

# INTERNATIONAL NEWS

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HOW STALINISM SUPPORTS  
POST-WAR CAPITALISM

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STRATEGY & TACTICS

of the

CLASS STRUGGLE

— — — —  
PUBLISHED BY  
REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS  
LEAGUE  
U.S.A

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MAY 1940

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## HOW STALINISM SUPPORTS POST-WAR CAPITALISM

(Ed. Note:) We present here extensive factual material to reveal the support of the Stalinists of the Soviet Union, the United States and elsewhere for world capitalism. It is not our general policy to give up so much of our limited space to such material, but in the light of general lack of knowledge as to the real Stalinist policy, the lies of the imperialists--as in the present frameup trial in New York of the American CP leadership--and confusion arising from the current "cold war" between Wall Street and the Soviet bureaucracy, we make this exception here. It should be noted that all these quotations are taken from articles and reports by CP leaders for the political "guidance" of their own membership, and not merely public announcements to "fool" the public. The INTERNATIONAL NEWS will present analyses on this and other material in future issues as it has in the past.)

A. A. Zhdanov, Russian reporter at founding conference of the Cominform held in Poland, September 1947:

Soviet foreign policy proceeds from the premise of the co-existence, over a lengthy period, of two systems--capitalism and Socialism. From this flows the possibility of cooperation between the U.S.S.R. and the countries with other systems, given the observation of the principle of reciprocity in the fulfillment of pledges made...In outlining the Soviet policy toward Germany, Comrade Stalin pointed out that 'stated briefly, the policy of the Soviet Union on the German question demands the demilitarization and democratization of Germany (which)...constitutes one of the most important conditions for the establishment of a secure, lasting peace.'

The Soviet Government has never objected to taking advantage of foreign and even American credits, as a means of speeding up the process of economic restoration. However, the Soviet Union always insisted that the conditions of the credit should not be of an enslaving nature and should not lead to the economic and political subjugation of the debtor to the creditor states.

G. M. Malenkov, reporting to the same conference on the "activities of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks):

The wise Stalin foreign policy of the Soviet Union, both prior to the war and in the course of its conduct, enabled us correctly to utilize the contradictions existing within the imperialist camp, and this was one of the important factors making for our victory in the war.

We proceed from the fact that the co-existence of two systems ---capitalism and socialism--- IS INEVITABLE FOR A LONG PERIOD OF TIME, and we follow the line of maintaining loyal good-neighborly relations with all states manifesting a desire for

friendly cooperation, on the condition that the principle of reciprocity is observed and that obligations undertaken are fulfilled. The U.S.S.R. true to its international treaties and obligations, pursues this policy with the utmost consistency and firmness. (Our capitals. Ed. Note)

M. Thorez, reporting to the C.C. of the French Stalinist Party, October, 1947,:

These French democrats and Communists mean to preserve the economic and political independence of their country. They are against driving France into the imperialist and anti-democratic camp led by the United States; they denounce the surrender of the Ramadier-Bidault Government of the French policy of security and reparations... Our Communist Party was the only one, in the Government and in the country, to protest against the London and Moscow agreements, which 'did not give us a single ounce of fuel more.' to quote the reactionary weekly Carrefour. It is now clear that by refusing us the German coal to which we had a claim as reparations, the British and American Governments were only trying to make us subservient to them. They have hampered our recovery. They did not want, they do not want, a strong and prosperous France...

The Americans want either to liquidate certain of our industrial undertakings or to control them and get the profits from them... The same situation exists in our overseas territories... ..our dismissal from the Government (was) a violation of the laws of parliamentary democracy --asa new indication of the crisis in bourgeois democracy, which the capitalists threw overboard the minute it can be utilized by the working-class...

(France needs) a democratic government in which the working class and its Communist Party will finally play a decisive part... make the rich pay...put an end to the inflation, and balance the budget, above all by a large scale reduction in military expenses ---and that is possible by embarking finally on a democratic reorganization of the army and by stopping the criminal war against the people of the Viet Nam. Republic--grant the legitimate demands of the workers, by curtailing capitalist profits..defend the Constitution and the Republic against the fascist minded in the RPF and all the plotters grouped behind de Gaulle...safeguard national independence and sovereignty against the pressure of the American imperialists.

Mao Tze Tung, report to the 7th National Congress of the Chinese Stalinists in April 1945:

Under the new democratic state the policy of harmonizing the relationship between capital and labor will be adopted. The interests of workers will be protected. An eight to ten hour day system, according to varying circumstances, will be established, as well as suitable relief for the unemployed, social security, and the rights of labor unions. On the other hand, the proper profits under reasonable management of state, private

cooperative enterprises will be assured. Thus, both labor and capital will work jointly for the development of industrial production.

Large amounts of capital will be needed for the development of our industries. They will come chiefly from the accumulated wealth of the Chinese people, and at the same time from foreign assistance. We welcome foreign investments if such are beneficial to China's economy and are made in accordance with China's laws. Enterprises profitable to both the Chinese people and foreigners are swiftly expanding large-scale light and heavy industries and modernizing agriculture, which can become a reality when there is firm internal and international peace, and when political and agrarian reforms are thoroughly carried out. On this basis, we shall be able to absorb vast amounts of foreign investments. A politically retrogressive and economically impoverished China will be unprofitable not only to the Chinese people but also to the foreigners.

With the annihilation of the Japanese aggressors, the enterprises and property they and the principal traitors now own are to be confiscated and placed at the disposal of the government.

Political Affairs, C The theoretical organ of the American CP, article on the "German Problem and Big Three Unity" by J. Clark (March '47):

...The working class party of Germany does not advance the slogan of socialism for Germany today... However, the Socialist Unity Party, whose objective is socialism, fights for a bourgeois-democratic Germany today because it knows that the democratic revolution was never carried to a successful conclusion in Germany. Thus, in the Soviet zone, where the Socialist Unity Party has emerged as the leading party, there are also other parties, representing bourgeois and middle class groups. Private capitalism has not been abolished. But what has been eliminated is the economic source of fascism--Junker landlordism and the monopolists.

Consequently, the draft constitution proposed for discussion for a united Germany by the Socialist Unity Party, provides for an advanced parliamentary democracy. It affords a possibility for private non-monopoly capitalist, as well as nationalized industry. And as long as nationalized industry exists within the framework of bourgeois democracy, it is a bourgeois-democratic reform, not socialism.

William Z. Foster, reporting to the National Committee of the "C.P.A." June, 1945, prior to the reestablishment of the CP and at the time of Browder's removal as leader of the American Stalinists:

In the postwar world, which will face gigantic problems of industrial reconstruction and development, the United States with its tremendous economic resources, is bound to play a very important role. What Comrade Browder does not see, however, is that if the role of the United States is to help in the realization of the programs of Moscow, Teheran and Yalta, this can only be accomplished if the broad masses of this country, especially the

trade union movement, are very much on the alert to see to it that imperialist trends upon the part of our Government and the great capitalists are curbed and democratic policies imposed.

Eugene Dennis, reporting to same meeting:

(Toward achieving a democratic coalition, for American-Soviet friendship, completing the "destruction of fascism in Europe and everywhere, unite the masses and...)

In this connection, we also take into account the fact that there still are certain influential capitalist groupings, which, for one reason or another support the Crimean decisions, and we consider that it is possible and necessary for labor and the popular forces to fight for these objectives together with such capitalists...

...However, to realize the great possibilities which are now open for considerably extending American foreign trade--possibly from \$7,000,000,000 to \$10,000,000,000 annually--during the early postwar years, as well as to achieve a level of exports for a longer period of time considerably above the prewar level of 1939--it is necessary, as the Resolution of the Board proposes, to achieve the following conditions:

- (a) To ensure a stable and long term peace.
- (b) To guarantee that liberated Europe develops further along democratic, anti-fascist lines.
- (c) to promote a free and democratic Asia.
- (d) To extend American long-term and low interest credits and loans to all democratic nations for purposes of economic reconstruction and industrialization--and on the basis of non-interference in the internal affairs of these nations.

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# BOURGEOIS-DEMOCRACY

PAVES THE WAY FOR

# FASCISM

The following document contains a series of amendments to the Program of the RWL. The Program itself in all its theoretical points stands as a Marxian document without amendment. However, over eleven years of the class struggle entails a historical revision. The following series of amendments deal with only one section of the Program, Chapter V--The Strategy and Tactics of the Class Struggle. They are provisional pending adoption by a Convention of the Organization. More amendments on other sections of the Program will follow in the future.

Chapter five, nothing has been taken out but it will have some additions. Check the index of the program and refer to Chapter five and compare to the following. The new chapter five would have the following sections in the following order:

Chapter Five -

### INDEPENDENT WORKING CLASS ACTION

#### Strategy and Tactics of the Class Struggle

Revolutionary Strategy.  
 Development of Revolutionary Strategy.  
 What is Revolutionary Strategy.  
 The Class Struggle.  
 Immediate and Ultimate Demands.  
     Work in Reactionary Unions.  
         The fight on Two Fronts.  
         Reactionary Leaders and the Progressive role of the worker's  
             organizations.  
         The Third Force in the Workers' Organization.  
 The United Front.  
     Revolutionary Participation in Parliamentary Activity.  
     The Labor Party.  
 Constituent Assemblies.  
 Coalition Governments.  
     Capitalist Democracy Cannot Defeat Fascism.  
     Democratic Demands and Democratic Institutions.  
     March Separately and Strike Together.  
 Mass Picketing, Defense Groups, Workers' Militias.  
 Imperialist Intervention

Part two and Part three are the same as before, except:

- 1-Editing on page 43.
- 2-Addition to Soviet Union
- 3-delete-March Separately and Strike together, as it is in above section.

The following sections under Chapter five shall be taken out of Chapter five and placed under Chapter six:

Remove from Chapter Five:

Oppressed layers of the population.

Youth page 39

Women page 39-40

The agrarian question Page 40-41

Unemployed page 37

Place the above section in Chapter Six in the above order after page 56 and before page 57 as an insert.

Page 45 dealing with Strategy of the Social revolution.

Fourth line, end of word "Revolution" add to sentence the following:  
"and many more revolutions since the second world war."

Page 45. Delete section, "March separately and strike together" as this has been rewritten and transferred to previous part of Chapter.



# STRATEGY AND TACTICS OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE

## REVOLUTIONARY STRATEGY

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

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

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

## DEVELOPMENT OF REVOLUTIONARY STRATEGY

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

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

The victorious October Revolution and the establishment of the 3rd International developed revolutionary strategy to a higher stage. Based on the lessons of the 1905 and the two 1917 revolutions, it developed

that strategy to fine detail, including the forms of the working class rule and power. But the growth of Stalinism as a revision of Marxism supplanted this development with the nationalist theory of Socialism in One Country.

The 4th Communist International is necessary today to reestablish Marxian principles and revolutionary strategy in their rightful place. Based on the experiences of the victories and defeats of the last 20 years it will develop a strategy even more comprehensive than that of the 3rd International under Lenin. The Revolutionary Workers League, as a movement of the building of the 4th Communist International, has made revolutionary strategy a central point of its program. That strategy and line has already been tested and found correct in the RWL's theoretical work and some practical activity in the Spanish Civil War.

### WHAT IS REVOLUTIONARY STRATEGY

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

### THE CLASS STRUGGLE

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

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

### IMMEDIATE DEMANDS AND ULTIMATE DEMANDS

The Revolutionary Marxian organization fights for the day to day immediate demands of the working class, but at no time separates them from the aim and object of the ultimate demands for the overthrow of capitalism. Immediate demands gained will never solve the problems of the proletariat; they can at best ameliorate them for a time. Under

decay capitalism the bourgeoisie is less and less capable of granting reforms. The bourgeoisie takes those gains back in a hundred different forms: inflation, speed-up, rationalization, stretch out, political appeals for patriotism, etc. The immediate needs of the working class can be solved finally and conclusively only by the full and complete overthrow of capitalism. Revolutionists struggle for immediate demands in that light, as a means of developing step by step the consciousness of the proletariat to the need of the overthrow of capitalism.

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

#### WORK IN REACTIONARY UNIONS

Those who defend the interests of the working class carry on their activity for betterment wherever the masses are—whether in the A.F.ofL., the CIO, the Railroad Brotherhoods, independent, or other unions; or if the workers are unorganized, you work to organize them. Both inside and outside these organizations you work for the interest of the membership and the working class as a whole and for industrial unionism. At all times the policies in the interest of the toiling masses is decisive, not the organizational structure of these unions. Despite the difference in structure of the A.F.ofL. and the CIO both organizations are in the hands of reactionary officials.

In whichever union you work you must organize progressive groups that will present a program for the concrete given situation in the interest of the masses no matter how this runs counter to the desires of the reactionary officials. Such progressive groups must be coordinated within each national union, within each city among all unionists, and nationally to include all unionists, et.,. When a Progressive group is no longer progressive, you must help to organize another program or left wing group in the union. Leadership must be selected and the far-sighted, democratic individuals who defend the workers interest must be placed in office, those with ability and understanding who can cope with the problems.

To dismiss a labor union as unfit for your activity because it is controlled by reactionaries and gangsters who opposed the worker's interest is to isolate one from his fellow workers and is to give up the battle, a negative capitulation to the labor fakers and the exploiters of labor.

The bugaboo of "dual unionism" is meaningless, what is important is to go where the masses are, work among the masses, educate them in action, regardless of labels; just keep in mind that it must be a worker's organization; not an exploiter's ORGANIZATION.

## THE FIGHT ON TWO FRONTS

To join the reactionary trade union and to submit to the policies of the reactionary leadership is to capitulate in advance. The purpose of joining the reactionary union is to be with the masses to help them fight for a correct policy against the false policy of the leadership. The masses, the same as the individual, learn in action, not by manifestoes issued from the side lines.

In presenting a program of action for the union it would be a tactical mistake to draw up such a program in form that would direct its spearhead against the reactionary leaders. The program of action must be drawn up for the worker's interest and AGAINST THE exploiters, the monopolists, the imperialists, the Wall Street Crowd, etc. Let the reactionaries try to effectively attack such a program. Let them expose their hand as against the worker's interest and in support of the monopolist interest. On this basis you fight the reactionary leaders. Do not resort to a name calling campaign. In fact, keep the subjective out of the fight at all times; except when you have some reactionary leader up ON DEFINITE CHARGES in accordance with the union constitution.

Such a program of action for the unionists needs will INEVITABLY lead you into conflict with the reactionnary leaders, with the bosses' agents with the enemies of democracy, etc. You will have to conduct your fight within the framework of the union constitution and procedure realizing that protective measures against foul play is essential for much is at stake. This is the essence of a fight on two fronts. Your program of action is aimed at the exploiters (the first and primary front of the battle) and you must sweep aside or nullify the work of the reactionaries in the union who support in one form or the other, open or concealed, the bosses program (the second front) thereby calling for tactics and strategy of a two-front struggle.

## REACTIONARY LEADERS AND THE PROGRESSIVE ROLE OF THE WORKERS ORGANIZATIONS

The existence of worker's organizations under capitalism (i.e., in the relation of exploited to exploiters) creates a contradiction within these organizations. The power of capital and its control of the state and all avenues of expression gives it decisive domination over law, ideology, culture, customs, etc. This condition creates a contradiction between the policy of the worker's organizations (trade unions, cooperatives, unemployed, etc) and the interest of the members. In most cases the policy of the organization, in one form or the other is the defense of the capitalist system. Most of the members ideologically support this policy even though it is basically against their class interest.

This results in the reactionnary role of the leaders even though most of the members in given situations desire a progressive action for their class needs. Because these organizations are hemmed in by capitalist norms the leaders (who defend capitalism in one form or the other) can ONLY play a reactionary role—even when mass pressure is progressive.

This is the reason the vanguard of the exploited must always:  
 a-Fight on two fronts.

b- organize their own independent left force in the organizations.

c-Fight for democratic rights vs the Democratic Institutions of the Capitalists.

### THE THIRD FORCE IN WORKER'S ORGANIZATIONS

The worker's organizations under capitalism will inevitably have reactionary elements who defend the worst forms of capitalism and some progressive elements who defend the more moderate forms of capitalism. The revolutionary Marxists and the class conscious workers must organize the left element and the progressive element against the reactionary element.

In those trade unions and other workers' organizations where there are many organized factions, it is permissible and advisable for the Revolutionary Marxists to unite with or bloc with the left bloc against the right bloc. But in all cases these blocs are based upon United Front tactics and not a dissolving of the independent left group.

The independent left group must maintain its organized structure as a faction at all times; even when its unification and success with the entire progressive bloc is at its best.

### THE UNITED FRONT

The united front is used within the framework of independent class action but it is no substitute for independent class action. To proceed from one unite dfront to another without proper independent class action with this united front, as a foundation of the united front, is to give up your main work for the united front.

The United Front must not be confused with the People's Front, the reformist version of the united front.

The United Front is a temporary agreement of working class organizations for ACTION. The People's Front is an agreement primarily for parliamentary manouvers. The UnitedFront is an agreement for immediate demands in action. The People's Front is mainly an agreement for Parliamentary demands of reform. The United Front keeps the struggle in day to day class action, while the People's Front transfers the struggle from the arena of class struggle to the arena of parliamentary manouvers.

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

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

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

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

#### REVOLUTIONARY PARTICIPATION IN PARLIAMENTARY ACTIVITY

Revolutionary Marxists participate in parliamentary activity, in elections, in electing revolutionists to capitalist offices; etc., not as a means of reforming the system, but as a means of educating the masses in action to our program and to their own class needs, and to expose the sham of capitalist democracy against the exploited masses.

Revolutionary Marxists fly their own banner. They do not go to the class with two banners, i.e. a labor party and their own "revolutionary" party.

#### THE LABOR PARTY

Revolutionary Marxists are opposed to building or supporting (once it is built) a Labor Party or any other capitalist or reformist party.

In those trade unions and other worker's organizations that have affiliated to the Labor Party, the minority members who are class conscious and the revolutionary Marxists work inside of these parties, presenting the correct position in theory and action and for real working class unity.

In the political field we are for the unity of the working class behind a scientific program for the building of a revolutionary Marxian party.

That is the only kind of Unity that can solve any of the worker's problems. That is the only kind of program that can unify the working class for action against the exploiters.

The labor party can only be a third capitalist party. It can only be a reformist party. It cannot help solve the needs of the working class and the oppressed layers of the other classes. It will be used by the exploiters to organize the workers for imperialist war.

It will hold in check the class struggle to prevent effective steps

toward the overthrow of capitalism. - It will attempt to save the tottering capitalist structure against the proletarian revolution. It will help pave the way for fascism unless the workers overthrow capitalism.

It will not give the revolutionary vanguard contact with the masses; rather the entry into a third capitalist party will close the door to revolutionary mass action.

A Labor Party, no matter how "revolutionary" in words, can only be reformist in action.

#### CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLIES:

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

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

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

#### COALITION GOVERNMENTS

Parliamentary activity as a whole is merely an auxiliary to extra-parliamentary activity, to class action. Revolutionists participate in parliamentary campaigns (and in parliaments where elected) to expose the bourgeoisie, to help disintegrate the capitalist forces, to utilize the tribunal to reach vast sections of the masses with the message calling for the overthrow of capitalism, including its state and parliament (Congress in the U.S.). But there is a world of difference

between participating in the legislative arms which can be used as a forum to reach the masses, and entering into or participating in coalition governments, in bourgeois cabinets (even if it be a left coalition government such as Brandler was instructed to enter in Saxony in the German Revolution of 1923 - a "Workers and Peasants" government so-called). Participation in such governments is a position of taking responsibility for the bourgeois state apparatus, and working together directly with the bourgeois top state executive committee. It can lead only to a diminution or extinction of class action-as it did in the German revolution of 1923 and countless other instances.

Parliamentary activity of those who participate in coalition governments as a principle - the reformists - has as its cornerstone the "capture" of the "democratic" bourgeois state and the peaceful transformation from capitalism to socialism. History has proven time and again that the attempt to utilize the bourgeois state for the gradual evolution to socialism is a brake upon the maturing proletarian revolution. Entry into the cabinets of bourgeois to create such a merger (the "bloc of four classes" in China in 1927, the various Peoples Fronts Farmer Labor and Labor Party Movements) always and inevitably lead to defeat. Not only the merging but even the prolonged concordance would be detrimental for the socialist revolution of the working class.

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

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

#### CAPITALIST DEMOCRACY CANNOT DEFEAT FASCISM.

In every struggle from 1921 in Italy to 1933 in Germany to 1936 in Spain, up through the second world war, bourgeois democracy proved its inability to decisively defeat fascism. On the contrary in all situations bourgeois democracy paved the way for fascism. We have ample proof in these historical examples and the examples of the Peoples Front and the Labor Party "fight" against fascism which only doped the working class and made them ready for slaughter by the fascist butchers.

Only by the independent action of the working class can effective opposition to reaction and fascism be had. Without worker's control of production, without workers councils, without a revolutionary Marxian party, without independent class action the decisive defeat of fascism is impossible.

Fascism was set back in the second world war with the defeat of Germany, Italy and Japan, but Fascism was not decisively defeated. Fascism is again growing, has state power in different parts of the world and has a world wide underground as well as legal political structure in every



country under the disguise of reactionary nationalism in each country.

Fascism can be decisively defeated in each country only by the overthrow of capitalism, of the exploitation of man by man.

#### DEMOCRATIC DEMANDS AND DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS

WORKER'S rights, democratic rights (democratic demands) and democratic institutions under capitalism are two different things, even though they often run parallel. Worker's rights are those democratic gains obtained through class pressure. The democratic institutions are the legal government institutions (under bourgeois democracy) that carry out the laws and orders of the capitalist STATE, that defends the interests of the exploiters against the exploited masses.

The evolution of the democratic institutions are to first oppose the democratic demands of the masses, and if the pressure gets too strong and forces the adoption of democratic demands, the democratic institutions will carry them out as warped reforms and water them down as far as possible.

Democratic demands are not won by trying to reform the capitalist system. Democratic demands were won through hard fights against capitalism. The right to organize, picket, free speech, free schools, elimination of debtors prisons in the United States, etc., were won only with the loss of hundreds of thousands of lives in struggle against capitalist "bourgeois democracy."

Democratic demands and capitalist reforms are also two different things. Democratic demands are carried through by the workers through their own independent class action. Capitalist reforms are the crumbs handed down by the exploiters in watered down form to stem the tide of class pressure, to hold in check the genuine democratic demands of the workers and oppressed masses.

#### MARCH SEPARATELY AND STRIKE TOGETHER

The strategy of marching separately and striking together can be used in a variety of situations for keeping our forces intact and maintaining our class independence to effectively fight dangers on two fronts. Lenin used it most effectively in 1917 in Russia as a two-pronged struggle against bourgeois democracy and Kornilov. Likewise it can be used today by the revolutionary Marxists against fascism where they try to seize power; against imperialist intervention in a small capitalist nation, against imperialism in colonial countries and against imperialist invasion of the Soviet Union.

In each of these cases the independent working class forces use the two-fold strategy of marching separate (from the democratic capitalists and from the reformists) and striking together with them against the fascists or other forms of reaction.

In the fight against fascism, revolutionary Marxists advocate marching separately (from the Peoples Front, etc., democratic capitalists) and striking together with them against the fascists.

In the fight of imperialist invasion of a small capitalist nation at given stages it is possible to march separately (from bourgeois democracy) and to strike with them against the imperialist invaders.

In the fight against imperialist invasion of colonial and backward countries the working class through its independent organs can advocate marching separately (from the colonial bourgeois) and striking with them against the imperialists.

In an imperialist invasion against the Soviet Union the revolutionary Marxists can advocate marching separately (from Stalinism) and striking together with them against the imperialists.

The policy of marching separately and striking together means to concentrate the main energy against the right arm of capitalist under a particular circumstance and at the same time by different means carrying on a struggle against the left arm, the democratic capitalist, or the colonial bourgeois, or the Peoples Front, or the Stalinist in the Soviet Union. The aim is to defeat both the left and right arm; but with the main drive against the right arm. The process of defeating the right arm will bring forward not only the consolidation of the masses behind your worker's councils but at a critical juncture it will shift the balance of power in your favor against the left bourgeois arm and their defeat too.

Even though your aim is to defeat the left arm as well as the right arm of the capitalists, etc. the strategy of marching separately and striking together is NOT carried out within the framework of revolutionary defeatism.

Revolutionary defeatism means that the main enemy is at home (in an imperialist war) to be sued in the country to break the national unity of social patriotism; while the strategy of marching separately and striking together is used within a country in a civil war condition or a condition of invasion where the revolutionary Marxists have first agreed that they will support the invaded against the invaders. Marching separately and striking together is the KIND of support given in such a situation to prevent the subordination of the working class to bourgeois democracy, colonial bourgeois or to Stalinism in the Soviet Union. Marching separately and striking together is the kind of support to insure independent working class action.

The strategy of marching separately and striking together means the complete political and organizational independence from the "democratic" capitalist forces. The workers maintain their independent organization (Workers Councils, Workers Militias, Workers Control of production, Press, etc.) refusing under all circumstances to give them up; and these organizations under any condition do not subordinate themselves to the "democratic" bourgeois.

The vanguard continues its struggle against the "democratic capitalist" but in different form than a frontal attack, and continues its struggle for immediate demands and betterment of the class position, and the building of its independent organizations. The strategy demands that

no material aid be given to the "democratic" capitalists. What little material aid we have goes to the independent workers organizations. Their power to fight the right arm is the greatest "material" aid possible to DECISIVELY defeat the reactionaries.

### MASS PICKETING, DEFENSE GROUPS, WORKERS MILITIA

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

### IMPERIALIST INTERVENTION

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

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