

Five Organizations Issue Call for New World Party

Fight Hitlerism!

(Continued on Page 2)

Out of the hell-holes of German fascism, the concentration camps, and the illegal activity once again comes the imperious cry of the revolutionists for assistance. Faced with tremendous obstacles such as were unknown since the days of Czarism, which seems mild and heavenly in comparison with the Nazi inferno, the German internationalists are carrying on in spite of all. At the risk of life and limb they are circulating their literature, educating the workers anew and preparing for the day when they will be strong enough to throw off Hitler's yoke. Many are thrown into prison, others are mauled beyond description by the Brown sadists and still others make the supreme sacrifice in the cause of the revolutionary movement.

International is intimately linked up with the Soviet turn in foreign policy towards the League of Nations and the military alliance with French imperialism. The ruling bureaucracy of the U.S.S.R. has definitely arrived at the conclusion that the Communist International is impotent to afford it any assistance whatsoever against the war danger and at the same time, it hinders the work of Soviet diplomacy. The humiliating and truly servile dependency of the Communist International upon the Soviet upper crust is expressed in a particularly glaring light in connection with the recent declaration of Stalin, approving the national defense of France imperialism.

Through the medium of an imperialist minister the leader of the Communist International passed the order to the French Communist party to conclude a patriotic truce today with the French bourgeoisie. Thus the Third International whose congress has not been convened for almost seven years has now officially gone over from the internationalist position to that of the most outright and servile social patriotism. Whether or not the Seventh Congress, so continually postponed, convenes—the Third International will not be resuscitated. The Stalin-Laval communique is its death warrant.

A New Slaughter and a New Betrayal Imminent

Meanwhile, the destructive forces of capitalism continue their belated work. The disintegration of world economy, the unemployment of tens of millions, the ruin of the peasantry put imperiously on the order of the day the task of the socialist revolution. The toilers, embittered and aroused, are seeking a way out. The prostration, collapse and putrefaction of the Second and Third International leave the proletariat without revolutionary leadership and impel the petty bourgeois masses on the road of despair. The bankrupt leaders seek to shift the responsibility for the triumph of fascism on the "passivity" of the proletariat; thus political betrayal is supplemented with calumny.

They speak in their communication of the dreadful shambles that once was the proud Socialist party and the Communist party; how the youth are looking for a new road after the shameful collapse of both these parties in face of the Hitlerite aggression. Disillusionment has not only spread to the adherents of working class parties but also to large sections of the middle class—for whom the Nazi promises have all turned to dust. Possibilities for revolutionary activity are greater in view of the let down of espionage among large sections of the populace that previously acted as stool pigeons for Hitler.

Threshing in the grip of insoluble contradictions, capitalism is preparing to plunge the peoples into a new slaughter. Ministers and diplomats openly speculate whether the outbreak of the war will come in one or in three years from now. All the governments, vying with one another, are preparing the most destructive instruments, and thereby from every side they are hastening the explosion which may be immeasurably more frightful than the war of 1914-1918.

The leaders of the so-called working class parties and the trade unions sing loud the praises of the beauties of peace, they babble about "disarmament," exhort their governments to make peace among themselves, arouse the hopes of the working masses in the League of Nations, and at the same time swear fealty to the cause of "national defense" i.e. the defense of bourgeois rule with its inevitable wars.

Under cover of the "united front" and even of "organic unity" Soviet diplomacy is preparing, behind the backs of the class conscious workers, class peace between the sections of the two Internationals and the bourgeoisie of those countries which are in military alliance with the Soviet State. Thus the outbreak of a new war must lead to a new betrayal which will eclipse that of August 4th, 1914.

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We Are Stronger Today Than the "Lefts" in 1915

The betrayal of the cause of the international revolution by the Soviet bureaucracy has thrust the world proletariat far back. The difficulties that face the revolutionary vanguard are incredible. Nevertheless its position at the present time is incomparably more favorable than on the eve of the last war. At that time capitalism appeared to be all powerful, almost invincible. The patriotic debacle of the International came utterly as a surprise, even to Lenin. Everywhere the revolutionary elements were caught unprepared. The first international conference—very small numerically and its majority indecisive—took place more than a year after the outbreak of the war. The formation of revolutionary cadres proceeded slowly. The possibility of proletarian revolution was rejected even by the majority of the "Zimmerwaldists." Only the October victory in Russia in the 40th month of the war produced a change in the situation, providing a mighty impulse for the formation of the Third International.

The Signers of the Open Letter

The following is a brief resume of the history of the five organizations that have signed the open letter for the Fourth International and have joined the Provisional Contact Commission which is initiating the concrete activity, practical and theoretical, towards the formation of the new International:

WORKERS PARTY OF THE U. S.: Formed by the fusion of the American Workers Party and the Communist League of America, the founding convention of which was held in December, 1934. The Communist League originated with the expulsion of Cannon, Shachtman and Abern from the Communist Party in 1928 for supporting the Russian Opposition led by Trotsky and was affiliated to the I.C.L. until the fusion with the A.W.P. The latter organization emerged from the Conference for Progressive Labor Action. Its first convention was held in December 1933.

REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS SOCIALIST PARTY OF HOLLAND (R.S.A.P.): On March 3, 1935 a unification congress between the Revolutionary Socialist Party and the Independent Socialist Party resulted in the formation of the above-mentioned organization. The Revolutionary Socialist Party affiliated with the I.C.L. in 1933 and was led by H. Sneevliet, one of the outstanding trade unionists of Holland. The Independent Socialist Party (O.S.P.) began as an opposition in the Social Democratic Party and was expelled for its oppositionist views. With the removal of the right wing of the O.S.P. it began to evolve in a Marxist direction and fusion was made possible. The new party numbers some 4,500 members, publishes a bi-weekly paper, "Nieuw Fakkel" and a monthly theoretical organ, "Internationale." P. J. Schmidt and H. Sneevliet are its outstanding leaders. It has strong influence over an independent revolutionary trade

union movement of about 15,000 members, the N.A.S. (National Workers Secretariat)

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST LEAGUE (I.C.L.): This organization, with groups and members in most of the countries of the world, had its inception with the struggle of the Russian Opposition in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1923. Its outstanding leader, who has headed this movement throughout the years of repression by the Stalinist bureaucracy is Leon Trotsky. Until August 1933, after the full effects and the meaning of the defeat in Germany had become clear it was called the International Left Opposition, the name then changing to the I.C.L. it ceased to be a faction of the Comintern and directed all its energies towards creating the Fourth International.

BOLSHEVIK-LENINIST GROUP IN THE S.F.I.O. (French S. P.): Previously the Communist League of France, it entered the Socialist Party as a faction in the Summer of 1934 in order to carry on a fight within it for the ideas of the Fourth International. It propagates its program of revolutionary Marxism through its paper "La Verite" and its action within the party. At the recent Congress of the S.P. at Mulhouse, it was the butt of attack by all the reactionaries in the leadership but nonetheless gained several thousand votes for its outspoken Leninist position and succeeded in electing one member to the Political Committee of the S. P. They have further been instrumental in organizing and leading the fight against social patriotism in a congress recently convened.

WORKERS PARTY OF CANADA: Affiliated to I.C.L., it formed its independent party in the fall of 1934, having up to then been part of the Communist League of America. It issues a twice-weekly paper, "The Vanguard."

corrosion of capitalism are so evident that they serve as the main theme for fascist demagoguery. In the colossal crisis in the United States, in the no less colossal unemployment, in the economic adventurism of Roosevelt, in the sweep of the strike struggles, in the ferment within all working class organizations there are being lodged for the first time the conditions for a mighty development of the revolutionary movement in North America. The example of the first victorious proletarian revolution lives in the memory of the masses. The experience of the great events of the last twenty years have been burned into the consciousness of the best militants. Genuinely revolutionary organizations, or at least groups, exist in all countries. They are closely bound together ideologically, and in part also organizationally. Even at present they represent a force incomparably more influential, homogeneous and steered than the "Zimmerwald left" which in the fall of 1915 took the initiative in preparing for the Third International.

Revolution Alone Can Eliminate War

The war danger which is a life and death question for the people is the supreme test for all the groupings and tendencies within the working class. "The struggle for peace," "the struggle against war," "war on war" and similar slogans are hollow and fraudulent phrases, if unaccompanied by the propaganda and the application of revolutionary methods of struggle. The only method to put an end to war is to overthrow the bourgeoisie. The only method to overthrow the bourgeoisie is by a revolutionary assault.

The New Epoch Requires A New International

The humiliating and hopeless position of the old International is adequately characterized by the fact that the President of the one became the humble Minister of His King, while the real master of the other uses the world proletarian organization as so much small change for diplomatic deals. Regardless of what unification maneuvers the two equally depraved bureaucracies may undertake, it is not they who will create the unity of the proletariat, and it is not them to point the way out. The efforts of the centrists to reconcile the irreconcilable and to save by means of patching the pieces what is fated to be destroyed, are foredoomed. The new epoch requires a New International. The primary condition for success on this road is the close consolidation nationally and internationally of the genuine proletarian revolutionists, the disciples of Marx and Lenin, on a common program, and under a common banner.

Any attempt to prescribe an identical course for all countries would be fatal. Depending upon national conditions, upon the degree of the decomposition of the old working class organizations, and, finally, upon the state of their own forces at a given moment, the Marxists (the revolutionary socialists, the internationalists, the Bolsheviki-Leninists) can come forward, now in the form of an independent organization, now in the guise of a faction in one of the old parties, or trade unions. Assuredly, no matter what the time or the arena may be, this factional work serves only as a stage on the road of creating the new parties of the Fourth International, parties which may be created either through the regroupment of the revolutionary elements of the old organizations, or through the agency of independent organizations. But on whatever arena, and whatever the methods of functioning, they are bound to speak in the name of unqualified principles and clear revolutionary slogans. They do not play hide and seek with the working class; they do not conceal their aims; they do not substitute diplomacy and combinations for a principled struggle. MARXISTS AT ALL TIMES AND UNDER ALL CONDITIONS OPENLY SAY WHAT IS.

As against the reactionary lie of "national defense" it is necessary to advance the slogan of the revolutionary destruction of the national state. To the madhouse of capitalist Europe it is necessary to counterpose the program of THE SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF EUROPE, as a stage toward the United States of the World. Marxists irrevocably reject the pacifist slogans of "disarmament," "arbitration," and "amity between peoples" (i.e., between capitalist governments) etc., as opium for the popular masses. The combinations between working class organizations and petty-bourgeois pacifists (the Amsterdam-Pleyel Committee, and similar undertakings) render the best service to imperialism by distracting the attention of the working class from reality with its grave struggles, and beguiling them instead with impotent parades. The struggle against war and imperialism cannot be the job of any sort of special "committees." The struggle against war is the preparation for revolution, that is to say, the job of working class parties and of the International. The Marxists pose this great task before the proletarian vanguard, without any frills. To the eternally slogan of "disarmament" they counterpose the slogan of WINNING THE ARMY AND ARMING THE WORKERS. Precisely in this is one of the most important dividing lines between Marxism and centrism drawn. He will never find the courage to solve the revolutionary tasks who dares not utter them aloud.

The 4th International Stands on the Shoulders of its Forerunners

During the year and a half that has elapsed since the publication of the first program of the Fourth International, the struggle for its principles and ideas has not abated for a single day; the revolutionary national sections and groups have grown in number; some of them extended their ranks and influence, others attained to a greater homogeneity and cohesion; organizations within the same country have united democratic movement in the trade unions. Sir Walter Citrine, secretary of the congress, has been severely criticized by his own Electrical Trades Union for accepting a knighthood from the national government. Passing a motion of regret that Citrine, one of Britain's most prominent labor leaders, had seen fit to accept a knighthood from a government of "hunger and war," a branch of his union called for expulsion of Citrine from the trade union movement on the ground that "he has brought ridicule on our movement."

"Unity" at any Price Is a Monstrous Deception

The oppositionist moods and tendencies bear today a predominantly CENTRIST character, that is, intermediate between social patriotism and revolution. Under conditions when the traditional mass organizations are in process of collapse and decomposition, centrism represents in many cases an inevitable transitional stage even for progressive working class groupings. Marxists must be able to find access to all such tendencies, in order by example and propaganda to speed their passage to the revolutionary road. In this, the condition for success is irreconcilable criticism of the centrist leadership, exposure of the attempts to create the 2 1/2 International, and a ceaseless explanation of the fact that the revolutionary tasks of our epoch do not beforehand to ignominious bankruptcy those unifications which are hybrid and amorphous. The slogan of "unity" of all working class organizations regardless of their program and tactic is being zealously propagated at present by the centrists, and is being ably exploited by the reformists who are more farsighted, and who fear, with good cause, being thrown overboard. The centrists often substitute the idea of merging the two old Internationals for the idea of a New International. In reality, unity with reformists and social patriots of the social democratic or Stalinist variety signifies in the last analysis unity with the national bourgeoisie, and, consequently, the inevitable split of the proletariat, internationally as well

Move to Oust Lackey in British Unions

LONDON, England—Two of England's largest and strongest unions have rejected a call from the Trade Union Congress executive to expel radicals. At the recent convention of the National Union of Railwaymen, whose membership numbers around 400,000, delegates voted 44 to 35 to reject a demand from Trade Union Congress headquarters that no Communists be allowed to hold official positions in the union. Shortly before that the Locomotive Engineers Union rejected the same order on the ground that it throttled the

Question Box

By A. WEAVER

A. V., NEW YORK—
Question: When the social-patriotic position of the C. I., and the fact that it is opposed to revolution in the capitalist countries, is called to the attention of Stalinists, they reply that this means nothing since the bureaucracy of the Soviet Union only stands to gain by extending the international revolution and that therefore the whole thing can merely be a maneuver to outwit the capitalists. How do you reply to this?

Answer: It is extremely difficult, of course, to discuss with people who refute facts with "theory," and the argument of the Stalinists really means that, regardless of the evidence, they do not want to believe anything which may smash their "ideals," or interfere with their sinecures, or social and personal connections.

However that may be, even their "theory" is untenable. A conclusion such as theirs can be drawn only by identifying the interests of the bureaucracy with that of the Soviet State, which is false. While the workers' republic stands to profit by an extension of the world revolution, the Stalinist bureaucracy does not.

To clarify matters, let us consider some analogies, bearing in mind the points of difference. Logically, it might appear, Green, Wolf, and Co., would be better off if the A. F. of L. were several times its present size, since they would then have at their disposal larger dues payments, more jobs, etc. To build up the A. F. of L., however, it is necessary to set the workers into motion against the capitalists which could mean nothing else than the end of control of the A. F. of L. by the reactionary bureaucracy because of the latter's ties with the capitalists. In other words, under present day historical conditions, it is not in the interests of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy to really build the trade unions.

An extension of the world revolution would set into motion the Russian workers as well as the proletariat of the world. To the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union this would mean the end of their special privileges precisely because the latter are conditioned by a decline in the revolutionary mood of the masses resulting from international proletarian defeats (China, Germany, British General Strike, etc.).

Consider dialectically, therefore, the Stalinist bureaucracy will not benefit by an extension of the world revolution. This is merely another way of repeating our thesis that Stalinism is reactionary and a brake on revolutionary progress.

Question: What evidence is there that the Soviet bureaucracy enjoys the "juiciest" steaks and "Rolls Royces" to which Trotsky has referred in his pamphlet on the Soviet Union?

Answer: The Stalinist bureaucracy does not oblige us, of course, with statistics of the amount of national wealth which it consumes, but we do get an occasional glimpse behind the curtains.

Here, for example, is an account of a "dinner recently given by M. Doletsky, the general manager of Tass, the official Soviet press agency, for Kent Cooper, general manager of the Associated Press, and Karl A. Bickel, general manager of the United Press.

"Among those who attended were ambassador Bullitt, L. M. Krestinsky, Soviet Vice Commissar of Foreign Affairs; leading member of the Soviet press and correspondents for the American newspapers.

"This banquet, which was called a dinner, was held in the vast mansion of a former textile magnate named Morosoff, the rooms of which are decorated with carved oak and light blue paper decked with fleur de lys, which is the crest of the royal house of the Bourbons of France. In this dignified setting the sixty guests sat down before long tables with glasses, plates and cutlery from the Czars palaces.

YOUNG SPARTACUS OUT
YOUNG SPARTACUS has come out after a lapse of a couple of months and its contents compensate for the delay. Articles on the Y.P.S.U. convention, the A. Y. C. congress, and Tom Paine, and excerpts from a manifesto of the Bolsheviki-Leninist Youth of France make the paper interesting reading.

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