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## STALINISM AND THE SOVIET UNION

The thirtieth anniversary of the Russian Revolution brings forth no joy for the revolutionary Marxists and humanity. With the victorious October revolution as an outgrowth of the first world war we had a Marxist party in state power in one country and the growth of the Communist International at the expense of the reformist Socialist International and its betrayals. Since then the 3rd International of Lenin and Trotsky has degenerated into the same kind of stinking corpse that the Second International degenerated into in the days of Liebknecht and Luxemburg.

In this period of thirty years the workers of the world have undergone some of the most devastating defeats of their entire history. Over three dozen revolutions have been beheaded by the combined action of the Stalinists and Social-Democrats.

The working class tribunals of tomorrow have far more evidence of crimes against the working class and revolutionists carried out by the Stalinist and Socialist Internationals than the victorious nations' war crimes tribunal in Nuremberg had against Hitler's agents and fascism.

In these thirty years, while the workers suffered defeat after defeat under bourgeois reformist leadership in the United States and social-reformist leadership throughout the world, fascism came to power in Italy, Germany, Spain and spread like a scourge throughout the world.

Since then the fascists have been driven out of state power in their most powerful strongholds; but they still retain state power in different parts of the earth and have a growing underground or legal apparatus in every country.

In celebrating these thirty years, the Stalinists can not brush aside the fact that an imperialist war destroyed over 40 million people and countless billions in wealth, even though the Stalinists were on the victorious side. This victory is not due to Stalinism; it came about in spite of Stalinism. Thanks to the fact that Hitler invaded Russia and broke up the Hitler-Stalin pact; thanks to the Lend-Lease of American imperialism and its urgent need of Russians as cannon fodder against Hitler's hordes; and above all thanks to the Russian people. The Russian people put up such a heroic fight because they were invaded; because they fought with revolutionary idealism not yet completely stamped out by Stalinism; and because they inherited and used the transition economy established by the October Revolution; the heritage of the old Bolsheviks left to the Russian people and the workers of the world before Stalin could kill all of them off.

With a batting average of zero in the three dozen revolutions in the thirty years since the Russian Revolution, and unable to prevent the devastating second world war, Stalinism and Social-Democracy stand as a monument of betrayals, treachery, cowardice, terror, ignorance,

stupidity, and bureaucratic revisionism, placing their own interest above their class interest that can hardly be equaled throughout history.

After thirty years of existence of the USSR none of the basic antagonisms and problems confronting the people of the earth have been solved. All of the problems the old bolsheviks under Lenin and Trotsky faced still confront the revolutionary Marxists and humanity in sharper and more complicated form.

In Russia a political revolution to overthrow Stalinism is on the order of the day, to free the masses from Stalinist slavery and dictatorship. In the rest of the world social revolutions are on the order of the day, to smash the capitalist system of exploitation and all the conditions of degradation of man it breeds.

After thirty years of the existence of the Soviet Union we witness a complete new alignment of imperialist forces, new relations of world power politics with the United States as number one imperialist nation and the Soviet Union as number two nation in the struggle for world domination. The end of World War II has established an armed peace of world social convulsions, colonial wars, civil wars, border skirmishes; all preparatory to the coming gigantic world struggle between capitalism and communism, no matter how blurred this might appear by the Social-Reformist control of the USSR.

In this period of thirty years, new forces rose to challenge capitalism and point out the road to power against the treacherous action of Stalinism and Social-Democracy. Trotsky and the Left Opposition took the leadership of the revolutionary Marxists and pointed the way from the period of the defeat of the Chinese revolution up to the period of Hitler's seizure of power in Germany. True, Trotsky made serious organizational and political mistakes from the very beginning, as did Lenin in his day or anyone who is human. There are no perfect humans and naturally no pure organizations. What must be understood is the correctness of the decisive principled questions in an organization, the same as there is need of health in the decisive organs of a human body to make for a living dynamic force. The culmination of a series of errors leading to the adoption of the French Turn by Trotsky, followed by liquidation on a world scale into the parties of the second International - the decisive turning point of revision of the Marxist position on the independence of the party and the road to the masses - was reached and centrism replaced Marxian principles.

In these thirty years, due to the constant betrayals of Stalinism and Social-Democracy, in Spain the Anarchists and Syndicalists took a new lease on life. But the documentary evidence piled sky high again proves the futility of Anarcho-Syndicalism as a road to power for the working class in spite of the heroic action of the militant workers who followed them.

Today the Left Communists are taking the place of the Anarcho-Syndicalists of Spain in the thirties. Today the developing revolutions in

all parts of the world again see the workers leaderless, looking for some party, some force to help them overthrow the exploiters, only to find the capitalist nations pushing the Socialists in front of them, and Stalinism and its GPU usurping leadership thru its enormous apparatus with its money and cadres of flying squads where and whenever needed.

Today, more and more workers are under revolutionary leadership (not revolutionary Marxian, but revolutionary) that in one form or the other consider Russia an imperialist nation. From Burnham, to Shachtman, to the Bordigists, from the majority of the Trotskyites to the majority of the Left Communists, this false position on Russia holds sway. As usual emotional hate is more powerful than calm reasoning, especially when one is only against capitalism but not against capitalism from the Marxian point of view - particularly when one is incapable of understanding the Marxian analysis of capitalist economy.

These comrades can not understand the difference between Stalinism and the economic structure in Russia; no more than some confused people could see the difference between Fascism and the economic structure in Germany. These comrades are like some militant trade unionists who hate the reactionary and gangster leaders of a reactionary union so much that they see no difference between a reactionary union and a company union.

What must be done after thirty years to arrest the decay, to save the day before another war sets us back to such a degree that no one can foretell just how far? One main action must be taken. An action that is two-fold. We must first win the masses to the banner of revolutionary Marxism for the seizure of power in all countries; but this can only be done by building in action on the program of winning the masses to a cadre party of revolutionary Marxism.

It is not first the party (theory) and then the masses (action). It is two sides of one problem. The second problem, after this is accomplished, is for the masses, under revolutionary Marxian leadership, to storm the citadels of capitalism for economic and political power.

#### STALINISM MUST BE DEFEATED.

Of all the enemies within the ranks of Labor from the bourgeois reformists (A.F. of L. and C.I.O. types) to the social reformists the worst scourge are the Stalinists. Let us enumerate some of the most important differences that revolutionary Marxism has with Stalinism. It will give us a criterion for difference with other opportunists too.

These differences have been delt with in our literature and will be delt with in more detail in the future:

Revolutionary MarxismStalinism

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1-For world revolution in permanence as laid down by Marx, Lenin and Trotsky.   | 1-For Socialism in one country.  |
| 2-For revolutionary Internationalism.   | 2-National Reformism.  |
| 3-For Democratic Centralism in the party.   | 3-For Burocracy.   |
| 4-For Workers' Democracy and Soviets.   | 4-For Party dictatorship over the working class  |
| 5-For a New Communist Fourth International.   | 5-For a Comintern as a Border Patrol   |
| 6-For Lenin's Constitution of 1918  | 6- For Stalin's Constitution of 1936   |
| 7-For open diplomacy, exposure of all secret treaties   | 7-For Power Politics and Secret Diplomacy  |
| 8-For a Red Army of the Workers of the world. For a democratized army with officers living under the same conditions as soldiers. | 8-For a nationalist Red Army. For an officer caste with epaulettes salute and all other trimmings of bourgeois armies. |
| 9-Universal Free Education in USSR  | 9-Tuition in higher education.   |
| 10-Law in the light of Historical Materialism, in USSR.   | 10-Bourgeois law.  |
| 11-History as fact.   | 11-Falsification of History, same as the exploiters.   |
| 12-For Science.   | 12-Revival of religion.  |
| 13-Revolutionary Defeatism in an imperialist war.   | 13-For Social Patriotism   |
| 14-Lenin's position of Parliamentary action.  | 14-Bourgeois Parliamentarism.  |
| 15-Lenin's position of work in reactionary Unions, for a Policy of Class Struggle.  | 15-Class Collaboration as the Trade Union Policy   |
| 16-Workers' increased standard of living with increased production in USSR.   | 16-Burocratic waste and slavery for the workers.   |
| 17-Lenin's Road to Power  | 17-People's Front; Coalition bourgeois governments, etc.   |

18-Political and Organizational  
Independence of the Party.

19-Class Struggle.

20-Independent Action of the Work-  
ing Class.

21-Dialectical Materialism as the  
scientific theory of knowledge.

18-Labor Parties; Two-class parties  
etc.

19-Class Collaboration.

20-Subordination of the workers'  
Struggle to the Left Bourgeois.

21-Mechanical Materialism and re-  
visionism.

10-15-47.

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## THE COMINFORM

The kept press of the bourgeoisie is full of braying about the menace of the reorganized Comintern. The prattlings of the poison pen artists about the new Stalinist line of world revolution are a smoke screen for the real struggles in progress today.

The Comintern under Stalinism was never really dismantled. It merely took on new organizational forms to conform to its current needs as a border patrol of the Stalinist bureaucracy rather than an instrument of world revolution. Long before its formal liquidation it was liquidated as an organizer of proletarian revolution. With the ascendancy of a Stalinist bureaucracy, following the defeat of the German Revolution in 1923, a basic revision of the Marxian line of the Third International took place. In place of the revolutionary teachings of Marx and Lenin for world revolution upon which the International was originally founded, a new line developed basing itself on the false nationalist concept of the possibility of building Socialism in one country, and the conclusion that this was attainable by playing one imperialist power against the other, using the proletariat and its vanguard as the cat's paw in this game. The Comintern under Stalin then became the organizer of proletarian defeats which made it possible for capitalism to enjoy an unnecessarily extended lease on life.

The whole course of the Comintern since its capture by the Stalinist usurpers is a series of zigzags and gyrations from ultra-left to ultra right, with each "change in line" justified by laborious dissertations filled with quotations from Marx and Lenin. All of the brilliant theoreticians of Stalin: Maniulsky, Bukharin, Dimitroff, Browder, and Duclos, each in their turn ushering in a new epoch-shaking pronouncement of a new line for the Comintern, have in their time, in keeping with the needs of the hour of the Stalinist clique, justified their reformist position with quotations from Marx and Lenin. Like their predecessors - the social-democrats of the Second International - they engaged in the process of sanctifying the teachers of the proletariat Marx and Lenin, while disemboweling the kernel of their basic program: Revolutionary Internationalism.

With each swing of the pendulum, a new theoretician of Stalinism replaces the former one, who is marched off into oblivion or physical liquidation by the G.P.U., but the Stalinist organization of defeats remains. The most graphic of these defeats were:

1. Germany 1923 - Bungling by the right wing leadership of the Communist Party who toyed with the preparation of the insurrection.
2. Crushing of the Chinese Revolution in 1927 by Chiang-Kai-Shek which was prepared by the subordination of the Communist Party to the Kuomintang.
3. The victory of Hitler in 1933 was made possible largely by the Comintern's extreme ultra-leftism that manifested itself in ravings about Social-Fascism, that precluded the possibility of a fighting

United Front between the Socialist and Communist masses who had an organized majority to struggle against the Fascists.

4. The victory of Franco in 1939 was aided by the Comintern disorientation of the Spanish workers by People's Frontism; by characterization of the Civil War as merely a fight between Democracy and Fascism, the two forms of capitalist rule, rather than as a life and death struggle between capitalism and communism; and by the counter-revolutionary measures executed by the Stalinists in Spain organizing and upholding the ordinary bourgeois forms of state power on the Loyalist side in place of the forms of the independent working class action; culminating in the armed counter-revolutionary actions in the Barcelona May insurrection.

5. The most wretched betrayal of Stalinism was its role in the late war of emasculating revolutionary defeatism among the workers in the "democratic" as well as the fascist countries, first by the conclusion of the Hitler-Stalin Pact; and then, when the USSR was attacked by Hitler, the imperialist war became a "people's war" against fascism which required a reversal to a new alliance with "democratic" imperialism.

The war over and the temporary alliance between Stalin and Roosevelt finished, a new line is necessary in spite of the fact that the Stalinists are not adverse to conclude new arrangements with "Wall Street," basing themselves on the false theoretical premise that Workers' and Capitalist States can co-exist peacefully in the same world. The dynamics of capitalism in decay will not permit of such a solution. The continuation of social convulsions in Europe and Asia and the threat of economic collapse in the citadel of world capitalism: America, requires that the ruling class in America prepare for armed intervention in the Soviet Union.

The Marxian solution to the question of the defense of the Soviet Union especially in view of this outlook, is the continuation of the October Revolution on a world scale. The reformist Stalinists cannot accept social revolution anywhere because this would sound the death knell of bureaucratic usurpation in the Soviet Union and the reestablishment of workers control in the superstructure as well as the economy of the Soviet Union. Stalinism's hold on the European and Asiatic labor movement means the throttling of revolutionary expression of the proletariat and is leading to despair amongst the workers, which is a basis for the revival of fascism currently demonstrated in France and Italy.

The formation of the Communist Information Bureau centered in Eastern Europe amongst the states over which it has hegemony in the Balkans and Poland is a further step in the direction of an attempted consolidation of the Soviet controlled Entente Sanitaire of the Soviet Union. In none of these states where the Communist parties have hegemony has a social revolution taken place. The only change that has taken place is in the superstructure.



The reorganized Stalintern or Cominform as it is called will only repeat the role of Stalinism with the aid of revived revolutionary phraseology. Every attempt at social revolution of the masses that it will be able to bring under its control will be beheaded, unless the Revolutionary Marxists are able to wrest this leadership from them. Unless this development takes place new despair will replace the growing insurrectionary mood of the masses, making for a regrowth of fascism. This is already evident in the election developments in France and England where the Right has gained at the expense of the indecisive Left.

11-8-1947.

BUILD THE

NEW (4<sup>TH</sup>) COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

SUPPORT THE

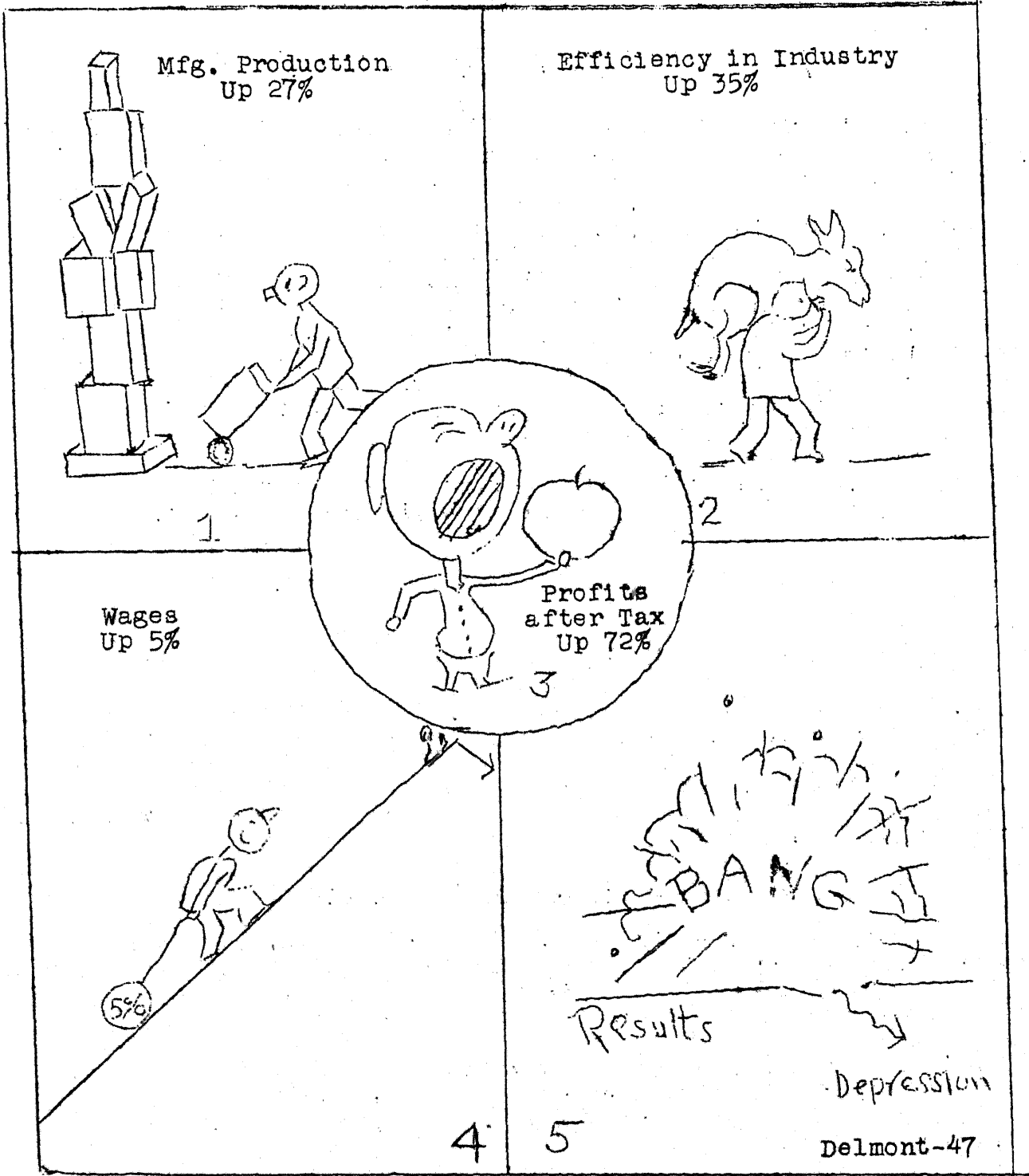
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SOME THINGS THAT HELP

MAKE A DEPRESSION.



Figures for 1924-29

A close Inquiry into

## THE SITUATION IN GERMANY

(The following article is one of a series by A. Gaston of the RKD, who has just returned from a tour thru occupied Germany. The observations in this article are general, but shed more light on the real situation of the working class than can be obtained in the kept press of American imperialism. More than anything else, this article should serve as a step in the direction of breaking down the chauvinistic barriers erected by the Stalinists and Social-Democracy against the German proletariat as an integral part of the world working class. It is the duty of revolutionists to do everything in their power to reestablish communication amongst the toiling masses throughout the world as a basis for establishing a New Communist (4th) International.

The R.W.L. will publish the series of articles of the RKD as is, but reserves the right to political criticism.  
 Editorial Board.)

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Since 1914 Germany has been separated from France first by the war, then by the Versailles Treaty, by the Gestapo, the Siegfried and Maginot lines, and finally by a new cordon of Allied and German police. People are not allowed to circulate freely across the Rhine, or they might reach a mutual understanding, and that would be dangerous for the capitalist and nationalist regime. "French" sugar must not be sent into Germany, and especially libertarian and revolutionary ideas must not penetrate that country where they would find a welcome much too dangerous to today's masters.

### I. THE GENERAL ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL SITUATION

The country is divided into close to ten territories separated by borders: four occupation zones, one zone occupied by Poland, special regimes with borders for the Saar, for Berlin, for Bremen, etc. The French zone is divided into a Southern and a Northern zone.

From Stuttgart to Forbach you have to cross as many as three borders: American-French border; border between the French zone and the Saar; border between the Saar and France. Everywhere there are police and customs controls.

It is impossible for German civilians to obtain a pass without exceptional protection.

Ludwigshafen and Mannheim are but one city with a single streetcar. The Rhine crosses this twin-city. Now the Rhine is at the same time

the border. Mannheim is American, Ludwigshafen French. Since two years the closest relatives have been separated in one single city.

The different occupation regimes have established some twenty local German governments which are at the head of so-called countries. In the French zone there are equally several such governments and assemblies: Württemberg-Baden, Palatinate, Saar, etc.

Each German region consequently has its ministers, its ministerial crises, its election campaigns, its Constituents, its political scandals.

Four political parties form the support of the occupation regimes: the S.P., the Christian party C.D.U. (these two parties are the strongest), the G.P. ("unified" Socialist party in the Russian zone: S.E.D.) and the democratic or liberal party.

### H o u s i n g

The large and medium cities are destroyed 50 to 70%. Hundred-thousands of people died in the ruins. Mountains of rubble are still there and make an overwhelming impression.

You'd think you were going thru a ghost town. Generally the clearing work makes no progress. It will be a labor for many years. Reconstruction is not even planned. One is satisfied with blowing up those ruins which would be a danger if they collapsed accidentally by themselves.

People live in what is left, in cellars, in barracks, in the country and in the "Bunkers". "Bunkers" are giant shelters, constructed entirely in concrete, and have withstood the heaviest bombs. They can shelter up to 10,000 persons during the air-raids. Now they serve as shelter for refugees and the homeless in general.

Several million refugees have come and are still coming from Eastern Germany (Russian zone) and from the Sudetes.

### T h e F a c t o r i e s a r e W o r k i n g

Bombers have destroyed workers' homes and certain cultural values, but they have never bombed the mines in the Ruhr, they have spared the factory-monsters of IG-Farben, etc. In the three Western zones, a certain number of factories have been dismantled, the others work at a rate of 70% of pre-war production.

Destruction which might curb production is repaired rapidly. But this is quite different where working conditions are concerned. Thus the German worker is again standing in front of a machine in a factory which has no roof; but despite heat, cold or rain: the machines are turning!

80% of what they produce goes to the occupation authorities, who use it for their own needs or send it abroad. Camouflaged war production

goes on, especially in IG-Farben which produce large quantities of fertilizer which does not stay in Germany (where there is an urgent need for it) but disappears for the benefit of the occupiers. As is commonly known, fertilizer is easily made into explosives.

The factories are running and there is a lack of workers. The workers know this and take advantage of it. They make their demands and they strike. An average of up to 20% stay away from the factories every day to go to the country in search of supplies or to repair their bombed living quarters.

## II. THE MATERIAL SITUATION OF THE WORKER

The material situation of the worker is characterized by permanent famine. Here are the authentic figures, not extracted from the papers, but from several families in the different cities. Let us look first at the food rations:

b r e a d	1,400 g. (3 lbs 4 oz) /French zone/; 2,000 g. (4 lbs 7 oz) /combined British-American zone/ per week
f a t s	150 g. (1/3 lb) per month
m e a t	400 g. (14 oz) /combined zone/; 540 g. (1 lb 3 oz) /French zone/ per month
l e g u m e s	400 g. (14 oz) /French zone/; 1 kg (2 lbs 3 oz) /combined zone/ per month
p o t a t o e s	4 - 6 kg (8 lbs 14 oz - 13 lbs 5 oz) /Fr. zone/; 8 kg (17 lbs 12 oz) /combined zone/ per month
c h e e s e	62 g (2 oz) / comb. zone/; 150 g (1/3 lb) occasionally /Fr. zone/ per month
m i l k	up to the age of 3: 3/4 l. (1-1/2 pt), up to the age of 6: 1/2 l. (1 pt), then 1/4 l. (1/2 pt) skim milk
s u g a r	500 g. (1 lb 2 oz) per month /Amer. zone/; 250 g (9 oz) per month /Brit. zone/; 200 g. (7 oz) every 2 or 3 months /Fr. zone/
f r u i t	1 kg (2 lbs 3 oz) in the last 4 months /Fr. zone/; 500 g. (1 lb 2 oz) for children only in the last 4 months /Brit. zone/; 500 g. (1 lb 2 oz) in the last 4 months /Amer. zone/
e g g s	2 per month /Fr. zone/; 1 a month /Amer. zone/; 4 in the last 8 months /Brit. zone/
w i n e	none
c h o c o l a t e	none
c i g a r e t t e s	40 for men, 20 for women per month
c o a l	winter 1946/47, distributed in April 1947 only, 50 kg (111 lbs) altogether for women with three children and for sick people.
w e o d	200 kg (445 lbs) for large families (5 people)
c o f f e e (Ersatz)	125 g. (4-1/2 oz) per month
s o a p (rocks)	25 g. (less than 1 oz) per month

One can already guess, thru these figures, the general misery. Next time we shall study prices at the black market, we shall compare them

with workers' and employees' wages, and we shall see that the black market in Germany is inaccessible for the majority of the population.

Let us note right away that a kg. of butter costs 600 Mark and that a worker makes an average of 100 to 200 Mark a month. With his pay he can afford the official rations, street car or train fare, rent, and that's all. A pair of shoes costs 2,000 Mark.

In short, the black market is reserved for the highest bourgeoisie. On a Sunday, the worker may treat himself to one American cigarette. That will be all for him.

Thus one sees caravans of women and children invade the countryside to seek some kernels of wheat and green potatoes which they put into bags to take home. Even for these sad journeys they need a special permit signed by the authorities.

In the overcrowded trains undernourished women and children travel in search of a couple of potatoes. Others cultivate a little piece of ground next to a bombed out house. The public gardens have been changed into vegetable fields. Some factories use their own grounds among the factory buildings to feed their refectories. This is the explanation for the fact that despite the starvation rations, the death rate is not greater.

O n t h e e v e o f a c a t a s t r o p h i c w i n t e r

In this situation, individual and collective enterprises can attenuate but never stop the catastrophe threatening this winter which presents itself more terrible than the last winter. This year's exceptional heat has dried out the cereal plants and spoilt the potatoes. The harvest is reduced to 50%, and to zero in some parts.

People are horrified at the thought of what awaits them. There are no more potatoes! The few that were left in the soil have been ravaged by famished thieves.

Only international aid could prevent the death of babies and adults. But the authorities not only prove to be incapable and ill-meaning, but in addition they have prevented the import of Dutch tomatoes (of which Holland wanted to get rid) which are now rotting at the border.

Switzerland is interested in exchanging live-stock in Germany (where no feed is to be found) and to give fats in return, but there as well the occupation authorities oppose the operation. The imperialists systematically organize the death of the masses.

A. GASTON

## THE ULTRA-LEFTS AGAIN

The Left Communists represent some of the most militant and loyal revolutionists that can be developed. When one compares the rank and file of the different ultra-left organizations with the rank and file of the reformist organizations one finds, in the main, a different type of person; from our point of view a better, honest and capable revolutionist. But one must not let this excellent surface condition sway one so one will tuck aside theory. We know from too many negative experiences in defeated revolutions that, without correct revolutionary Marxian theory, there can be no successful revolution. This goes for the ultra-lefts as well as the right wing forms of opportunism.

For example, the RWL worked with the different factions of the Anarchists in Spain and had excellent relations and honest agreements on programs of action with the left Durruti forces. If all of these ultra-lefts had been under revolutionary Marxian leadership at that time in Spain, there could have been a successful revolution and the outcome of the second world war would have been different. But they held to false theory and their wonderful day to day work was washed away with the onrush of fascism.

We have volume one, number one of the Bulletin of the boys in the United States who have hooked up with and want to represent the Left Communists in Italy, France and other places of Europe. This document is riddled with theoretical errors. We will deal with some of them.

### IMPERIALISM

On the first page of their new publication they say, "The International Bulletin will seek to point the way to effective struggle against American capitalism and its imperialist policy abroad." To be correct, theoretically from a Marxian point of view, the word "abroad" should have been omitted and the period should come after "imperialist policy". An imperialist country does not just have an imperialist policy "abroad".

An imperialist nation has an internal and international imperialist policy. The tactics and strategy change for each period, for domestic and foreign situations, and within different types of countries abroad. But it is ONE imperialist policy.

Is this an error of formulation, or an error of theory? We think it is an error of theory, because they present other arguments which widen this gap and reveal faulty theoretical thinking. In the next paragraph on the first page they say, "Mechanical transfer of platform and program from one country to another is alien to the concept of the L.C.I."

It is difficult to write a more confused sentence dealing with revolutionary Marxian theory. Is it a cover up? Is it faulty reasoning, or is it false theory? If one speaks of mechanical transfer of platform and program, one is duty bound to make the distinction between theory and practice, between content and form. The theory and content

of our platform and program is INTERNATIONAL, and to speak of mechanically transferring is revisionism. But to mechanically transfer the international program in tactics and strategy, in day to day practice, and in form, is suicide. Not to make this fundamental distinction is to reveal confused thinking on the whole question.

### OUR CONCEPT OF CAPITALISM

The comrades of the United States Bulletin say the following, "The Revolutionary Workers League does not seem to be aware of the developing state capitalism in the United States or elsewhere, for that matter, and the direct fusion of capitalists with the state." They also say in the same paragraph on page one of the article dealing with state capitalism in Russia that "The theory of the uneven development of capitalism is discarded by the Revolutionary Workers League for the doctrinaire concept that the rise of a new capitalist class must capitulate the old forms." These statements are false. They do not give any quotations from our publications, nor arguments on our positions to prove these statements. It is these fellows who don't understand what capitalism is, what state capitalism is; they do not know one form of capitalism from another. We will prove our statement with quotations and arguments on Marxian theory.

For example, in the first sentence we quoted from their bulletin they state that the RWL does not realize the fusion of "capitalists with the state". The capitalists have always been "fused" or have been the executive committee of the state. This is not a condition of state capitalism or present day capitalism. This is capitalism in its laissez-faire form. It is the fusion of capital, not the capitalists with the state that represents first steps toward and later state capitalism itself.

Let us return to the first sentence we quote above. In that sentence the authors also say that the RWL is not "aware of the developing state capitalism in the U.S."...

Again they are wrong. The third error in one sentence. First they have a false position about the RWL. Next they have a false position about capitalists and the state, and now they speak of developing state capitalism in the United States. They should be more exact. It is not YET state capitalism in the United States. It is ONLY steps toward state capitalism. It is only FORMS OF STATE CAPITALISM. We have a long way to go before the strongest capitalist nation adopts state capitalism to save themselves from the revolution and the workers.

### STATE CAPITALISM AND RUSSIA

On the Russian question they say in the declaration of the L.C.I., "In the present phase of imperialist capitalism, bourgeois society is evolving towards an ever-increasing control of the State in the economic and social field." So far, so good, but this follows: "This evolution has found its highest expression in the regime of Russian State Capitalism; it characterizes in a more or less accentuated manner the development of all capitalist States, in a democratic as well as fascist regime."



The Left Communists are presenting Russia as the "highest expression" of capitalism (of state capitalism). It is the road that United States capitalism and Spanish capitalism are following, bourgeois democrats, and fascists, and all others.

In the first place Russia does not represent the highest expression of capitalism or state capitalism. It is not the end towards which the United States or the other capitalist nations are going. The whole thing is an economic and political jumble.

Let us recast the problem and pose it correctly. We are in the stage of world wide decay capitalism. Forms of state control, forms of state capitalism and state capitalism proper are on the order of the day, depending upon the degree of DISINTEGRATION within each country. State capitalism in its fullest form is the greatest disintegration and an attempt to hold in check the social revolution. England which is at a lower ebb than the United States has state capitalism in many basic structures, but not state capitalism as a whole yet. The United States which is the strongest capitalist nation in the world only has forms and steps toward state capitalism. Hitler Germany represented a lower stage of disintegration and there we had what the Left Communists should call the "highest form of state capitalism".

But the Left Communists (like our friend MacDonald) make an equation of Fascism and Stalinism, thereby mixing up form with content.

In real life the highest form of state capitalism in decay (negative) has been revealed in Hitler Germany, and the highest form of state capitalism in decay (positive) is now in Labor Party England. By negative we mean that Germany in the worst condition of decay took the anti-labor and militarist way out, fascism; while England in the worst stage of decay that the empire has seen tries the democratic and labor way out. The English road will fail--as the German road did--because state capitalism is no more than a stop gap to social upheaval.

But to confuse and equate Hitler Germany Fascism with Stalin Russia and its degenerated form of social reformism will be fatal for the proper orientation of the cadres in any country where the time is ripe for the seizure of power.

#### STATE CAPITALISM AND CLASSES

According to the Left Communists state capitalism exists in the Soviet Union and it is the highest expression of capitalism, in which direction such countries as the United States and Spain and all in between are evolving. If it's capitalism, are the capitalists in power? The Left Communists don't make this clear in their United States International Bulletin volume I, number I. At least Burnham and Schachtman have a more logical position. They speak of a NEW class in power in Russia. Do the ultra-lefts think there is a new class or are the Stalinists --- capitalists. Marxism clearly defines how classes are formed and what constitutes a class. The Stalinist bureaucrats do not fall into this category.

In Russia the bureaucrats in the state serve their own interests (as the reactionary unions in capitalist nations have their bureaucrats who make the state on the one hand and the unions on the other hand serve their interests). It is no accident that Lenin had to write his "Infantile Disorder" against the left communists on the trade union and parliamentary question. The problem of union power and state power has the same dynamics, even though it has a different content. We think Lenin's formula on working in reactionary unions and Lenin's formula on revolutionary participation in parliamentary activity is more valid today than ever. We also think that facts prove the same in regard to the question of the Soviet Union and the Stalinist usurpers, as well as in regard to the Miners' Union and the semi-fascist Lewis usurper.

On page six of the document dealing with the Soviet Union the Left Communists say, "The mode of production up to the proletarian revolution was determined by what class was in power." This is fundamentally wrong. Up to the proletarian revolution, under the three systems of the exploitation of man by man, the class in power was DETERMINED BY THE MODE OF PRODUCTION. These comrades have turned the problem upside down. By that we mean this. All three systems of exploitation of man by man developed within the womb of the old system in such a way that the economic power developed FIRST and on the basis of its growing strength, economic strength of the control of the economic means, the new class was able to wrest political power from the former rulers. Restudy the Marxian concept of agricultural production (Chattel Slavery), hand tool production (Feudalism), and commodity production (of capitalism) and you will see that we are correct.

But here we have a quotation which has the class first in power and then the mode of production developing. With the proletariat it is the other way around. These Left Communists just mixed up the role of the exploiters with the role of the exploited. It is the exploited, who only have their labor power to sell, who must seize political power, state power, and reorganize production to their own needs for the good of mankind as a whole. We, the workers will have to seize political power and then establish by a slow process our mode of production. We will be plagued with bourgeois carry-overs in the structure and superstructure for some time to come after we take over state power. These comrades are confused on the question of capitalism, state capitalism, classes, imperialism and what not.

#### STATE CAPITALISM IN RUSSIA?

The Left Communists constantly refer to state capitalism in Russia. But in their bulletin on page six of the article on Russia they quote Karl Marx on the main characteristics of the capitalist mode of production. They quote that which gives: Commodity production, wage labor and surplus value as the main characteristics that distinguish capitalism from the other modes of production. We know that these three factors have their elaborations and precise definitions in the Marxian literature. For example, when we speak of commodity production, we mean production for the market and not for use. And when we speak of surplus value we mean the SURPLUS LABOR which is expropriated by the capitalists, privately expropriated due to the fact that they are the

owners of the means of production, no matter what FORM THIS MAY TAKE from free enterprise to state capitalism.

In the Soviet Union two of these three factors are basically eliminated; but were not eliminated in Hitler Germany. That is, commodity production, production for the market and the creation of surplus value, the private capitalist appropriation in the different forms of surplus value. This, notwithstanding the revisionist Stalinist economists who do not understand what surplus value is in relation to surplus labor. Surplus value is a limited, transitional form of surplus labor, limited to capitalism, and in embryo form in its development in embryo handicraft, and in negative secondary forms in its decline in transition economy between capitalist economy and socialist economy. Russia does not have a socialist economy or communism yet, in spite of the Stalinist claims.

We advocate a social revolution in the capitalist nations but a political revolution in the Soviet Union. We are for defeatism in the capitalist nations in an imperialist war but are for defensism of the Soviet Union. We don't consider Stalinism capable of playing a progressive role at any time any more than John L. Lewis or any other opportunist or social or bourgeois reformist can play a progressive role. The progressive role is within the class action, the different workers organizations, in spite of the fake leaders.

Now about Russia. Since we advocate a political revolution--what will the Left Communists propose in ADDITION to what we propose as measures to correct the situation there:

We advocate the return of power to the working class.

The establishment of workers' democracy through the Soviets and trade unions.

The creation of a new Communist Party.

The establishment of democratic centralism in the Communist Party and the right of organized factions within the framework of democratic centralism as in the early days of the Bolsheviks.

The economic advancement must be utilized by the workers to the fullest extent. Wages must be tied to the cost of living in such a way that the minimum wage level is a living wage level and all economic development is reflected in a higher standard of living for the class.

All of the principle and other differences the RWL has with Stalinism, enumerated in our PROGRAM and other documents, must be fulfilled.

What would the Left Communists do, if they took power in Russia, that we would not do? Let us see your steps in comparison with the Marxian position we present.

10-13-1947.