motion is just a continuous establishment and dissolving of contradictions"

"Life itself then is likewise a contradiction contained in things and events, always establishing and dissolving itself, and as soon as the contradiction ceases life also ceases, death comes on the scene".

Positive and negative electricity is a real dialectical contradiction existing in nature just like male and female, or chattel master and slave, or capitalist and proletarian. But man made contradictions such as God and Devil; God and nature; a stone wall between man and the rest of the animals; heaven and a flat earth; in fact the struggle of every sphere of science against the dark age of mankind still exists in many fields of research. These are all artificial, man made, non-dialectical and mechanical contradictions which have nothing in common with objective reality and dialectic contradictions.

The dialectic process of nature is found in all spheres of inorganic and organic development. In short, dialectic materialism is THE PROCESS OF NATURE. It is the process of matter in motion, in change, through contradictions of opposite forces, that develop through quantity-quality change of birth, growth and decay, of establishing equilibriums, now destroying equilibriums, only to reestablish a new equilibrium of a process on a new and "higher" base. This change in form and content proceeds through a process of evolution and revolution.

THE STRUGGLE WITHIN THE LEAGUE OVER

DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM

The heightening class pressure due to the approaching imperialist war, the long series of defeats of the working class capped by the serious setbacks which the Spanish workers have suffered, cause in the ranks of every working class organization a certain amount of demoralization. This may express itself in a number of forms but in every case its objective aim is retreat from action on a Marxist line in the class struggle.

In a Marxist organization, this demoralization takes the form of revising Marxist positions.

Democratic centralism as a part of the question of the revolutionary Marxian organization is a principle question. It is a political question that must not be confused with the organizational aspects of democratic centralism. The former includes the latter but the latter, considered of and by itself, isolated from political aspects of democratic centralism is only a tactical aspect of the question. More important, however, than the question of the relation of the tactical organizational aspects of democratic centralism to its political aspects is the relation of the whole question of democratic centralism to the entire political program of the organization. Without a Marxian political program or with breaches in this program, democratic centralism cannot remain intact. Democratic centralism is the living political and organizational expression of sound Marxian program and leadership.

It is not bureaucracy that causes revisionism in program; rather the dynamic is, regardless of which the observer first discovers, that a revision of Marxism in the theoretical sphere CAUSES bureaucracy. Marxists can defend their political positions through democratic centralism; revisionists cannot and must resort to bureaucracy.

An organization must guide closely the two aspects of the question, the democratic and the centralist aspect. These two sides of the question cannot be separated. The democratic side of the question takes up ALL of those rights of the members to determine - through the process from the lower to the higher bodies - the policies and leadership, and arrive at democratic majority decisions of ALL questions before it. The centralist aspects of the question take up all of those rights of the higher bodies in relation to the lower bodies and individual members to carry out and see that the majority decisions are carried out. Either the higher committees or any individual in the organization has the right to initiate, through the proper channels of democratic centralism new issues, and burning questions of the class struggle.

To say that the democratic aspect "is reducible in the final analysis to the exercise of three basic rights: the right to vote, the right to present views, and the right to be elected to a higher body", and to forget the basic right (to say nothing of other

such rights) of discipline and expulsion only through trials conducted by the proper committees, is to reveal utter bankruptcy on the question of democratic centralism.

One cannot speak of the rights of the members and lower bodies on the democratic side without at the same time pointing out that equal rights of a different nature exists for the majority position and the committees that execute this position in the organization, the centralist side of the question.

STALINISM AND DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM

The demoralization caused by the objection conditions and the stalinist positions today are the cause of a great amount of confusion and false positions on the question of democratic centralism. The reaction to parliamentarism, in the absence of a Marxian leadership, at the turn of the century in the U.S. resulted in syndicalism; and the reaction to stalinist bureaucracy, to say nothing of its revisionist political positions, results in a shift to rejection of democratic centralism and the adoption of bourgeois democratic concepts which inevitably carry with them as their opposite other forms of bureaucracy.

The Trotskyites have fallen into that swamp on the principle questions of democratic centralism and other principle organizational questions: liquidation, existence of many parties after the seizure of power, etc. The ultra lefts have likewise swung over 180 degrees. In our own organization we see these developments in Atkins, Giganti, ~~xxxx~~ and others we expelled. Today this false position on democratic centralism has its leader in Stamm, who combines errors of bourgeois democracy with bureaucracy.

ABIDE BY DECISIONS

In a Marxian organization the members abide by ALL decisions of higher bodies, except when a Marxist considers the decision a principle question which means the life and death of the organization (one must be able to tell when errors develop to the life and death stage). On the latter basis it is a tactical question when to refuse to abide - which means the beginning of the new steps toward a split.

To compel a comrade to change his opinion on a decision rendered and to abide by the decision is two different things. A comrade has a different trade union position, etc.; to compel him to change his position is wrong, but to compel him to abide by its decisions is correct. After pre-convention discussion, when a majority position is taken on PRINCIPLE questions, on split issues, it is a different story. Comrades who cannot be convinced to change their position, and who refuse to abide by its decisions are expelled. At the RWL Convention everyone voted for the motion stating that the RWL and its convention are Marxist.

Violate and Appeal

Stamm has counterposed to the Marxian position of abide and appeal the petty-bourgeois concept of violate and appeal in a Marxian organization, on questions which he does not present as split issues. This is taking the fight back to the level of the fight in 1903 with Martov.

To speak of a Marxian convention and in the same breath, as Stamm does, to demand the right to violate one of its decisions, to refuse to abide by one of its decisions, and to call for an immediate new convention because "you" do not recognize the way it seated delegates IS TO REJECT THE CONVENTION AND ITS POLITICAL DECISIONS. In other words they have developed the theory that it is "Marxist" to split from a Marxist organization. Because refuse to abide, can only lead to a split in a Marxian organization.

When Lenin praised Leibknechts violation of discipline on war credits; when Lenin wrote his letters on the armed insurrection against some leaders, to lower units; when Lenin was ready to split with Zinoviev-Lunacharsky, etc. over the "question of a homogeneous Bolshevik government" or a coalition with the Mensheviks; when Lenin went over the heads of "leaders" he was fighting on a question of the life and death of the party, of the revolution and of state power - on principle questions. Formal discipline is subordinated to principle questions which are split issues.

On the other hand, Trotsky and the former left opposition became formalists to democratic centralism and the question of abide. To consider that abide means to vote for a position you are against or to cease all struggle for your position is a negation of abide and appeal, from the standpoint of democratic centralism. You vote for your position. If you lose you abide, fight for your position through democratic centralist channels and appeal. If you have exhausted possibilities, if it is a split issue, you proceed to the other form of struggle.

But Trotsky not only agreed to abide. The LO cease to fight properly organization; when the LO material was introduced in the pre-convention discussion period they should not have agreed to abide. They should have proceeded without abiding, preparing the groundwork for the inevitable split. This was a life and death question and in these cases Trotsky negated the Marxian position by formalism.

To confuse the question of abide and appeal with the question that you abide until the organization is doomed, until the process is complete **MATERIALLY**, is false. The unit of these contradictions is defeatism. We reject them. When we speak of abiding by decisions and appealing, without endorsing those positions, without withdrawing our own position, without giving up the fight through the proper channels, we speak of a Marxian organization and a Marxian convention; and a Marxian convention includes the election of a Marxian central committee. If a convention elects a centrist central committee it is not a Marxian convention. Marxists making a centrist error on a basic question, a key question of the day, cease to be **Marxist**.

For example, if a Marxian organization and leadership make what we consider a centrist error, a principle error, a principle error our approach in fighting this error (our tactics) which ~~we~~ will never cease fighting, will be determined by the theoretical analysis of the material outcome of the struggle we are ready to start: is the **LINE** still Marxist, can organization be corrected, etc. If we conclude that if we don't take it to the class the very same day we are doomed, we will proceed at once; but if we conclude that the relation of forces are such that we can save and correct the organization by a more modified form of struggle, which will even include abide and appeal, etc., we shall do so. Our criteria for abide is not a mental concept of an abstraction - a Marxian organization, but the living process of Marxism in theory and practice. That is, to repeat: can we save the organization, the insurrection, the Dictatorship, etc., by abiding and organizing our struggle and our faction, or can we save it by immediate violation of one or the other aspects of discipline.

In Stamm's article "the Logic of Ideas" we accused him of not understanding the dialectical process and the dialectical method of reasoning. We stated that one of the many aspects of this question he did not understand was the relation of the thought, the theory, or the beginning of a material process to the conclusion - on the one hand theory and practice, on the other hand the beginning of revision of Marxism in the party and the stage in the material process when the Party ceases to be Marxian, etc. Likewise in the question of violate and appeal versus abide, struggle and appeal, Stamm reveals that he does not understand the above relation between the beginning of the process and its end; or, one may say, when a disease starts in the organism and when it is too late to cure the disease. One knows that to start the cure when the disease is not curable is fatal, is defeatism; but one also knows that treatment of a disease differs at different stages of its development. The Zealot political doctor who treats the patient with the same medicines and major operation at the beginning of an ailment that can be cured, as he does for advanced cases of the ailment, can only be classified as a butcher.

A contrast of the principle fight we carried on against Cannon and Muste in the WP and the Stamm "principle fight" clearly reveals the difference of the two. We presented the political issues, we issued many political documents (10 issues of International News), and only arrived at the question of "abide" on this political basis. Stamm on the contrary starts a fight after the convention, refusing to abide and weaves all of his documents on this point. It reveals political bankruptcy.

In the WP we demanded a political homogenous caucus, expelling from the caucus those who didn't toe the line. But Stamm considers that we are "capitulating to Trotskyism" and has in his caucus the father of the Convnetion document which is the "capitulation", comrade Basky.

Stamm and others suspended from the Organization.

The Central Committee has suspended from the organization two leading members of its committee, comrades Stamm and Basky and two alternates, comrades Cowl and Lewis; and also, comrades of the New York unit for refusing to abide by convention decisions and for carrying out disruptive, slanderous splitting tactics.

The article in this issue on Democratic Centralism presents the political axis of the dispute over this question in the League. This political-organizational question in turn flows from Stamm's false evaluation of Marxism. These political documents dealing with the roots of this question are Second Convention documents which were published in the pre-convention discussion and in our theoretical organ after the convention. More material dealing with the political aspects will be published.

The dispute, and refusal to abide revolves around the DECISIONS OF THE SECOND CONVENTION. Not over issued developed after the convention. Stamm has stated, that if the Third Convention adopts the same positions he will again refuse to abide. Any comrade who carries out the same acts of Stamm will meet the same action from the organization.

These comrades first started to refuse to abide on ONE organizational point of the convention. 2-Then they refused to recognize the Political Committee. 3-Next they refused to recognize the authority of the Central Committee. 4-Now their followers refuse to recognize the decisions of the Second Convention. 5- At present they refuse to recognize the duly elected organs and the majority of the membership, and with a handful, and unconstitutionally they are calling a "convention" in New York. 6-Their followers in Chicago have extended this refusal to abide, and in the face of the class enemy at the Chicago unemployed demonstration, where William Streeter was arrested for selling the FIGHTING WORKER, they refused to carry out the instructions of the steering committee and refused to sell FIGHTING WORKERS.

Those who revise Marxism and refuse to abide by decisions of a Marxian organization have no place in the RWL. At the convention Stamm and others supporting him voted for two different motions agreeing to abide by all convention decisions, and voted from a motion which stated that the convention and its members were Marxists.
