



FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

DEVOTED TO THE THEORY OF MARXISM

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The Workers State in Danger

The 1938 Election Campaign

Palestine - Partition or Revolution?

The Marine Situation on the West Coast

Trade Union Report of the 5th Plenum

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F O U R T H I N T E R N A T I O N A L

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THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS LEAGUE

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WORKERS STATE IN DANGER

The almost daily "border incidents" on the Japanese-Soviet border finally flared into what threatened to become an undeclared war. At Present the hostilities have ceased, the Japanese imperialists were forced into a retreat, and it is probable that the conflict will be compromised temporarily. The Japanese capitalists are too deeply involved in the Chinese war, in which they are not meeting with sufficient success, to take on the SU - altho the Chinese war and the Soviet aid to the Hankow government probably was the spur to this move on the part of the desperate Japanese bourgeoisie. Japan's temporary partners in imperialist crime were likewise not in a position to get embroiled with the SU. Italy is desperate to bring the Spanish conflict to a successful conclusion quickly and has come into conflict with the Anglo-French bloc ostensibly over the question of volunteers. Germany is gripped by a serious economic crisis and is at present primarily interested in the Sudeten problem in Czechoslovakia in which English imperialism has decided to interfere. Even if they were not involved in China the Japanese imperialists could not by themselves chew such a big bite as the SU. The SU has a breathing spell for the moment from foreign imperialist invasion. The problem of the defense is as acute as ever in spite of the military lull.

ALARMINGLY WEAK STATE OF SU

This most serious of all Soviet-Japanese border clashes should indicate how important it is to the workingclass to take up this vital question before the world bourgeoisie catches it asleep politically. If the series of trials and purges, accompanied as they were with left-handed admissions of financial and industrial weakness, did not do so, the military test put to the SU exposed the alarmingly weak state of the SU. Vividly revealed, was the lack of railroads and highways and the consequent lack of mobility of Red Army troops. The country where the "final and irrevocable victory of Socialism" took place issued no spark of internationalism with which to ignite the workers of the world and first of all of China and Japan. The Stalinists have these many years sacrificed all other objectives of the labor movement "for the defense of the Soviet Union". But the most serious threat since the dying embers of the 1918-21 intervention causes no other reaction but that of blustering cockiness from the Soviet chieftains. The Soviet burocracy and the CI plus its stooge outfits, have already entirely ceased calling upon the international proletariat for class defense of the SU. The political situation in Japan is brewing to the boiling point. Whole army units are reported to have mutinied. Financial difficulties followed by intensified exploitation of the Japanese proletariat and peasantry has made the war extremely unpopular. This was a golden opportunity for the Soviet government

to call on the Japanese, Manchukuan, Korean and Chinese masses to come to the aid of the SU by dealing blows to their oppressors. Instead, the Stalin regime, the party, YCL, etc. merely boasted of how they would mop up on Japan.

This far shift to the right on the part of Stalinism reflects and flows from a right shift in the economic and political relationships within the SU. The first 5 year plan made considerable progress in many branches of industry. Construction of dams, factories, the sinking of new oil wells, greater exploitation of natural resources showed that planned Socialist organization of economy is superior by far to the capitalist system. This, in spite of the fact that it was like trying out a battleship in a park lake. From the beginning, however, the plan was adventurous and becoming more so at the very end, due to the Stalinist misleadership. The very economic successes had to lead to greater economic needs which entailed an increased dependence on the world division of labor, on market conditions, etc. A Marxian leadership would have guided the industrialization with less zigzags between underestimation & overestimation of the economic potentialities of the SU. The result would have been greater economic successes, even more sharpened contradictions between the SU and world capitalist economy, but these contradictions would have been resolved by a sharpened international revolutionary struggle, backed up by a stronger and more stable SU and a weaker capitalist world. In view of the opportunities missed by the world proletariat, because of misleadership and betrayal, given such conditions success would have been assured, as much as anything can be assured.

IMPERIALIST PENETRATION INTO THE SU

The accumulated betrayals and defeats of the world proletariat in Eastern Europe, China, Germany, and Austria and the continuous set backs in the Spanish civil war have disposed the imperialists to compromise less with the SU and to orient more on economic and political blows. The imperialists in the past were forced to grant economic concessions to the SU and were prevented from exacting too much in return because of the strong pressure of the proletariat and their urgent need for markets. Now that the workingclass pressure has been channelized by the bourgeoisie, the continuing need of the imperialists for capital and commodity markets, and the greater need of the SU for credits and capitalist aid in economy, has led to even greater penetration of imperialism into the SU. But this time the imperialists and the bourgeois elements in the S.U. are in a position to exact fundamental political concessions and make fundamental breaches in the economy of the SU. In the field of economy this is indicated by the growth of bondholding as a means of obtaining capital for Soviet industry and the Soviet treasury, the denationalization of the land held by the collectives, the diminution of the State farms as against the growth of collectives, increasing importance of private landholdings within the

of differentiation between the wealthy or kulak collectives and poor collective farms, the sale or negotiation for sale of export concerns of the SU, undermining the foreign trade monopoly etc. "Soyusneftexport, the exporting organization of the Soviet petroleum industry, has sold its marketing facilities in Sweden and Finland to subsidiary companies of the Gulf Oil Corporation (Mellon-controlled - Ed.) operating in those countries. These countries will continue to purchase supplies from the Soviet Union as will Gulf subsidiaries operating in the other Scandinavian countries, Belgium and United Kingdom". (World Petroleum - July 1937). In the field of politics, the tailending dependence of the SU on imperialist blocs, the affiliation to the League of Nations, and the new constitution with its elimination of soviets indicate how the world bourgeoisie have penetrated into and thereby influenced the workers state. The increasing economic and political pressure serves to push the Stalinist labor lieutenants of world imperialism even further to the right, and this in turn enables imperialism to make further inroads.

The growing power of capitalist and pre-capitalist elements in the economy, and of a political line serving the interests of the imperialists involved a continuous honeycombing of the Soviet political apparatus with, not only Stalinist, but outright bourgeois agents. This condition existed to some degree at all times since the October Revolution. What is significant is that since 1924, roughly, and definitely since 1928, these elements have increased in number and power. The strength of Stalinism over the SU, since Stalinism, like all labor agents of the bourgeoisie, has behind it the world bourgeoisie which uses the Stalinist agents against the proletariat. Because it is not tied up with the workers state and economy, that distinguishes the third force from Stalinism.

The Stalinists still retain the upper hand, due to their base in the October property relations and the proletariat and its organizations, but the new third force, the rising bourgeoisie in its struggle against the proletariat are slowly forcing the Stalinists to give way. The bourgeois force is not an independent force, but is part of the bureaucracy.

DIRECT BOURGEOIS FORCE

The direct bourgeois bureaucrats have amassed tremendous influence in the GPU, judiciary, technical and engineering personnel, in the foreign commissariat, and the army's officers' corps. The new constitution has already eliminated the soviets and legalized a bourgeois structure for the state (parliament and civil service). Thus the workers state of the SU has to fear not only foreign aggression but a powerful bourgeois stratum within the boundaries of the SU. In the event of a major conflict this stratum will indeed take the opportunity of aiding in the finishing-off of the workers state. The Stalinists will in one form or another objectively or subjectively aid this counterrevolutionary spawn against the weak-

ened workers state, even if it means their destruction. Under these circumstances those, who like the Trotskyites call for unconditional defense of the Soviet Union are only helping the Stalinists help the bourgeoisie crush the SU.

This does not mean that the class conscious workers can be against defending the SU at any time. The SU, which is based on Socialist property relations fundamentally, is a workers state and therefore despite the crimes of its Stalinist regime, must be defended under all circumstances and at all costs. But to successfully defend the SU means to work on the perspective of taking the "defense" away from Stalinism and really defending it - the only way possible - by a class struggle policy. Stalinism cannot defend the SU; it can only betray the SU. It means - for example as militant workers discover in relation to strikes - that the struggle against the counterevolution involves consistent struggle against the labor bureaucrats as well.

IN THE EVENT OF IMPERIALIST WAR

In the event of an imperialist war in which the SU is an ally (that is, under Stalinism, a tail) of one set of imperialists, two questions are raised. Should the workers of the SU's allies faithfully support their "own" bourgeoisie's war? Class conscious workers must remember that the "main enemy is at home", and work for the defeat of their "own" government, and for turning the imperialist war into a civil war. This is one of the points in conditional defense of the SU. Second, must we regard the SU's participation in the war as mere imperialist slaughter? Under Stalinism the SU will be used as a pawn for one of the imperialist groups. However, a war on the part of the SU will bring all contradictions to a head. Until the workers state is overthrown, the part of the SU in a war is fundamentally that of revolutionary war on the part of a proletarian dictatorship. The SU is a warped workers state and the revolutionary element in war must struggle with the imperialist element. The final victory of either will decide the question of the counterevolution. To make the revolutionary war victorious, over the imperialists, the revolutionary line must prevail and a revolutionary party replace Stalinism and the forces of the right.

The SU cannot be successfully defended unless the Soviets are revived, workers democracy established in all mass labor organs; and a new Communist Party organized and the proletarian economy strengthened. The new constitution set-up along with civil service structures, police, etc. which have developed must be destroyed. Regular police must once again give way to workers militia and patrols, which must also serve as part of the Red Army along with the regular divisions. The aim of Marxism is to replace the standing army with Workers Militia, a military force based on the factories, unions and workers and peasants neighborhoods. The backwardness of Russia prevented this from being carried out. A revolution in the advanced countries could immediately create the Militia and do away with a standing army. The Militia structure, not only has the

political advantage of consisting of the proletariat in the factories etc. but as a superior military structure where it can be instituted. Rank in the army must be abolished, the officers' corps destroyed and a new one created; soldiers committees revived to serve as organs of discipline. The Army as well as the whole apparatus must be reformed. Under present conditions it can be decided in given situations whether to join the ranks of the Red Army and fight inside it for this policy, or whether because of the counterrevolutionary character of the division or some strategical factor, not to join. At all times however, inside or outside the Red Army, revolutionists must agitate and work for Workers Militia Workers must fight for workers democracy in the Red Army.

The policy of social reformism on the basis of "Socialism in One Country" must give way to that of international revolution. The SU must appeal to the world proletariat to give it aid as part of the permanent revolution. To base the defense of the SU on its own relatively meagre forces is pure stupidity or treachery. The proletariat of the SU must extend aid to the international proletariat & receive aid in return. The aid given by the international proletariat to an embattled SU will naturally include aid in money and materials. How should the workingclass send material aid to the October Revolution is one of the most serious problems connected with the defense of the SU. Some, like the Trotskyites, say once it is attacked they will make no distinctions and will give aid unconditionally to the Soviet Union.

No surer way of dooming the already weakened workers' fortress exists. The most vital condition for a successful defense of the property relations of the October Revolution is the speediest possible building of a New Communist Party. If only the material aid that went to the centrist POUM in Spain went to the Marxist handful there, there might be a totally different story to tell today. Not to the official Soviet regime should aid be sent, overrun as it is by counterrevolutionary elements and run objectively in the interests of these counterrevolutionists by the treacherous Stalinists. To send aid to the regime is to send aid to a bureaucracy no longer basing itself on workers organs. Our aid, and so much of it as we can get, will be sent to the Marxist force, to reach the class.

Where workers organizations not controlled by Marxists are willing to give material aid to the SU, we will call on the workers to see to it thru representatives that the aid goes to left forces or mass workers organizations (e.g. trade unions, revived Soviets) fighting on an independent line against the class enemy. If unable to carry this line, as a general rule, our policy will be to allow shipment to go thru to the SU and of course to sabotage shipments to those attacking the proletarian state. Where the Stalinists, or other bourgeois agencies in the apparatus come into open armed conflict with the proletariat, then the same principle applies to them as to the invaders or internal counterrevolution. For that is what they

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BREAK FROM STAMM (REVOLT) GROUP, JOIN REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS LEAGUE

We followed Stamm in his split from the Revolutionary Workers League primarily on the question of Trotskyism. But Marxists are not afraid to admit their errors, and we do so. Our experience has shown that our difference with the RWL position on Trotskyism is only one of evaluation of Trotsky's tendency in the period of 1928-34. It is not a principle difference. The line of the RWL is Marxist.

But the line of the Stamm group is not. The principle of the political and organizational independence of the Marxist organization, which comrade Roberts stated the RWL evaluation negated, has actually been violated by the Stammites. Their organ Revolt carries on an Economist line, primarily dealing with trade union questions. It has shown an absolute inability to take up important national and international events such as the German-Czechoslovakian crisis, the Spanish Civil War etc. The other political parties are nowhere taken up in a political discussion; the one article dealing with the Trotskyites attacks them in a nonpolitical, personal manner. The failure of Revolt to give a political lead to the workingclass thereby negates the political independence of the class, expresses the political bankruptcy of the Stammites.

The Negrete case proves this to the hilt. The defeatism which they accuse the RWL of is displayed in action by the Stammites themselves.

Whereas in their press they played for the masses on opportunist line of get-to-the-masses at any price, in the issue of defending the life of a revolutionist, a classwar prisoner, they avoided the masses. Their excuse was that perhaps Negrete's political connections were not known to the Loyalist bosses - for whom the GPU is working. They ignored the fact that he had been sought at the time Oehler was seized, by the same Loyalist government. That as Blackwell he was known to the US State Dept. for his political work in Mexico. Their excuses are worth nothing, their lack of faith in the workingclass is openly revealed.

At the time of the split, they accused the RWL of refusing to work for Negrete's return, in order supposedly to cover up a non-Marxist policy of Oehler in Spain which Negrete might reveal on his return. But when the Stammites received definite information that Negrete was in the hands of the Loyalist bourgeois gov't and its murderous Stalinist lackeys, they withheld the facts from the RWL to prevent the RWL from doing anything, while the Stammites carried on a class-collaboration policy. It is the RWL and not Stamm, who now is carrying on a correct class struggle policy for the defense of Negrete.

It is necessary for all those sincere comrades in the struggle for the building of a Marxist organization to recognize the truth. The FIGHTING WORKER and the 4TH INTERNATIONAL, the organs supported by the 1st and 2nd conventions of the RWL, have continued to carry on a principle struggle vs. Trotskyism as well as all other revisionist tendencies. Revolt has not. It was the Stammites who violated the principle of democratic centralism by waging a split fight against an organization whose line all declared was Marxist at the 2nd convention. It is the organization publishing the FIGHTING WORKER and the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL (and not the Revolt group) which continues the

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THE '38 ELECTION CAMPAIGN

The 1938 by-elections are marked by a worsening of the general condition of the workingclass and oppressed masses. In the 1936 presidential election Roosevelt could contrast his administration to the previous and on the basis of "saving" the system from "revolution" could rally votes; in spite of the fact that in the period of the New Deal the general level of the workers conditions has become worse while at the same time there have been increased class struggles. The crisis as a whole continues within the orbit of decay capitalism. The government subsidies to capital and war orders are an artificial stimulus but no solution. Today the conditions are growing even worse in spite of the so-called "upturn" which does not even give satisfaction and profits to the exploiters. Layers and the lower sections of the exploiters and the workers and oppressed masses obtain no relief from the upturn; on the contrary they face increased antagonisms. The driving force of the by-elections is the New Deal attempt to obtain control of the Senate and a favorable position as a starting point for the 1940 Presidential elections.

CAPITALIST DECAY, WAR PREPARATIONS, AND CLASS STRUGGLES

The elections are taking place with increased decay in the US. The idle machines, men and capital cannot be properly utilized for profit. The internal and present international market under US hegemony is not sufficient to absorb even the present ration not to speak of expanding production, if capitalism is to continue for a period at least. Toward this, the solution which demands the conquest of new and greater markets, the US under the New Deal is preparing for a new imperialist war. And at the same time the New Deal thru its government agencies for labor disputes, relief, youth, etc. is endeavoring to hold in check and canalize into safe channels the growing class action of the proletariat and oppressed masses under increasingly unbearable conditions. These are the outstanding factors that make up the background of the present primaries and elections.

THE POLITICAL FIELD

The prolonged crisis, new class relations and war preparations have created sharp clashes in the political arena. The increased struggle of the ruling class to shift the burden of the crisis onto the proletariat on the one hand and to the other imperialists, has created a bitter struggle in the political arena. It is an important stage toward a realignment of political forces within the country. As we had pointed out in '32 and '36 the Republican Party would not be driven off the political field, signs indicate that even tho it is still weak from its last two defeats, it is nevertheless gaining some strength and is still a powerful force of reactionary politics which will still play a decisive role in the coming period. Outstanding tho, in the present relation of forces is the struggle wi-

THIn the Democratic Party. This is due to the general and prolonged crisis of unemployment for the workers and bankruptcy for the lower layers of the exploiters. The fact that the main struggle in the primaries and the coming election will not be between the two old parties but within the Democratic Party shows the direction of the shift and the degree of the shift in class relations. The shift is to the left of the old 2-party struggle. But the shift is still far to the right of a threat from ANY type of a 3rd party, either "liberal" or "labor".

LABOR STRUGGLE

As yet no politically independent labor force is challenging the rule of capital in any section of the US on a mass scale. All labor forces are under the leadership of capitalist agents and are still objectively within the framework of disputing with e a c h other WHICH GROUP OF EXPLOITERS TO SUPPORT. This is true from the Labor Party to the Socialists, Stalinists, Trotskyites. The present Labor Party forces have not even developed to the level of an independent 3RD CAPITALIST PARTY as their sister parties in Europe did in the upwaving of capitalism. Only state groups and isolated national crystallizations have slowly moved in this direction. The American Labor Party, now in a bloc with a section of the Republicans vs the N.Y.C. Democrats have not even reached the stage of independent 3d capitalist party politics. The Socialists of the Thomas stripe and the Socialists of the Trotsky stripe demand an independent 3d capitalist party, called labor party, to fight against the 2 old capitalist parties. At the same time the LaFollette "progressive" group of middle class forces with labor support are endeavoring to establish this 3d capitalist party. Before it is mature this party will split into a pro-fascist and a pro-labor group. The Stalinists are whipping up sentiment for the US drive toward imperialist war, while the Socialist-Lovestone group proceed along the same line with "left" phrases. Both, in different degrees, advocate the Labor Party, while the Trotsky centrists, like the Thomas Socialists, want a labor party that puts up its own candidates instead of endorsing OTHER capitalist candidates. A Labor Party no matter how left, will only be an instrument to prepare the workers for imperialist war, help defeat the strike movement, beat back the unemployed, smash the struggle for Negro rights. A Labor Party in the US (in decay) cannot even play the reformist role the labor parties in Europe (developing capitalism) played. A Labor Party can only be a reactionary force against the proletarian revolution.

FASCISM AND REFORMISM

The immediate danger ahead for the US is not yet fascism. As stated before reformism in the US comes in the period of decay capitalism and will be of short duration and unlike reformism in Europe in developing capitalism. The real immediate danger ahead is growth of Reformism. On the basis of a growth of Reformism the growth of Fascism will proceed. Reformism paves the way for Fascism. The AFL CIO, Stalinists, Socialists, Trotskyites all in different degrees,

nevertheless within the framework of opportunism, are preparing the way for a growth of Reformism unless the revolutionary workers can unite their forces in a Marxian organization and smash through their blockade. However, the increased class struggles will cause open bourgeois-terror to increase even tho it willnot be Fascism as such.

THE WORKERS NEEDS & THE RWL

The burning need of the workingclass in the US is INDEPENDENT CLASS ACTION. This independent action of the class is negated by advocating a labor 3d party which can only be a reformist capitalist party, a reactionary force in social development. To carry out the independent class action the urgent need of the hour is therevolutinary Marxian party. In the election the Marxists must counterpose to the 2 old parties and the 2 few parties of capital (La Follette and Labor) the independent political action of the work - ingclass. This can only be accomplished on the parliamentary field either by the Marxian Party placing its independent forces in the elections and utilizing the WORKERS VOTE or if too weak, to use the WORKERS VOTE and a write-in camoaign to register for class struggle against class collaboration, to expose the capitalists and their agents, to organize the workers for class struggle. Toward this end the RWL participates in the by-elections where it is strong enough to carry thru the Workers Vote and issues the following slogans as the line of march of the class for the present period:

- For the 6-hour Day, 5-day Week With No Reduction in Pay!
- For Work Relief at Trade Union Wages!
- For Workers Control of Relief Funds!
- For Adequate Cash Relief!
- For the Unification of All Trade Unions On A Class Struggle Policy with Industrial Structure!
- For Democratic Rights; For the Right to Organize, Strike and Picket!
- For the Coordination of Free Education and Practical Vocational Training for all Youth; For Equal Pay for Equal Work; For independent Relief for all Youth Equal to the Adult!
- For full economic, social and political equality for the Negro masses!
- For Immediate complete Independence for the Colonies and Protectorates of the U.S.!
- For the Class War - Against Imperialist War!
- For Independent Workingclass Action!
- For Workers Control of Production!
- For a Workers Council Government!

SUPPORT-SIGN WORKERS VOTE

Write in *Joe Hadley* for Congressman-at-large for Illinois!

THE INT'NAT'L LABOR MOVEMENT

THE ENERGETIC campaign of the Revolutionary Workers League against comrade Negrete's arrest in Loyalist Spain, has received support internationally. Protests and declarations of support have come in from the Anti-Parliamentary Communist Federation, the United Socialist Movement and the Action for Spain Committee, all of Scotland; and from the Independent News of Paris, France.

THE EUROPEAN Trotskyite movement is being racked by one of its periodic crises. Its long series of opportunist maneuvers have created within its ranks a body even to the right of the paper Fourth International, and today it is paying the price. The formation of Pivert's new right-centrist party in France awked the dreams which had faded with the collapse of the FOUM. Along with "left" Socialists, Lovestoneites, Stockholm-Oslo Buro supporters, adherents of the Trotskyites are hastening to the new shrine of the 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ International.

IN FRANCE, the international press reports that "Trotskyite and neo-Trotskyite" groups are already joining Pivert's party. Tho the bulk of these are probably made up of the supporters of Molinier and Zeller, there are indications that Victor Serge, old Trotskyite standby, is tending in Pivert's direction.

THE DUTCH RSAP, which has long clung to the coat-tails of the FOUM and Stockholm-Oslo Buro, has been emboldened to push its fight to the point of split. Following a campaign characterized by extreme vilification and slander on both sides, it was solemnly read out of the "Fourth International". The few remaining Trotskyites have organized on a basis amounting to complete tail-ending of the RSAP. With the RSAP, despite its frequent splits, goes the only remaining sizable Trotskyite organization in Europe.

THE SAME tendency is reported in Belgium, both in the reported support of Vereecken to Sneevliet and the RSAP, and in the direct right shift of Trotsky's Revolutionary Socialist Party. The PSR, in the recent election, came out outright in support of the boss politician, Van Zeeland, as the "lesser evil" against Rexist Degrelle. The Trotskyites as yet permit such a policy only in Mexico China and Spain and the PSR is in , for a sound berating for having outrun its host.

PALESTINE - ?

PARTITION OR REVOLUTION

Twenty years ago, "backward and ignorant" Palestine was mandated to England, to be "educated and civilized" by the benevolent imperialists. Today, 20 years later, the most conservative of bourgeois sources are constrained to admit that "anarchy is the only word to describe present conditions in Palestine". Vladimir Jabotinsky, leader of the fascist Revisionist Zionists, is able to say with pride that whereas formerly only Jews had been afraid to appear on the streets, today the Arabs as well fear to appear. Bombings, arson, a rising tide of kidnappings feature the Palestinian situation in every paper.

CRISIS PROVOKED BY BRITAIN

Against the desperate terrorism of Jews and Arabs alike, Britain brings to bear the most merciless repression. On August 18, to cite only one example, 5000 British troops surrounded the Arab city of Nabius. Establishing an iron cordon, they searched every house and dragged the entire population of 12,000 - sick and well, old and young - into a barbed-wire enclosure. Everyone was submitted to search, and only those who could show absolute proof that they knew nothing of terrorist plots, were released. Even these must wear special insignia at all times, and rigid curfew has been established. At the same time, the government pushed thru the execution of a young Jewish terrorist for an abortive attempt to ambush an Arab bus.

Under the ever-increasing terror, lies the crisis provoked by Britain's partition scheme. Malcolm MacDonald, the Foreign Office's man-on-the-spot, has reported that the time is ripe to push the partition thru. The partition is, in essence, an extension of England's policy thruout. To hold Palestine securely as military base and chemical supply, British imperialism must throw Arab against Jew and Jew against Arab. The partition scheme, providing for an Arab "state" with a strong Jewish minority, a Jewish "state" with a strong Arab minority, and a British wedge dominating both, redoubles opportunities for the "divide and rule" policy.

ITALY AS "PROTECTOR OF ISLAM"

One factor, however, seems likely to delay the application of the partition. As part of its general Near Eastern campaign, Italy is endeavoring to establish itself as "protector" of Islam in general. Ibn Saud, ruler of all Southern Arabia, is in close negotiation with Italians, and would relish the opportunity to displace completely the Jerusalem-Cairo machine of the Grand Mufti with his own Mecca-Al-Yemen apparatus. A stand as leader of militant opposi-

tion to partition would carry him far on this road, and movements of Ibn Saud's Nejd warriors in Transjordan have disquieted Britain greatly.

As propaganda against a possible move from this quarter, Britain carries on an increased campaign against Jewish terrorists - up to now, slightly favored. But in the end, the weaker Italy must sell out her Palestinian "nuisance-value" for concessions elsewhere. Without his imperialist backing, Ibn Saud will come to terms as he has before, and partition will go thru.

FOR THE NEAR EAST FEDERATION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS

The period of "localization" of Near Eastern struggles is over. What happens in Palestine affects every people of Arabia, from Hedjaz to Turkey. Where before those who stood for isolated bourgeois revolution in the Near Eastern states could manufacture some slight semblance of plausibility, today it is obvious that the revolution in the Near East is a single and indivisible problem.

And with the passing of the myth of separate Syrian, Palestinian, Egyptian revolutions, imperialist rivalry in the present decay stage of capitalism dooms in advance the belated bourgeois democratic revolution in the Near East. With Turk and Kurd, Arab and Jew, Druse and Lebanese, Syrian and Nejd to be welded into a single force, only that force that over-rides the boundaries of nationalism and religion can carry thru the revolution. The Near East Federation of Soviet Republics will be established by proletarian revolution, however important its democratic aspects may be.

E X P O S E D

From the U.S. government moves to militarize and break up the unity of class-conscious seamen to the drive of international capital against the Soviet Union--- Every significant maneuver of the bourgeoisie to war is exposed and analyzed in the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL. Strengthen the struggle against imperialist war by spreading the message of workers revolution!

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WEST COAST MARINE SITUATION

The rapid changing developments of the labor situation on the West Coast ever develops new forms and patterns, that today there seems nothing but a confused jumbling of different organizations and policies. With the contracts expiring on Sept. 30, 1933 and the government and shipowners wanting a more docile working class, these complications assume an increasingly menacing proportion. To unravel the present seeming chaos it is necessary to go back to 1934 and trace its development.

THE 1934 VICTORY

In 1934, the strike of the seamen and longshoremen against the shipowners rapidly spread into a strike involving the entire working class of San Francisco and a great section of the workers throughout the West Coast. The callous brutality and open determination of the capitalist class to break the strike was to no avail before a militant and unified working class. Under the leadership of the sailors and longshoremen a new deal was ushered in. The workers were victorious. Learning a lesson from the strike, the organizations that were in the leadership of the strike, namely, those who worked around the waterfront, set up the vehicle that bid fair to become the organizing center for class struggle unionism, the Maritime Federation of the West Coast. Thru the 1935-6-7 strikes the Federation leading the way, lifted the conditions of the west coast workers to a new high.

RISE OF CIO

With the rise of the CIO the relationship of forces changed. In May 1937 the National Maritime Federation sprang into existence by taking over the entire membership of the AFL International Seamen's Union. This organization rapidly took over the Atlantic, Great Lakes and Gulf ports. The rank and file seamen demonstrated their willingness to fight and organize. The west coast was controlled by the Sailors Union of the Pacific.

The Communist Party tying itself to the CIO bandwagon and having some influence amongst the workers by the merger into the ISU of their Marine Workers Industrial, third period product, coupled with their policy of open bribery and blackmail succeeded in gaining control of the NMU. In fact, they had the major share in organizing the split. Joe 'no coffee time' Curran head of the NMU, became the messenger boy for the 14th St. gang. The west coast stevedores led on by Bridges likewise broke from the AFL and joined the CIO. The entire branches of Frisco and Seattle went CIO. The Tacoma branch stood for the International Longshoremen's Association (AFL). The CP dominates the CIO on the west coast.

The Sailors Union of the Pacific having an experience in the AFL - their charter was revoked at the 1935 convention. They waited till the CIO's forward roll started to go back. They carried thru a referendum for AFL, CIO or independent. The former 2 organizations were rejected. The sailors had decided, overwhelmingly, on the road of independence. Now the game was sped up. The stakes were large and the stacking of the cards was in order.

SAILORS UNION AND AFL VS. CIO

The NMU-ILWU-CP-CIO machine started a campaign of lies and slander. First assassinate the SUP was the strategy of the bosses' stooges. When these methods failed the machine started to roll forward organizationally. The first break came in the form of the Seaward Steamship Co. The SUP has an agreement with this company that expires on Sept. 30, 1938. Backed by the National Labor Relations Board, the NMU took over the ships. In Seattle the SUP picketed one of the ships. Bridges led the stevedores thru the picket line under the protection of the police armed with sawed-off shotguns and machine guns. The SUP received the support of the AFL longshoremen on both coasts. In all fight with the CP-CIO clique the SUP has received support from the west coast Teamsters, also AFL.

The game is now clear. The CIO using strikebreaking tactics tries to smash the militant seamen's union and submerge it in the heavily bureaucratized class collaborationist NMU. Foremost in this move is the CP who demonstrates its readiness to hand the workers over to the bourgeoisie in exchange for a US-Soviet Pact. The other brand of labor fakers, the AFL, threatened by the CIO on the west coast, tries to get the SUP, which has won the respect of the workers, and because they have no control of the seamen, back into its fold. It must bolster its position.

RULE OR RUIN

But some more. On June 15, 1938 the Maritime Federation of the West Coast, now called the Maritime Federation of the Pacific Coast met. The longshoremen from Tacoma were not seated. The excuse - "they are not a coastal union." 8 delegates walked out - 3 from the Sailors Union, 3 out of 5 from the Master Mates and Pilots, and 2 out of 3 from the Marine Firemen, Oilers and Wipers. The MFP became the longshoremen's convention dominated by Bridges, CP, CIO INC. The convention laid down the policy of taking over the west coast seamen. On June 15 from resolution 50, "Resolved that the component organizations of the MFP and the NMU shall meet in a convention at the earliest possible time to work out a program of unity and cooperation with the ultimate being a National Federation of America!"

With the west coast sailors, masters, and a section of the longshoremen not represented, they will build a National Federation. They move openly to take over the coast for the bosses. On June 17 the Committee on Officers Reports brought in a recommendation on

"the necessity for unity and a National Maritime Federation before Sept. 30." The fakers are anxious and impatient to break the SUP before the strike. In this they are valuable servants of the boss.

SUP GIVES UP INDEPENDENCE, JOINS AFL

Following this, the west coast sailors carried thru a referendum for reaffiliation with the AFL. It was voted for overwhelmingly. Almost the entire leadership of the union stood and fought for this. The AFL executive board granted the SUP all of the demands the union asked for - complete autonomy, right to decide its own destiny, right to elect its own leadership, national charter, etc.

The Seafarers Federation which had been endorsed by the SUP, the Marine Cooks and Stewards and the Marine Firemen, Oilers and Wipers are jeopardized. The MCS belong to the CIO. The Firemen are independent, and may split over the question of entrance into the AFL since the Frisco branch is Stalinite controlled. The reaffiliation of the SUP will start a war for the control of the industry nationally. It will not be able carry thru its own policy which to a great extent will be determined by the AFL officialdom. Already, H.D. Sizemore in Ketchikan Alaska speaking for the SUP to the fishermen stated that the sailors would back all component organizations of the AFL unions in Alaska in all jurisdictional disputes, picketline or no picketline, with the CIO. (NY Times, May 31, 1938).

CIO & AFL WILL SELL OUT SEPT. STRIKE

With the coming strike in Sept., the Government intent on smashing the unions as part of its war policy, with the shipowners not willing to tolerate any unionism and wanting to make the workers pay for the new depression, with CP-CIO selling the workers out to the bosses (allowing fink halls in the East Coast, support of the Fin-ky Copeland book and of tying the workers to the war machine) with the AFL fakers trying to dominate the workingclass and hand it over to the bosses in their way, the situation looks black. The Sailors Union carrying thru this false policy of reaffiliation played right into the hands of the bosses and their government. Had the Sailors Union remained independent, spread the Seafarers Federation to include other organizations, utilized the program of unity on a class struggle basis against the boss, the situation would have been a more favorable one. But the things look pretty dark, all is not lost. The sailors are militant, the longshoremen are becoming disgusted with the sellout policy of the boss-controlled CIO.

FOR UNIFICATION ON A CLASS STRUGGLE BASIS

Only a class struggle policy is the correct one. The building of a progressive group in both unions is on the order today. The policy of this progressive group should be a struggle against the bureaucratic elements in both unions. The struggle against the bosses in-

volves the struggle against their agents. Since the NMU rank and file is becoming disgusted with the policies of their leaders and since there are two unions of some strength in the same industry, the fundamental slogan and action for today of the progressive group should be for an INDEPENDENT MARITIME FEDERATION OF AMERICA ON A CLASS STRUGGLE PROGRAM. At the same time, as a general line of action, the workers of the maritime unions must fight for the unification of the different unions (AFL, CIO, etc.) on a class struggle basis and with industrial structure.

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ADDENDUM ON GOVERNMENT HIRING HALLS

The U.S. government is engaged in strengthening the Merchant Marine so that it can be sure of its own vessels for foreign trade in the coming war. The government is also financing military equipment on boats built by private concerns for auxiliary use to the national forces. The Maritime Commission, set up for the purpose of building the merchant marine, is opening hiring halls in competition with the hiring halls of the organized maritime workers. The union hiring halls are the workers' guarantee of the closed shop. The government in stepping in and establishing its own hiring halls is making open war on the workers' standards. As further part of its program, the Maritime Commission is opening "training schools" for seamen. These "training schools", however, are in effect schools to train strikebreakers. These latest moves are an attempt to break the strength of organized labor and all possible resistance to military preparations and war.

WORKERS STATE IN DANGER (Continued from P. 5)

would be in such a case, counterevolutionaries. In such a situation we will do all in power to sabotage any shipment intended for the Stalinists and Soviet regime, & divert aid to the workingclass forces.

Especially tempting to the workers will be the case of imperialist claiming that war material is going to the SU. We can never trust the bourgeoisie. Such shipments must be made only on the basis of the workers themselves taking over the production and transportation of the materials and attempting to get it to the Marxist forces or independent mass organizations in the SU. Only on this basis can material aid get where it belongs— to the Soviet workingclass.

The experience of the movement has shown that the proletariat can't consistently pursue a revolutionary course without a vanguard party. The SU is no exception. A revolutionary party must be built in the SU as part of the world party of the proletariat, the 4th Communist International.

BREAK FROM REVOLT GRP., JOIN RWL (Cont. P. 6)
Marxist line laid down at the 1st convention, which is, in spite of Stamm's claim to the contrary, the Revolutionary Workers League of US. It is for these reasons that we have broken with the opportunistic organization of Stamm & Co, and ask all comrades really willing to work for a Marxian Party and International to follow our action.

M. Gerson

J. Nemeroff

(Signed)

TRADE UNION REPORT of 5TH NAT'L PLENUM

The past 3 months have knocked into a cocked hat all the theories about "temporary recessions" put forth by the administration and its hangers-on. What the world is witnessing, and what is especially pronounced here in the US, is, after a brief upturn in '36-'37, a continuation and extension of the '29-'33 crisis. The precipitate decline of last fall has still not spent itself, despite billions poured into industry and finance by the administration.

After months of curtailment of production, warehouse stocks are still higher than at any time in the past few years. Capital is parked in vaults and banks, with no prospect of investment. Aside from war exports - in which by the way America leads the whole world - the foreign trade of the U.S. is badly slumped. Heavy industry is in a state of semi-paralysis, with steel down to 25% or so of production, and auto in a slump which has thrown more than half of its workers into the unemployed camp.

U.S. LEADS WORLD IN UNEMPLOYMENT

The "prosperous" US continues to lead the whole world in the question of unemployment - outstanding symbol of capitalism's decay in this country. In fact the number of unemployed in the US is greater than in the rest of the world put together. This enormous reservoir of labor power serves the bourgeoisie in the present depression - as in all others altho to a far greater degree today - to cut the wages of those remaining employed and increase the exploitation thru speedup, stretchout, unpaid overtime, etc. According to the National City Bank report of June 1938 "there is evidence that labor cost per unit of output is now being lowered in many lines thru increased output per man hour and, in textile, shoes, and a number of other industries, thru wage cuts."

FEVERISH WAR PREPARATION

The new depression and unemployment is rounded out - as usual in decay capitalism - by the feverish movements of American Imperialism towards war. The greatest war budget in peace time history; the building of the most powerful navy in the world; preparations to recruit unemployed into the army; increase in war maneuvers and war propaganda - that is the inevitable third side of the triangle of depression and unemployment.

For the Trade Union and Unemployed movement these factors have far reaching importance. Every Union is confronted with the enormous problem of its unemployed members - a large percent of whom will never again find work (note for instance the building trades, in

which this problem has been much more prolonged than in other industries). Many Unions, most members of the CIO, have entered with some degree of activity into the unemployed field. Organizations like the United Auto Workers would be decimated by 2/3 if they failed to take cognizance of this problem.

WAR PREPARATIONS INCREASE PROBLEMS OF ORGANIZED LABOR

Aside from that, however, the problems of the organized labor movement are increased by the war preparations of the U.S. government in the field of industry. The movement towards decentralization - particularly noticeable in Detroit and Akron; the retooling of hundreds of plants in preparation for M-day and the consequent further elimination of skilled trades; the new war contracts between government and industry, and the relation of the labor-faker stratum of the trade union movement to these contracts - their refusal to call strikes and in any way hinder the realization of these contracts; the increased use of the government as another fink instrument in certain war industries, where men are fingerprinted and photographed, spied on and investigated in order to make sure that they will serve faithfully US Imperialism in producing goods for the next war; the use of WPA workers in airports & other places for war preparations in direct competition with union labor; the zoning of American industry by the government in preparation for M-day, and the consequent shifts that will be necessary in the workingclass population; and last but not least the increased manufacture and export of war materials - all of these factors are becoming life and death problems for the rank and file worker in industry or unemployed.

What shall the Akron worker do when his plant is moved out of town; or the skilled worker whose job is being replaced; or the workers in war plants (airplane, Munition, even uniform and manufacturing) whose conditions are intolerable, but against which his reformist union leaders refuse to take any action? In this objective situation, far more aggravated than ever before in history, with a workingclass becoming more and more disillusioned, the bourgeois agents in the workingclass movement itself have served more than anything else to tone down and derail workingclass opposition and antagonism. The so-called Communist and Socialist organizations of the workingclass have jumped the bandwagon of bourgeois reformism, specifically the New Deal. The AFL and CIO have been on that bandwagon from its inception. Lewis and his gang received, in the initial period, no end of aid from the administration in organizing a class collaboration union movement with an industrial structure specifically fitted for the mass production industries. The Stalinists, in line with their 4th period ideology, are the most stalwart defenders of New Dealism in the US - not even barring the New Dealers themselves. The Socialist Party follows Stalinism and the CIO like a meek dove. The Labor Party movement - particularly the American Labor Party - is dominated by the CIO and obviously foll-

ows it in its support of the New Deal (with almost its only demand being for the New Deal to break with some of its - the New Deal's - reactionary confreres).

The Lovestoneites, constitute a left tail to the whole shooting match. Despite all their talk about Communism and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, they follow the CIO into the betrayals in the Auto Union (into support of labor-faker Martin against reformists like Reuther and Mortimer, Socialist and Stalinist stooges); they support the Wage-Hour bills and Ludlow amendments, just as supported by the CIO; they support the Labor Party moves; and so on all the way down the line. The unfortunate Trotskyites, left to a little isolation due to their abrupt expulsion from the Socialist Party, are now moving to bridge the gap again. Belatedly they have come to the support of "comrade" Homer Martin against the Stalinists (and the auto workers we may add). They are now openly in favor of a Labor Party (providing if you please it breaks with the Republican and Democratic parties). They too support the Wage-Hour bills and the Ludlow amendments of the New Deal. They have shown nowhere any opposition to the old line labor fakers and reformists outside of the Stalinists. With left words, they may be said to have jumped the New Deal bandwagon - particularly in the last few months.

MILITANCY OF WORKERS DAMPENED

With almost the whole "radical" and "labor" movement jumping to his side, Roosevelt has not been slow to again attempt to cement AFL and CIO harmony so that US Imperialism can start the next war with a unified trade union movement that will impose class peace on the workingclass. In the ranks of the CIO, Martin and Dubinsky; and in the AFL, Tobin, Frey and others have been working to accomplish Roosevelt's unification plan - a unification on the program of more collaboration between the state and trade union movement, a unification which will further bind workingclass to bourgeoisie.

The obvious net result of this misleadership of the American trade union and unemployed movement (Benjamin and Lasser, 2 Stalinist stooges who head the Workers Alliance, have made that organization in most places merely a CP adjunct) - the obvious result there has been a dampening of the militancy of the American workingclass. The Unemployed movement which '30-'33 saw under the leadership particularly of the National Unemployed Leagues, hundreds of thousands of unemployed workers in militant demonstrations against the capitalist state and its dole system, has now decreased to the point where even during sharp relief crises in such large cities as Chicago, city-wide demonstrations at City Hall not from 40 to 300 people top. This wearing down of the unemployed has been deliberate. In cities where class struggle unemployed movements exist - such as in Cleveland with the Association of Unemployed on Direct and Work Relief - thousands are easily mobilized in struggle against the administrations. But where the Stalinist-control-

led Workers Alliance dominates, the New Deal lackeys serve to undermine and channelize the militancy of the unemployed.

In the employed movement the net result of the swing of the misleadership to the New Deal bandwagon has been of similar nature. The militancy and strike struggles of the employed workers reached its apex in 1937 with the auto and steel strikes. Since the new depression, however, there have been only sporadic and isolated struggles, such as the Brass Strike, Federal Screw, Consumers Power in Michigan, and the Rubber strikes in Akron. These skirmishes have not reacted on other sections of the country, where the labor movement is dormant. Furthermore unlike the '30-33 period, the unemployed play almost no role in the employed struggles.

POLITICAL METHODS SUPERSEDE ECONOMIC METHODS VS. WORKERS

We may say, in summarizing these past 3 months, that the political methods of channelizing class struggle activity in the mass movement tend slowly to supersede the economic methods (fink strike-breaking, sellouts arranged between employer and reformist or labor faker, etc.) altho the economic method is still dominant. The new demagogy fed the masses consists of talk about not embarrassing the New Deal which is fighting the "Tories;" about putting faith in the New Deal and its agencies to settle all disputes - Labor Relations Board etc; about solving the economic problems of the masses purely by more bourgeois political action, such as building the Labor Party. This political activity and demagogy of the labor fakers and reformists is reaching quite large proportions. In Pennsylvania CIO candidates received only a small fraction less than the Earle ticket in the primaries. In other states CIO support helps buttress the machine of the so-called friends of labor, like Murphy, LaGuardia and others. To complicate matters the new LaFollette "Progressive Party", which claims to represent the interests of both labor and farm, has been added to the scene and there will no doubt be various maneuvers and horsetrades between the Roosevelt, LaFollette, Lewis, Green, and Stalinist machines before the line-up for the next presidential elections is complete.

The political methods used to derail class struggle activity do not end, however, with just support of various "Labor" parties and sects. Here and there "labor" men enter the bourgeois machine: Frankenstein in Detroit, who got a job on the relief authority and then proceeded to warn "chiselers"; of Senator Berry of AFL fame, who after election as Senator proceeded to pull a fast governmental swindle; and many, many others. The panacea fed certain strata of the working class consists of such bourgeois bills as the Wage and Hour Bill, which Local 59 of the St. Louis Molders Union correctly characterized as a scab-herding and wage-busting bill; support of Ludlow amendments; of National Labor Relations Board, etc. On the unemployed field, the sole activity of the Workers Alliance leadership in this past period, has been to support one bourgeois

politician against another - support of Mayor Burton vs. Gov. Davey in Cleveland; support of Mayor Kelly vs. Gov. Horner in Chicago; support of Hopkins, Roosevelt and LaGuardia against all criticism by anyone. The result of this pure bourgeois politics has been the cutting of the federal unemployed appropriations, in face of added unemployment and increased misery, from 4 billions a few years ago to 1½ billions today.

WAR QUESTION MOVING FORCE

All of the above are the facts of the labor movement in this past period, the situation objectively and subjectively. Underneath this surface of facts however the outstanding moving force in the trade union and unemployed movement both for the revolutionists and labor lieutenants of capital (as well as capital itself) is the WAR QUESTION. The problem of the Roosevelt administration is to perfect a class peace apparatus for the next war. The Labor Relations Boards, various bills, the steps toward harmony between AFL & CIO are all aimed at this purpose. The fact that the Lewis and Green misleadership is working hand in glove with Roosevelt to help war preparations is adequately attested to by the fact that there has not been a single effort in the trade union movement to expose any of the many steps taken by Roosevelt regime. That, despite the fact that all such knowledge is clearly available to Lewis Green Browder & Co. Furthermore with the US the greatest exporter of war materials in the world the misleadership of the US trade union and unemployed movement has not lifted one finger against such war moves, nor given it publicity.

Within the present leadership of the trade unions there is a struggle as to the exact method to impose class peace on the working class. The Martin-Dubinsky-Lovestone apparatus has built a pacifist isolationist "Keep America Out of War Committee". The Stalinist stick to their socialpatriotic "collective security" proposals. These differences, springing out of the differences in various sections of the US and world bourgeoisie itself, nevertheless have resulted in a number of rifts and splits in the trade unions themselves, as for instance the Auto Workers Union. Despite that, however, the fact remains that both these forces are 100% behind the war plans of US imperialism. They differ only in methodology each subordinating all activity on the economic and political sphere to its particular methodology for preparing American imperialism for war.

TASK OF REVOLUTIONISTS

With the consolidation of the bourgeois forces (from bourgeois reformism to centrists like the Trotskyites and Lovestonites) in the trade union movement, the revolutionists and militants remained greatly isolated in this past period. The objective conditions to break out of that isolation become every day more favorable. Increased attempts to penetrate the trade union and unemployed movement, plus a perfection of the tactics of the Marxists and milit-

ants in that movement, in the next period will help burst the bond of this isolation. The job of the revolutionists is to root themselves in the mass movement to advance and carry thru the policies of organizing the unorganized on a class struggle basis and to politicalize the struggle. The strategy in a given union must have as its pivot the rooting of the class struggle forces in that union and gain in influence over the rank and file. Fly by night jump from one union to another discredit and do more harm to our work than almost any other factor. We must ourselves thru greater activity in giving leadership to the masses in action, thru helping to prepare their struggles, etc. The organizational form of perfecting the independent class action in the trade union sphere must be the leftwing militant groups in each union - to be coordinated finally into a national leftwing force. But the building of these leftwing forces must be done planfully and solidly lest we isolate ourselves prematurely from the rank and file. We must state categorically that the premature organization of such groups without an ideological base, just like the premature open struggle inside existing organizations against the labor fakers and reformists without sufficient ideological preparation and actual leadership of the masses in action - clumsy work of this sort is an ultra-left "shortcut" to the masses, doomed to failure. ('root)

Our task is to give leadership to the masses ideologically and in action (the 2 cant be separated) and as PART OF THIS to struggle against the leadership. The struggle against the misleadership can be developed only positively, only in proportion as our positive work wipes out in action the false policies of the leadership and discredits them. A mere bombast of words against the leadership, without sufficient preparation and actual work in giving leadership to the masses themselves, is another bit of ultraleftism doomed to failure. Those who try to "win" over the better element in the present leadership of any unemployed or trade union movement as the primary aspect of their work (even tho an important auxiliary) will find that work doomed in the end just as in the political field oppositionism of the Trotsky type results in recruitments only of the poorest elements into the organization.

The perspective for the next period is that the unemployed movement will be the most fertile field for organizing the unorganized which at present is one of our most important tasks. Within the unemployed movement the most promising field is the WPA. With that the revolutionists face excellent prospects of capitalizing on the UAW splits and other fields. The dissension among the labor lieutenants gives the employers an excellent chance to mop up on the wage and other conditions of the rank and file. By giving leadership against these onslaughts and fake fights of the leadership the revolutionists and militants can make important inroads.

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

CHAPTER IV

D I A L E C T I C A L M A T E R I A L I S M A N D P H I L O S O P H Y

We have already dealt with the two main schools of the theory of knowledge, the idealist and the materialist. Let us now consider the agnostic and the mechanical materialist in this set-up. The agnostic philosophers are those who present the materialist viewpoint in words but the idealist position in content - or as Engels said, "shamefaced materialists." The materialists who reject the basic premises of the idealists and present the materialist concepts, but who do not understand the dialectic process, present a warped and mechanical position on the whole question. When we are in dispute with idealists we emphasize Dialectical MATERIALISM, and when we are in dispute with mechanical materialists, we emphasize DIALECTICAL Materialism, but this in no way implies a one-sided presentation of our position.

We will not attempt to present the different schools of thought, nor their main ideas. This would take a large book. We will present a brief historical sketch of some of the main aspects and then present the view of Dialectical Materialism on a few outstanding problems that philosophy tried to answer and failed.

F E U D A L I S M A N D T H E C A T H O L I C C H U R C H

The death grip of religion upon mankind, and especially the Catholic Church in the middle ages as the real stronghold of idealism stood in the way of every scientific advancement mankind has made. The great international center of Western European Feudalism was the Catholic Church. It was the spiritual leader and largest landowner. To overthrow Feudalism, the stranglehold of the Roman Catholic Church had to be broken; to release the energies of mankind in further scientific achievement this octopus had to be destroyed.

In this struggle the rising bourgeoisie played a progressive role. The long fight of the new exploiters against the feudal lords took on the form of a struggle against religion, only with a new form of religion to replace the old.

The first big struggle against Feudalism represented the Protestant Reformation in Germany led by Luther against the Church. The defeat of the insurrections that followed (1523 and 1525) gave way to Calvinism. The second Bourgeois struggle against Feudalism found ready-made the Calvinist ideological weapons which they used to good advantage in the struggles that followed. The third big upheaval, ushered in on the heels of the American Revolution which was its prelude, was the Great French Revolution.

In this whole period the struggle of rising capitalism against the handicraft masters and the Feudal lords carried with it a mixed pattern of religious struggles and new materialist schools. They supplemented each other for the new exploiters' needs.

PROTESTANTISM AND NEW SCHOOLS OF MATERIALISM

The rise of new forms of Christianity under the cloak of Protestantism versus the Catholic Church, which meant new forms of idealism, and the rise of the new schools of materialism is a contradictory condition of the material process of the transformation from Feudalism and the handicraft system to Capitalism. But this contradictory development served the contradictory needs of the rising capitalist class. On the one hand they needed that ideological lever for mass action against the powerful Catholic Church and Feudal owner. At the same time the new ideological weapons had to be suitable to hold in check these very same masses when they were transformed into wage slaves. Protestantism fulfilled the role for the new exploiters, for the masses, and for their own needs later. When it was safe, the Catholic Church made peace and took its place along side of the Protestant Church.

But this struggle against the Catholic Church and Feudalism by new forms of idealist ideology left great breaches, and shattered the all-powerful single authority that formerly held sway. Into these breaches jumped the more daring, the more revolutionary: the materialists. But this materialism in scientific development and in philosophy had its base in the historically limited and transitory conditions as part of the bourgeois revolution. The transformation to capitalism and the needs of capitalism gave birth to these new schools of materialism and their scientific development. Once the new mode of production got under way, replacing closed-in economy with a constant revolutionizing of the means of production, the growth of science and materialism was assured as long as capitalism was in development - but it was not assured in its decay.

The religious forms of the struggle of Capitalism against Feudalism were only warped forms of the class struggle due to the material conditions. Materialism began to seriously challenge idealism, Bacon and Hobbes, Hume, Locke presented their contributions, only to have materialism rejected by the British ruling class; it then crossed the channel and helped pave the way for the French Revolution. Although first monopolized by the ruling class, materialism and its revolutionary character soon seeped down to the lower ranks, and extended to all spheres of knowledge through the work of the Encyclopedists.

DEVELOPMENT OF DIALECTICS

The school of dialectics also went through a slow and painful development, dating back from the Greek philosophers, the same as the materialist school. Aristotle was the outstanding dialectician who presented the different forms of dialectic thought. The Germ-

an school of philosophers culminating with Hegel, developed the dialectical method, although in the idealist shell, in its highest forms. Descartes and Spinoza were also very capable dialecticians.

Philosophers tell us they are in search of pure reason just as the artists tell us they are artists for art's sake. "But during this long period from Descartes to Hegel and from Hobbs to Feuerbach, the philosophers were by no means impelled, as they thought they were, solely by force of pure reason. On the contrary, what really pushed them forward was the powerful and ever more rapid onward rushing progress of natural science and industry." (13) The materialists of the last century were unable "to comprehend the universe as a process--as matter developing in a historical process. This was in accordance with the level of natural science at that time, and with the metaphysical, i.e., anti-dialectical manner of philosophizing connected with it. Nature, it was known, was in constant motion. But according to the ideas of that time, this motion turned eternally in a circle and therefore never moved from the spot; it produced the same results over and over again." (14)

FREEDOM AND NECESSITY

From a dialectical point of view freedom can only mean freedom within the framework and understanding of the natural laws. The ability to make decisions on the basis of real knowledge and not to be left to unknown forces is the relative condition of freedom. "Freedom therefore consists in the control over ourselves and over external nature which is founded on knowledge of natural necessity; it is therefore necessarily a product of historical development." (15)

If we speak of freedom and democracy we again find this unscientific approach. Democracy escludes freedom. Democracy is a form of rule under a system of classes. As long as there is a State there can be no freedom; but there can be democracy, that is, democracy for the ruling class. The state is an instrument to hold in check contending and exploited classes; the state is not needed for freedom. Freedom will be established when the state has withered away. Bourgeois democracy will be replaced by proletarian democracy and only with the further development of society can we speak of freedom. Even this concept of freedom is relative, although its material base will be broader than anything so far known. Freedom under capitalism means free selling and buying, which includes the commodity, labor power.

EQUALITY

The concept and condition of equality cannot be separated from the material conditions and the mode of production any more than freedom or any other condition that the philosophers prattle about. Today we can say that equality has its bourgeois and proletarian forms, and is a historical product. As Engels pointed out, "Christianity knew only one point in which all men were equal; that all

were equally born in original sin--which corresponds perfectly with its character as the religion of slaves and the oppressed". (16) Equality under capitalism, as a historical conditioning factor, with new inequalities means equal chance in competition and in exploitation of labor power, which developed into great inequalities. Equality from a proletarian standpoint under capitalism "is the demand for the abolition of classes."

TRUTH

"Truth and error, like all concepts which are expressed in polar opposites, have absolute validity only in an extremely limited field" (17) Again we must state that the question of truth and error cannot be separated from the mode of production and the given material framework in which its relative relation exists. Truth must be expressed in the concrete, but that does not mean that there are no absolute truths. Absolute truths are made up of relative truths. "Truth and error, like all mutually antagonistic concepts, have only an absolute reality under very limited conditions." (18) This is the dialectical concept of the absolute, in the realm of truth and error. "The question whether human thought can arrive at objective truth is not a question of theory, but a practical question. In practice man must prove the truth, i.e., reality, power and this-sidedness (diesseitigkeit) of thought. The dispute as to the reality of unreality of thoughts which is separated from practice is purely a scholastic question." (18a)

MORALITY

"We...reject every attempt to impose on us any moral dogma whatsoever as an eternal, ultimate and forever immutable moral law on the pretext that the moral world too has its permanent principles which transcend history and the differences between nations. We maintain on the contrary that all former moral theories are the products, in the last analysis, of the economic stages which society has reached at that particular epoch. And society has hitherto moved in class antagonisms, morality was always a class morality; it has either justified the domination of the interests of the ruling class, or, as soon as the oppressed became powerful enough, it has represented the revolt against this domination and the future interest of the oppressed." (19) Only with the elimination of classes can morality transcend class morality.

THE FAMILY

The different systems of philosophy have placed a halo around the family and have presented the most confused picture of this social unit, possible. We will therefore briefly present the position of dialectical materialism as expressed in the historical development of the family. "...Accordingly we have three principal forms of marriage, which in the main correspond to the three principal stages of human development. For the period of savagery, the group marriage; for Barbarism, the pairing marriage; for civilization,

monogamy supplemented by adultery and prostitution. Between the pairing marriage and monogamy there intervened, at the highest stage of barbarism, the right of men to female slaves, and polygamy... We are now approaching a social revolution in which the former economic foundation of monogamy will just as surely disappear as those of its complement, prostitution...

"And finally, have we not seen in the modern world monogamy and prostitution are, it is true, contradictions, but inseparable contradictions, poles of the same social condition? Can prostitution disappear, without dragging monogamy down with it into the abyss? Here a new factor comes into play, a factor which, at the time monogamy developed was at most in germ: individual sex love."

"Full freedom of marriage can therefore only become generally established when the abolition of capitalist production and the property relation created by it has done away with all the economic considerations which still exert such powerful influence on the choice of the spouse. For then no motive other than mutual affection will be left." (20)

THE STATE

All systems of philosophy have spoken of the State, and in the main have defended the particular state under which the individual philosopher found himself. Let us present our position on the State:

As the state arose out of the need to hold class antagonisms in check, but as it, at the same time, arose in the midst of the conflict of these classes, it is, as a rule, the State of the most powerful economically dominant class, which by virtue thereof becomes also the dominant class politically, and thus acquires new means of holding down and exploiting the oppressed class. Thus the ancient State was above all the slaveowners' State for holding down the slaves, as a Feudal State was the organ of the nobles for holding down the peasantry, bondsmen and serfs, and the modern representative State is the instrument of the exploitation of wage labor by capital.

"The State, therefore, has not existed from all eternity. There have been societies which managed without it, which had no conception of the state and state power. At a certain stage of economic development, which was necessarily bound up with the cleavage of society into classes, the State becomes a necessity owing to this cleavage.

"We are now rapidly approaching a stage in the development of production at which the existence of these classes has not only ceased to be a necessity, but is becoming a positive hindrance to production. They will disappear as inevitably as they arose at an earlier stage.

"The society that organizes production anew on the basis of a free

and equal association of the producers will put the whole state machine where it will belong: in the museum on antiquity, side by side with the spinning wheel and the bronze axe."

GOOD AND EVIL

The concepts of Good and Evil, of Love and Hate, are polar concepts that are relative and transitory depending upon the relation of men to the mode of production. These concepts change with the change in the mode of production. What is good for one class is bad for another class, and what one class loves, another class may hate. Beyond good and evil, or for that matter beyond any of the polar opposite concepts of ideologies, morals, laws, etc. of the system of exploitation, can only mean, when speaking of objective reality and the actual process of social development -- a struggle to establish the socialist mode of production, with the gradual elimination of classes and the withering away of the State; whereby, a whole new material base is created for a new relation of all conditions, conduct, and actions of the social animal in relation to his fellowmen. "By acting upon the external world and changing it, man changes his own nature." "All history is the progressive modification of human nature."

DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM AND PHILOSOPHY

In a classless society there will no longer be philosophy that takes up the questions of ethics, law, etc., but instead there will be the science of the different divisions now coming under the head of the philosophy of the exploiters. Contrary to belief the proletariat does not institute its philosophy against the other philosophies. We counterpose DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM to ALL philosophy. If one uses the term loosely, to mean dialectical materialism it would be permissible, but those who are not satisfied with dialectical materialism as replacing all philosophy always use this term as a means of revising dialectical materialism. The new "recruits" to Marxism and dialectical materialism, the liberals and philosophers of the bourgeois schools, without exception are of the latter variety.

Today the proletariat uses dialectics for class ends; tomorrow, when classes have disappeared and communism reigns, dialectical materialism will be used by man against nature instead of the struggle of man against man in exploitation. This reveals a further development of dialectical materialism and its use. The proletariat as the last of the classes, holds this unique position, using the scientific theory of knowledge to replace all false schemas (philosophies).

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