

Fourth International

The New Upsurge of American Labor

—An Editorial—



American Imperialism in the Philippines

By Chris Andrews

*The Big Three in Moscow—Palestine and Stalinism
in the Middle East—Bonapartism in France*

February 1946

25 Cents

Manager's Column

This month we welcome back an F. I. agent who is again on the job in Philadelphia. Herbert Newell writes: "Last week I was finally able to settle down to serious work as F. I. agent. We are sending you five copies of the July issue, which is requested in your column.

"The past week has seen two new stands carrying the F. I. One of these at a Penn Railroad station sold the copies I left him the very first day. He displays them prominently and told me confidently that he thinks they'd sell good.

"Another way of selling the F. I. is by covering forums, meetings, etc., with issues containing articles on the topic for which the meetings, forums, etc., are called. I hope we shall be able to increase our sales of current F. I.'s in this way as well.

"We are about to begin our call backs on expired and expiring *Militant* subscribers. We shall be armed with copies of the F. I. as well, and at all times, we shall be alert to subscriptions as well as individual sales.

"On the subscription cards we have listed \$2.50 for 1-year combination to *The Militant* and *Fourth International*. Is this offer still good?"

This \$2.50 combination subscription, which offers a savings of 50c on one year subs, is still good, and incidentally, very popular with readers.

The *Militant* Renewal Campaign is proving to be a fertile field for new subscribers to the F. I. Sara Ross, New York, reports that the December 1945 issue, containing "Zionism or Socialism—Which Way for the Jews?" is an effective sample copy with which to introduce the magazine. Requests for this issue come in every day. The following review of T. Cliff's article appeared in "World Events," Scott Nearing's monthly newssheet: "Many of these words (about the Near East) have been colored by racism, others by nationalism. Only occasionally has there been an utterance free from one or both emotional complexes. The *Fourth International* for December 1945 (published at 116 University Place, New York 3) offers its readers 'The Middle East at the Crossroads,' written by T. Cliff and dated from Jerusalem. The article carries less heat and throws more light on the subject than anything I have read for many a day. Let me quote one of its paragraphs. 'The Arab East is important to the imperialist powers for four main

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reasons: first, as a route to other regions—India, Australia, China, etc.; second, as a source of raw materials; third, as an important market for manufactured goods; and fourth, as a field for capital investment.

"After giving illustrations of the four aspects of imperialist concern with the Near East, the author presents an analysis of the class structure of various countries, with emphasis on Egypt, the richest and

potentially the most powerful country in the area."

Maggie McGowan, Toledo, thinks that the December cover of the magazine is inferior to the November issue. "There are about four different kinds of type used, not counting the masthead, and does not give the appearance of orderliness and readability which is desirable. The November cover was really exceptionally well-done . . . clean, forceful and interesting and, I believe,

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is the sort of thing that should be aimed at."

Agent McGowan wants to know whether the date of publication of the F. I. cannot be standardized. "There is some unrest among the newsstands on which the F. I. is placed in Toledo, and one large newsstand in particular does not wish to place it unless we can assure them it will arrive at the stand along with the rest of the monthly magazines. They naturally feel that a publication should appear on the stands at the beginning of the month, and have questioned me and the literature agent preceding me concerning this."

Our answer is that with this issue, our publication date has been moved up so that the February *Fourth International* should be on the newsstands by approximately the first of the month. Agents can now assure dealers that this issue date will be maintained in the future. This should increase newsstand sales considerably.

A comment from C. M. Hesser, Portland, Oregon: "I don't know how it is with other places but we are finding that some intellectuals are looking for a way out—the world and the atomic bomb are scaring them to death. Am enclosing some more F. I. subs."

More and more college students are subscribing to the F. I. E. S. writes from Northampton, Mass.: "In the acknowledgment you sent me last summer for my subscription, you suggested that at the expiration of this subscription, I should write down my impressions of *Fourth International*. I am afraid I am taking you at your word.

"By the fact that I am renewing my subscription, you may deduce that my impressions were favorable. But they were really more than that. *Fourth International* has clarified for me things which I hitherto have not understood. I have for a long time felt that there was a need for socialism, and after much reading and thinking, decided that the only kind which would work was Marxism. It had a practicable plan for getting into power and a clear-cut program that covered all phases of life, extending, I recently discovered, into the domain of literary criticism. At first, like so many, I looked to the Soviet Union as my example, but soon saw something was wrong. . . . Since reading *Fourth International*, I have learned that one can be a Marxist without being a Stalinist, and have learned substantially the way one must think, see and hear to be one."

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REVIEW OF THE MONTH

*The Upsurge of American Labor—Washington's Loan to Britain—
The Big Three in Moscow*

The Upsurge of American Labor

The general leftward swing of the masses throughout the world, exemplified in the insurgent movements on the European continent, the labor party victory in Britain and the outbreak of national and civil wars in the Far East, is revealing itself today in the very home of the most powerful imperialism of world history, the United States. This country is now the scene of a historic labor upsurge.

The present strike wave, still gathering momentum, has already gone beyond the strike waves of the NRA period and the birth of the CIO, from the point of view of its extensiveness, cohesiveness and concentrated character. For a proper comparison to the present labor revolt, one would have to go back to 1919 and the strike wave that enveloped this country in the post-war period after the First World War. But even this comparison is wholly inadequate. The comparative statistics of man-days lost and number of workers involved are in and of themselves completely deceptive. They do not begin to tell the real story. They do not begin to reveal the profound changes which have been wrought in America in the last 25 years.

The labor upsurge of 1919 was very extensive and aroused millions to struggle and to great militancy. But the labor movement of those days, despite the influx during the war of tens of thousands of industrial workers, was dominated by the old craft unions and its reactionary, narrow minded top hierarchy. The mass industries remained by and large unorganized. Despite the rank and file militancy, the reactionary craft-ridden leadership of the AFL dominated the mass movement. The strike wave therefore took on the character of a chaotic, disorganized, poorly-led or scarcely-led-at-all movement. The initiative, at all major stages, remained with the industrialists who finally succeeded in crushing the strike movement and in imposing the rule of the open shop in the country's major industries.

The present strike wave is unfolding on an entirely different basis. It rests on the solid achievements and victories of labor of the last twelve years; the early struggles of the NRA period which forged a new union leadership in the mass production industries; the crushing of the resistance of the industrialists in the CIO strikes of 1936-37 and the establishment of solid, well-knit, powerful national unions.

The advances of the American working class can be judged by the fact that the old problems that continually plagued the earlier labor movement, and led again and again to its defeat, have today been, in large part, solved in struggle. The necessity of building large industry-wide unions; the need for

labor solidarity without regard to religious, national or racial differences; the need for labor solidarity in supporting each other's struggles; the need for mass action and militant tactics in beating back the threats of violence from the ranks of the employers and their governmental agents; the need for *organization* in big strikes, publicity, dramatization of the issues, food kitchens, relief, mass picketing, etc.—these issues constituted the banner of radicals and progressive unionists for years in the fight against the ossified AFL bureaucracy. It was in the struggle for this program that countless militants were expelled from their unions by the AFL bureaucrats, black-listed and driven out of their jobs. But the struggle was not in vain. A good portion of this program is today *commonly accepted* in the big CIO unions and is being employed in the current battle.

U. S. HAS WORLD'S LARGEST UNIONS

The labor movement of America is 14 million strong. This is numerically the largest trade union movement ever built in a capitalist country. It represents over one-fourth of the *whole* working class, as large a trade union movement as any working class has ever built in relation to the labor population. The huge unions in auto, steel, electric, coal, etc., represent the strongest unions of the whole world; strongest in numbers, in organization, in recent fighting experience, in aggressiveness and self-confidence.

The American working class has just passed through four years of war, of "national unity," four years in which its unions have been bound in the strait-jacket of the war machine. The American working class has been cruelly betrayed by its whole top trade union officialdom in this war. Its leaders imposed the no-strike pledge on its unions and rendered labor weak before the organized might of Big Capital. Labor found itself deprived of one right after another. It was forced to retreat one step after another. Its wages were frozen, while prices rose and the corporations began piling up fantastic sums of wealth. The corporations, grown brazen by the unions' self-disarmament, reintroduced the speed-up, fired key union militants and attempted to destroy the shop steward system. The workers fought back with sporadic strikes. But under the pressure of the war machine and the top union bureaucracy, these outbursts were inevitably quelled. "National unity," so-called, persisted—broken up now and then by short-lived crises in coal and elsewhere—buttressed by the twin factors of war patriotism and the movement of workers to higher paid jobs and enlargement of income through long hours of work.

The abdication of the labor leaders during four years of war, and their underwriting of a program of enriching and strength-

ening the capitalist rulers guaranteed and made inevitable the present war of the banking and industrial oligarchy against labor. No sooner did Wall Street bring its imperialist rivals to their knees than it turned with redoubled fury upon the main enemy—the working class at home. Instead of the “gratitude” which the labor leaders naively imagined they would receive in return for labor’s “sacrifices” in the war, they received a hail of wage cuts and of anti-labor bills.

Wall Street is embarking on its quest for world empire as an aftermath of the most destructive war in world history and in a period of the death agony of capitalism as a world system. It cannot undertake the storming of the citadels of the Far East, of Europe and elsewhere, while leaving this powerful enemy, the American working class intact, in its rear. The Wall Street masters are determined to subdue this too-powerful, too self-confident, too audacious working class and drive down its standard of living, in preparation for its eventual all-out campaign of union busting. Thus we see the final result of the “equality of sacrifice” program imposed on the working class during the war. It made the capitalists fat and strong and placed them in the most advantageous position to launch their war against the working man.

UNIONS CONTINUED GROWTH DURING WAR

The labor movement executed one retreat after another in the last four years. The monied oligarchy encroached more and more on the rights of the labor movement. That is the picture of the war years; but it is not the whole picture. Despite all of labor’s retreats, the unions continued to register an uninterrupted growth during the war years, concomitant with the growth and expansion of American industry and the enlargement of its working class. Despite all the blows dealt it the labor movement held on. It retained its organizational strength and structure, it preserved its morale, it did not lose its self-confidence or its fighting qualities. This emergence of labor from the war with all of its strength is testimony to the solid structure that labor built in the period of heroic growth in the great sit-down strikes of ten years ago.

The fundamental factor in the preservation of the unions during the adverse years of the war is the *understanding* achieved by the American working class. The great economic crisis of 1929-33 revolutionized the thinking of the American worker and thereby changed the face of America. With the first rise of the economic cycle, the workers began pouring into the unions. America had never seen anything like it before. The crisis taught the American workers that they were a *class* and they needed union organization to protect themselves from the arbitrariness of the huge, impersonal, merciless aggregates of capital, the giant corporations. The American worker has never forgotten this lesson. In the upheavals that followed, in the pitched battles between labor and capital that swept the country for four years, the American worker learned how to organize great strikes and see them through to victory. He learned how to solidify big unions. He destroyed the open shop in America and established strong independent unions in all of its industries.

The present strike wave already shows that the thinking of the workers has progressed phenomenally. In other words, the war has taught lessons and left a mark on the minds of the working class no less impressive than the effects of the 1929 crisis and its aftermath. The present strikes are technically better organized than those of 1936-37, the mass movement is more cohesive and it embraces a far greater portion of the

working class. But more decisive than these criteria is the emergence of greater *social* thinking on the part of labor.

In January 1943 we wrote:

The mass production workers learned “unionism” from the galling experiences of the economic crisis of 1929-33. They will learn “politics” from the far richer and far more profound experiences gained in the feverish war days we are now passing through.

WORKING CLASS REMEMBERS 1929 How could it be otherwise? This working class, which still remembers very vividly the horrors of the 1929 crisis, has just lived through four years of unexampled economic activity. It has seen unemployment wiped out and factories producing night and day the goods of war. “Why can’t we have full employment in peace,” ask the workers, “and produce goods for life, instead of death?” The logic of the whole situation is posing this question more and more urgently. It is becoming a potent factor in politicalizing and radicalizing the American workers.

Furthermore they have seen with their own eyes the fusion of the state and Big Business. For four years, the most petty grievance in the shop eventually found its way to the seat of government in Washington, D. C. and had to be passed upon by the governmental authority. The workers found that they were not dealing merely with individual managements of individual capitalist concerns. They couldn’t solve the smallest problem without confronting the government.

At first this shift of scenery had the workers buffaloed. They had learned how to pit their strength successfully against the DuPonts, the Fords, the Girdlers. But how can you fight the government?

But as the surroundings grew more familiar and the mechanics of governmental deception more clearly understood, the most advanced workers began directing their fight in a purposeful manner to get out of the strait-jacket in which, in their naiveté in 1941, they had permitted themselves to be bound. They organized the fight to revoke the no-strike pledge and to destroy the key governmental agency of tyranny: the War Labor Board. This constituted the first big step forward in their political education.

The present struggles are playing a big role in supplementing and developing the political education of American labor. The hope for a return to “normalcy,” an idyllic era of peace, good will and plenty, cherished by both the labor leaders and the workers, is already blown away by the howling winds of class war. The intervention of the government into all matters, big and small, will not disappear. The labor movement in the struggle to maintain its standard of living finds that it cannot simply fight it out with the individual corporations. It is confronted not only with its old enemy, the courts, but with Congress and the U.S. President. The CIO has already, by a process of evolution, and by sheer necessity, become a quarter-political party. The drive for a genuine political offensive on the part of labor and independent political action will grow irresistibly in the days ahead.

WORLD LABOR IS IN LEFTWARD SWING

The present upsurge of American labor, while part of a world-wide leftward swing, is conditioned in this country by the peculiarities of the American situation and the level of development of the American working class. The American workers possess extremely powerful economic organizations, they understand how to fight on the economic front and have great experience in organizing strikes. Politically, however, they are

more backward. They still do not have their own political party and have far less knowledge and experience in political struggles. These factors adequately explain why the present labor upsurge, which has as its immediate aim the preservation of labor's standard of living, takes the form, chiefly, of an outburst of economic strikes.

But this political backwardness of American labor is by no means a static, cut and dried, one-sided affair, as petty-bourgeois snobs often imagine. The American workers, as we have seen, are now learning politics very rapidly. But because the political movement lagged far behind that of Europe, the American workers find themselves today relatively free from the stultifying effects of Social Democracy and Stalinism. These two perfidious misleaders of labor have never exercised sufficient influence in America to sap labor's strength as they have done in Europe. The American workers have not known any big defeats. They have not experienced the cruel disillusionments and betrayals of the European labor movement. That is why they reveal in their struggles a greater aggressiveness, assurance, initiative, self-confidence and optimism, than do some of the older working classes.

The present strike wave ushers in a long period of intense class struggle. The present wage settlements, on whatever level they are finally reached, will not reestablish any long term equilibrium. They will simply represent a breathing spell and preparation for the next stage of the struggle; the next stage which will be fought out on a higher plane and with greater ferocity on both sides.

There are two Americas: the America of the stock exchange and the banking houses; and the America of the toilers, the poor people who work for a living.

The world today stands amazed, as well as aghast, at the military power which Wall Street has unleashed. The peoples of the world are due to be amazed—an amazement filled with admiration and solidarity—at the power of the American working class.

Washington's Loan to Britain

On December 6, 1945, after three months of haggling, recriminations, threats and counter-threats, the representatives of Wall Street granted to Great Britain a loan of 4.4 billion dollars, at 2 per cent payable in 50 years. The loan is not a lump sum but a *line of credit* which may be drawn upon for a period of 5 years and used for strictly specified purposes. Attached to the loan is a set of "trade" agreements. Both houses of Parliament have accepted the loan and passed these agreements. Congress is still to be heard from.

The loan and all the provisions connected with it have aroused a storm of protest in London. The English diplomats began negotiations confidently expecting not only the cancellation of "lend-lease" obligations but a grant or gift of up to six billion dollars. They were sadly disillusioned. Instead they had rammed down their throats a loan, almost one-fifth of which (approximately three-quarters of a billion) constitutes settlement for "lend-lease" balances.

Hugh Dalton, Chancellor of the Exchequer, lamented the "shortcomings" of the loan terms. A Tory member of Parliament declared it to be "our economic Munich." Lord Woolton, in the House of Lords, bewailed the surrender of "our just rights to the power of the dollar." The English *Economist*, the most authoritative economic publication of Britain, branded it "a bitter pill." The English *Tribune*, organ of the "left" Laborites, excoriated it as a "savage bargain." An explanation for this universal outcry is not at all hard to find.

First, let us look at the terms of the loan itself. To believe the Wall Street spokesmen, they are very generous. This "generosity" lies in computing the interest rate over a period of 55 years. The rate thus turns out to be 1.62 per cent, or a lower rate than the one paid by the U.S. Treasury for some of its own funds. However, what is omitted in this demonstration of imperialist generosity, are the *funding* and *carrying* charges. When these are added, we get an altogether different picture.

By the terms of the loan, the annual installments for half a century will amount to approximately 140 million dollars, or, as the English *Tribune* points out, "a tribute almost double the total exports which went from here to the United States every year before 1939."

It is hardly likely that English exports to this country will average a sum as huge as these annual payments over any lengthy period. On the other hand, American exports to England have averaged double and even triple that sum. The question naturally arises, how will England, today a *debtor* country pay for these imports, let alone for the U.S. loan? The answer, of course, is she can't and won't pay. She will plunge deeper and deeper into debt, becoming as servilely dependent on Wall Street as did England's own debtors in relation to herself, in the past.

U.S. Treasury books still carry a loan on which England defaulted after World War I. This loan is virtually the same amount as the current one. England, when she was still a *creditor* country proved incapable of carrying a load that is now being imposed. Can she perhaps carry it now? Wall Street knows better. This loan has been imposed precisely in order to transform England into an insolvent debtor. As a matter of fact, the loan agreement carries ingenious provisions for precisely this eventuality. Who is more completely at the creditor's mercy than an insolvent debtor?

Harsh as the terms of the loan itself are, the accompanying "agreements" are even more onerous. In return for Yankee dollars, England has been compelled to formally abdicate from her century-old dominant financial position. She was obliged to become signatory to the Bretton Woods agreement. Thereby the English pound sterling is henceforth pegged to Wall Street's dollar.

Within one year's time the "sterling bloc" must be dissolved, thereby loosening beyond repair the ties of Britain's empire.

This twofold stroke at the same time shatters England's dream of constituting a "western bloc" as a counterweight to the overwhelming preponderance of the trans-Atlantic colossus.

An equally grave breach in Britain's empire is effected by still another provision which binds England to break down her "Empire preference system" of trade. Again, within one year she must "remove all restrictions" on U.S. imports to the homeland, dominions, colonies, mandated areas, etc.

To make assurance doubly sure it is further incumbent upon England to unfreeze, scale down or cancel her huge debt to her own colonies and to Latin American countries. While on the surface this may appear to be a measure alleviating England's plight, in reality it only aggravates it. The more successful she is in "scaling down" or "cancelling" her sterling debt, all the harder will it be for her to enter into long-term trade agreements with her cheated creditors, all the easier will it be for Wall Street to squeeze her out of the traditional markets, especially Egypt, India and Latin America.

After the First World War France found herself in a relationship *vis-a-vis* England which Leon Trotsky characterized as being that of "England's last dominion." Today England finds herself in a similar position *vis-a-vis* the United States.

Far from ameliorating the relationships between the two "democracies" the loan and the agreements can act only to aggravate them. This is openly recognized by the capitalist press both here and in Great Britain.

The hostile reaction of Britain to the Anglo-American is no passing mood of the moment. It may, in fact no doubt will, become less acutely vocal . . . But this new and heavy strain on relations between the United States and Britain will not lift just because there is less talk about it in the papers and in Parliament (*New York Times*, December 16, 1945).

Furthermore, threats are already being voiced that the agreements will be repudiated. One London paper stated:

Everything points to Britain being ultimately compelled to repudiate commitments whose fulfillment United States trade policy will make impossible. (*Idem.*)

It is incontestable that the English imperialists, with their age-long traditions and habits of world rule, will not docilely surrender to Wall Street. But at the present time, they are utterly powerless to do anything except retreat step by step under the pressure of their all-powerful American rival. All the levers are today in Wall Street's hands: overwhelming preponderance in the financial, industrial, diplomatic, military, and other fields.

The Big Three in Moscow

The "Big Three" conference in Moscow (December 16-26, 1945) marks another highly symptomatic phase in the unfolding of a crisis which erupted on the world arena with the cessation of military hostilities. The deadlock of the London "Five Power" Conference (September 1945) has been followed—by what? By another nefarious product of power politics and secret diplomacy. The change in faces—Byrnes in place of Hall, Bevin in place of Eden—has altered neither robbers' policies nor methods. Perhaps the most notable difference lies in formal procedure. The cynical ballyhoo consequent upon each of the previous similar conclaves has this time been dispensed with.

Moscow, London and Washington perfunctorily "hailed" the breaking of the September deadlock and then the spokesmen and mouthpieces of both sides got busy explaining that the latest "agreement" did not amount to very much in reality.

Thus the *New York Times*, authoritative organ of American Big Business, warned on July 7:

The world has learned that Big Three communiqués never solve as much as they seem to, so optimism over the results was tinged with considerable caution.

The American Stalinists have hitherto never failed to find cause for jubilation over a "Big Three" communique. They cheered this time too, but not for long. The *Daily Worker* ran a special series of articles, the keynote of which is that the conference merely "temporarily abates a crisis," and achieves "only momentary stabilization on very limited but useful grounds." (*Daily Worker*, January 2.)

Even the inveterate and professional optimists who serve the imperialists in the liberal press found themselves incapable of any enthusiasm beyond a "substantial reason for a rebirth of hope." (*The New Republic*, January 7.)

That mankind needs hope, including reborn hope, is true enough. But much more is needed, in particular—a *guarantee* against the unleashing of another world war.

The wartime communiqués of the "Big Three" almost invariably contained promises of lasting peace. What price peace in the light of the September deadlock and the December agreement?

The seeds of the Third World War are being planted. The dire threat is almost universally acknowledged. The war makers who used to rattle swords are now rattling atomic bombs.



BEVIN

Society is today confronted with the problem of atomic warfare. Secret plans in America continue to operate on a 24-hour basis. Nobody knows just how many hundreds of atomic bombs are already in storage. But we do know that their destructive power has been vastly increased. According to Professor Harold Urey, one of the scientists engaged in atomic bomb research, the fissure bombs now in production

are several hundred times more powerful than the two dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, with more powerful ones in the offing.

In his speech on the Twenty-eighth Anniversary of the October Revolution, Molotov made it a point of boasting that "we will have atom energy and many other things." Almost in the same breath he stated:

Not for a moment may we forget our great obligations to insure the needs of the defense of our country and the needs of the Red Army and Fleet.

Following the First World War there was a wave of pacifism and even measures for "disarmament" were undertaken. We hear altogether different talk today. It is an open secret that a new world armament race is in progress. The Stalinists acknowledge it directly:

In actual fact, there is taking place a race of other countries to develop atomic energy and also atomic armaments. (*Daily Worker*, January 5.)

The U.S. is flaunting its plans of maintaining a huge military establishment. This can have only one purpose—preparation for war. War against whom? The major opponent of U.S. imperialism today is its "ally" in the Kremlin. These preparations are at the same time preparations against the USSR. Yet the Kremlin persists in sowing illusions that peace can be achieved and "international control" of atomic energy established in collaboration with American and English imperialists.

STALIN'S DIPLOMATIC HORSE-TRADING

The world was cynically informed that one of the main purposes of the Moscow conference was to dispose of the atomic bomb, by regulating and even "outlawing" its use. The text of the communique continues this shameless fraud.

A major share of responsibility for the outbreak of World War II falls upon Stalin. Today he is providing a cover for the "democratic" imperialist warmakers and their preparations for the next world holocaust. What did Stalin receive in return for his services? He consummated a diplomatic horse-trade.

The main reason for the deadlock in London last September was Washington's attempt to scrap the previous secret

agreement which handed over Eastern Europe and the Balkans to Moscow. It was a squabble between two sets of bandits, one of whom sought to muscle in on the terms of the Crimea thieves' bargain. The Kremlin refused to yield. Subsequently Washington decided to modify its stand.

On the eve of the formal sessions in Moscow, recognition was extended by Washington and London to the Stalinist-dominated regimes in Yugoslavia and Hungary. In the course of the Moscow negotiations similar recognition was extended to the regimes in Bulgaria and Rumania. Bevin and Byrnes were the recipients of a few face-saving phrases concerning "democratic" additions to the incumbent cabinets and the holding of "democratic" elections.

Agreement was likewise reached on procedure in drafting the peace treaties for Italy, Finland, Bulgaria, Rumania. It is not hard to add up Stalin's gains. London and Washington have reaffirmed, pending further developments, the recognition of the Kremlin's sphere of influence in the Balkans.

And what did Stalin have to pay in return? Under the pressure of American imperialism he had to beat a retreat all along the line in the Far East.

With the downfall of Japan the old relationship of forces in the Pacific blew up. In order to pre-empt the vacuum thus created, the Kremlin hastened to move in. But so did the American colossus, moving much more swiftly and with vaster power. Wall Street is firmly ensconced in Japan. It holds and intends to keep the innumerable islands in the Pacific. In brief, the strategic outposts to the Asiatic mainland are in its hands. The might of American imperialism is now lodged not across the ocean but on the eastern approaches to the USSR.

The Kremlin which yesterday was in mortal dread of a *cordon sanitaire*, or the formation of a "Western bloc" in Europe, is now faced with a very palpable threat of a *cordon sanitaire* in the Far East. The Moscow press and its foreign agencies have been in the recent days talking more and more of plans to set up a bloc comprising Japan, Korea and China. The U.S. alone could be the driving force behind such a combination.

Moscow's moves in an attempt to cope with this threat reveal quite clearly both the counter-revolutionary character of Stalinism as well as the extremely restricted field which now remains for Stalinist maneuvers.

Through its domination of Eastern Europe and the Balkans the Kremlin has succeeded in erecting in Europe a sort of buffer against capitalist encirclement, the effectiveness and value of which even on purely strategic grounds, is highly dubious in the light of recent technological developments. In search of a symmetrical supplement in the Far East, Stalin began by demanding "united control" of Japan, i.e., the same set-up as exists in Germany. To all intents and purposes, this demand has now been reduced to a mere formality. The creation of the Far Eastern advisory commission is simply window dressing for the continued and unchallenged military rule of Japan by the United States. At best, all that Stalin has obtained is an observer able to watch American manipulations on the scene. In his radio address, following the Moscow conference, Secretary of State Byrnes minced no words on this score:

Under the agreement establishing the commission no basic Allied policy for Japan may be adopted without our concurrence. (*New York Times*, December 31, 1945.)

All the talking will be done in the commission, all the decisions and actions rest, as before, with MacArthur.

In the case of Korea, by its eleventh-hour entry into the war against Japan and by previous secret agreement, the Kremlin grabbed the northern part of the country. The American occupation troops hold the south. Korea had previously been promised her independence by England and the United States. By the terms of the Moscow agreement, this independence has been indefinitely postponed. For the time being, a five-year "trusteeship" has been established. In place of the Japanese despots, the Korean people have acquired two sets of masters, the Russians in the north, the Americans in the south. On January 7 the *New York Times* reported:

Koreans in US zone greeted the trusteeship with mass strikes and attacks on American soldiers.

Similar demonstrations have been reported in the Stalinist-held zone.

Under Lenin and Trotsky the Soviet Union gained great prestige among the colonial peoples by voluntarily surrendering the Czarist share of the imperialist pillage of China and by demonstrating in many other ways that the young workers' state was the staunchest ally of all oppressed peoples in their struggle for independence.

The Kremlin pursues a diametrically opposite course. Stalin does not hesitate to become a "co-trustee," supplying a cover for one of the most cynical forms of imperialist colonial rule. Far from renouncing the Czarist past, under Stalin it is being advanced to justify the Kremlin's territorial demands and seizures. For example, Molotov in the speech which has already been cited, reasserted the Russian "rights" to Port Arthur, Darien and the Manchurian railways. He said:

It remains to reestablish the rights of our state over railroads of Manchuria and also to reestablish our rights in the area of Port Arthur and Darien in the southern part of Manchuria.

The "rights" listed by Molotov, and originally enjoyed by Czarist Russia prior to its defeat by Japan in 1905, were "re-established" last August when Stalin signed a special treaty with Chiang Kai-shek. At the height of the civil war in China this treaty was made public. In it the Kremlin pledged that all Soviet moral and material aid would be given exclusively to "the National Government as the Central Government of China." That is to say, at the crucial moment Stalin betrayed the Yen'an movement which had invariably taken all its policies from Moscow and which unquestioningly accepted the latter's leadership.

The latest Moscow agreement is another step in the betrayal of the Chinese masses. The policy of American imperialism calls for the stabilization of the reactionary regime of Chiang Kai-shek. The Kremlin has reiterated its willingness to serve as one of Chiang's props. It requires no prophetic insight to determine that among the final results of Wall Street's policy is the eventual extirpation of the Stalinist-dominated Yen'an regime. In the few weeks since the Moscow conference, a step in this direction has been taken by the imposition of the "truce" by command of General Marshall. Upon the publication of the "truce" news, the *New York Times* gleefully announced in its January 11 editorial that the first point next on the agenda involved the fate of the Yen'an armies which "will have to go before unity and peace can be assured."

At the same time, all these betrayals deal irreparable blows to the prestige of the Soviet Union among the colonial peoples, especially in the eyes of the Chinese masses. Supplementing



BYRNES

these vile actions of the Kremlin is its studied silence in connection with the heroic struggles of the Indo-Chinese and Indonesians. By his very policies, Stalin is rendering the best possible services to the consolidation of the Far East anti-Soviet bloc.

Counter-revolutionary Stalinism can follow no other course. The strongest cement that still binds Moscow and the "democratic" imperialists is their mutual fear of revolutionary explo-

sions in the colonies and the metropolitan centers alike.

Why, then, the existing tenseness? Is it perhaps a "war of nerves" to force further retreats and concessions from the Kremlin? Not entirely. The answer to the unfolding crisis lies in such key issues as those deliberately evaded by the conferees, namely: Turkey, Iran, and above all, Germany. What all these issues essentially involve is the paramount problem of liquidating the Second World War. This, in turn, involves the economic reconstruction of the war-shattered world, Europe as a whole and the USSR in particular. Failing this, it is impossible to achieve any genuine stabilization, let alone a durable peace. But the whole question is: On what basis is this reconstruction to be achieved?

STALIN AGREES TO CAPITALIST RESTORATION

Wall Street's program for reconstructing Europe is plain enough: It seeks the reduction of the entire continent to a semi-colonial status, placed on strict American rations, and resting, of course, on a capitalist basis. So far as capitalist restoration of Europe is concerned, the Kremlin from the outset gave its agreement. The Stalinists have been for a long time the champions of the fraudulent "theory" that the social system represented by the USSR not only can exist peacefully alongside of capitalism but also that harmonious collaboration between the two can be realized in life. This orientation has provided the basis for the "realistic" policies of Stalinism, i.e. the betrayal of the program of Bolshevism.

The Kremlin did more than simply agree to the capitalist restoration of Europe. It also worked with might and main to bring it about. Everywhere they propped up capitalist regimes and did everything in their power, including the use of the Red Army, to suppress the insurgent masses. There is no ground to charge the Kremlin with duplicity in this connection. The Kremlin apparently, sincerely tried to live up to its agreements to prop up capitalism in Eastern Europe. But what happened?

One of the first actions of the Kremlin was to engage in a campaign of pillage, dismantling factories, carting off machinery, locomotives, rolling stock, cattle, grain, etc., from the occupied areas. This on top of the devastation caused by the war not only undermined the capitalist basis but threw these countries into complete chaos.

The capitalist foundations in Eastern Europe are further undermined by the policy of nationalization of industry, under Kremlin guidance. (We will discuss the problem of nationalization in detail in an early issue of the magazine.)

On January 7, the *Wall Street Journal* carried an Associated Press dispatch from Moscow, which we quote below in part:

The Polish government formally nationalized all the basic industries when the National Council of the Homeland, the country's parliament, ratified a decree giving government control over every industry employing more than 50 persons per shift. Among the enterprises affected were communication systems, banks, mines, factories and public utilities.

Polish industry, like that of Eastern Europe as a whole and in the Balkans, was largely owned by foreign capital. Before the war 50 to 80 per cent of most Polish industries were foreign owned. American investments alone are in the neighborhood of 1½ billion dollars. The Polish government promises to compensate "citizens of allied nations who have holdings in nationalized industries . . . with cash or bonds." Meanwhile, Poland remains virtually closed as an arena for the export of finance capital, whether from Wall Street or elsewhere.

RACE FOR ECONOMIC SPHERES OF INFLUENCE

But separate and apart from the question of nationalization, there is another obstacle to genuine collaboration in propping up European capitalism. The Kremlin has converted its sphere of influence into a private, exclusive preserve and in monopolistic fashion has shut out half of Europe from the imperialists. Within its sphere of influence it imposes the most arbitrary conditions. For example, through the medium of trade agreements, Polish textile mills are to be supplied with Soviet cotton and other materials in return for which Moscow is to receive a major part of their production. Or, as in the case of Hungary, the bulk of the output of her remaining industries has been earmarked for export to the USSR and, furthermore the Kremlin extorted a "permanent 50 per cent interest in Hungary's economy" (trade agreement of August 27, 1945).

Thus in place of the rosy perspective of economic collaboration we witness on the contrary a mad race for the extension of economic spheres of influence. In the very course of "Big Three" negotiations in Moscow, an autonomous Azerbaijan regime was proclaimed. Involved here is one of the richest oil reserves in the world. The cartel controlling these oil lands is the Irak Petroleum Co. composed of the following four oil trusts: Anglo-Persian, Royal Dutch Shell, Standard Oil of New Jersey and Socony-Vacuum. The gravity of this conflict hardly requires any comment.

It is this policy of the Kremlin together with the counter-attempts of the imperialists to reopen to their own penetration Moscow's spheres of influence that led to deadlock of the "Five Power" conference in London, and not any "democratic" inadequacies of the incumbent regimes in Eastern Europe and the Balkans. The December conference resolves nothing fundamentally in this connection, but merely postpones a showdown.

The situation can be temporarily ameliorated only on condition that Stalin retreats in Eastern Europe and the Balkans. One of the factors that militates against such a shift in policy is the crisis in Soviet economy. The scope of the reconstruction problem in the USSR was succinctly sketched by Molotov in his report on the Twenty-eighth Anniversary of the October Revolution.

1,710 cities and towns lie in ruins; the number of industrial enterprises destroyed is estimated at 31,850. The number of ruined villages—more than 70,000; the number of collectives—98,000. The loss in horses—7 million; large horned cattle—17 million; pigs and lambs—"dozens of millions."

More than 6 million buildings have been destroyed, leaving "about 25 million homeless." Official estimate of direct losses is—679 billion rubles (official rate of exchange is 5.3 rubles to one dollar). There is no reason to believe that these estimates are exaggerated.

One year has elapsed since the invading armies were driven off Soviet soil. How much of this havoc has been repaired? On this score, too, Molotov gives eloquent testimony, declaring:

Immediately after expulsion of the invaders there began everywhere the work of reconstruction. *But so far only a smaller part of the work has been done.*

During the war years Stalinist propagandists assured the Soviet peoples that all the damages to the penny would be covered by German reparations. The official Russian press has long ago dropped this soothing lie; all it promises is "partial reparation."

An additional strain is placed upon the country's economic life by the need to continue vast expenditures on armaments and the maintenance of large forces. Meanwhile, the Fourth Five-Year Plan (1946-1950) must be put in operation. With what resources will all this be undertaken?

The huge loan expected by the Kremlin from Wall Street has not materialized, though asked for urgently. The American loan is hardly mentioned nowadays by the Moscow press. Stalin still withholds his signature from the Bretton Woods agreement, which is, in effect, the charter of Wall Street's financial world hegemony. If the Kremlin permits a breach in its monopolistic control of the occupied countries and the

spheres of influence, it will have to fall back solely upon its own internal resources. On the other hand if the Kremlin continues on its present course the less likelihood can there be for any durable agreements among the "Big Three."

In any case, the Soviet Union remains the greatest single obstacle in the path of Wall Street's program for the reconstruction of Europe and "organization of the world" under its domination. Thus what is actually happening is that two world powers now confront

each other with daggers drawn both in Europe and Asia. They clash not only as the two decisive world states but as representatives of two irreconcilable social systems. On the one hand imperialism, represented by Wall Street; and on the other hand, the profoundly degenerated workers' state which still rests on nationalized property forms.

At present neither side is in position to resort to arms and to resolve the conflict through open struggle. Powerful as American imperialism is it must eschew war for the time being. It needs time to liquidate the "postwar" crisis; it needs time to consolidate and digest its freshly gained victories. As for the Soviet Union, its resources are already strained to the limit. This is one of the main reasons why the September deadlock in London was followed by the December "agreement" in Moscow.



MOLOTOV

American Imperialism in the Philippines

By CHRIS ANDREWS

The censorship imposed upon the Philippines after American "liberation" began to be lifted in October. The growing crisis in the Islands, developing toward civil war, made it necessary for the Truman administration to begin to prepare the American public for bloody measures.

Official documents state the issue very clearly. In a letter dated October 26, 1945, to Paul V. McNutt, former Philippines High Commissioner, Truman wrote:

In the provinces near Manila thousands of sharecroppers organized some years ago to demand a more equitable division of the product of their labor. For several years there was no effective solution of the problem.

During the war the tenants organized a guerrilla army which reportedly did good work against the enemy. After the enemy was defeated in their localities, they did not disband, and today they constitute a special problem which threatens the stability of the government.

How threatening, is explained by Limlangen, Governor of Pampanga Province. He confesses that the government could not exist without "the efficient handling of well-trained units of the United States Army assigned to help maintain peace and order." The peasantry, he added, clearly say they await only the withdrawal of American troops in order to settle past accounts.

What kind of settlement do they want? In the recent Yamashita trial a report of the U. S. Army Counter-Intelligence Corps

was introduced which describes the agrarian guerrilla movement, the Hukbalahaps, as follows: "It is one of the largest and most powerful guerrilla organizations in central Luzon. It owes no allegiance to the United States, the Philippine Commonwealth or Japan. . . . Its policy is definitely Communistic. . . . Its plans include the establishment of a Communist Government in the Philippines after the war *on the early Russian model.*" (my emphasis—C. A.)

The Hukbalahaps, or Huks, take their name from their formal Tagalog title, Hukbong Bayan Laban sa Hapon—Peoples Anti-Japanese Army. Everyone admits they fought well. Brigadier-General Decker of the U. S. Army calls them "one of the best fighting units I have ever known." However, they killed not only Japanese but also rich Philippine collaborators, hated landlords and usurers. Now they refuse to disarm. These men and women trust no one but themselves; their actions make it clear that they fought in their own name and for their own ends.

The Philippine bourgeoisie prospered under 40 years of American rule; the peasants and workers lived in starvation, illness and servitude. Claude Buss, a former ranking member of the U. S. Commission in the Philippines, says in the December 1944 *Fortune*:

At the outbreak of the war the very rich in the Philippines lived on the scale of aristocrats in Spain or in the United States. They had fabulous homes, automobiles, racing stables, fantastic parties, and the virtues and vices of luxury . . . At the opposite end of the

social scale were the taos or peasants. They lived in one or two room huts and ate fish and rice. They worked in fields for 30 or 40 cents a day and paid over a good share of their wages to the landlord or usurer.

Buss describes one-half of the population as illiterate. Two-thirds of the adults have had no schooling, two-fifths never went beyond the fourth grade.

Wall Street fostered and protected the growth of this parasitic wealthy Philippine ruling class to aid U. S. domination. The Philippine Constabulary, especially trained by U. S. officers, protects the possessing class. The native bankers, landlords, merchants and usurers maintain their corrupt rule through one party—the Nacionalista Party.

The Filipino small farmer and tenant live in the squalor and misery which peasants throughout the whole world know, including those of the United States itself. The Filipinos have been pushed down into increasing poverty. Whereas in 1918 there were 1,500,000 farms operated by their owners, by 1938 the number had shrunk to 804,000. As wealth concentrated at the top, hand-to-mouth tenantry swelled at the bottom. In 1918 there were 435,000 tenants; by 1938 about 575,000.

The tenant or sharecropper must give 50 percent of his crop to the landlord. He has to borrow money when prices of the crops are low. He must pay back at a time advantageous to the landlord—who stores his share of the crop, waiting for the most favorable price.

Monstrous Usury System

The peasant, like all peasants throughout Asia, is in the grip of a monstrous usury system. He pays interest rates from 100 to 400 percent. The landlord, the government official, and the usurer all work together. They all bear arms. Buss describes one region where “30,000 peons (live) at the mercy of one landlord, usurer, official.” This landlord, holding all three posts, incarnates the capitalist class itself, which as a rule does not reveal its domination of property, finance and government so nakedly.

According to Buss, the sugar plantation owners keep three sets of books—one for the government, one for the labor representatives, and one for themselves.

In past years there have been desperate agrarian outbreaks, crushed by violence while the cries of the victims were stifled by censorship. The Sakdalista revolt in the middle-thirties extended over four provinces. Crowds of starving people broke into the rice warehouses. They were demanding clean politics, tax revisions, tenantry reforms. The Philippine Constabulary shot them down.

But despite persecution, unions and peasant organizations have grown. In Pampanga Province in 1940 the Socialist Party elected the mayors and councils of the eight largest towns. This province is today a Huk stronghold. In the elections of 1941, however, the conduct of the bourgeoisie was so corrupt and illegal, that Pedro Abed Santos, Socialist candidate for President, gave up his candidacy several weeks before the election date, declaring there was no possibility of an honest election.

On December 7, 1941 the AMT (General Confederation of Workers) asked MacArthur for arms to defend themselves against the Japanese. They were refused and their leaders and spokesmen thrown into prison. With the breakdown of U. S. rule, the AMT, the MPMP (National Confederation of Peasants) and the PKM (National Peasants Party) set up the Huk movement on March 29, 1942. They were aided by the Socialists and

Stalinists who had merged into a single party in 1938. Avisantos, the original leader and a Socialist, was killed fighting. Luis Taruc, described as a former Socialist, head of the General Confederation of Workers, took his place.

Centered in the provinces of Nueva Ecija, Pampanga, Tarlac, Bulacan, and Laguna, the Huk fighters seized their arms from the Japanese. Later, in November 1942, a small Chinese force, the Wah Chi, linked to the Stalinist Yenan government in China, aided the Huks.

During the Japanese occupation there were clashes between the Huks and the other guerrilla groups, set up by the American Army. Nevertheless, the Stalinists, through such Huk members as they were able to confuse and mislead, attempted to bring the movement under the domination of U. S. imperialism in line with the Stalinist policy of all-out support of the imperialist war.

Thus, the *Daily Worker* of September 15, 1945 proudly cites the case of one Huk member, called “Welman,” who “had urged the Huk soldiers on their duty to apply for induction” under the Americans to help carry on the war against Japan. In this same report the *Daily Worker* protests about the injustice of the Americans who arrested “Welman” the very next day. Huk squadrons were being seized and disarmed, and the *Daily Worker* again cites with approval the memo sent to the American officers by the Huk leader in Tarlac, E. Aquino, objecting to the arrests and asking that all Huk units be “inducted.” He pleaded that “our common hope is for a speedy victory over Japan.”

The Wall Street imperialists however pursued a brutal and bloody policy toward the Huks. Following plans laid down in advance, the Americans immediately arrested Huk Commander-in-Chief Luis Taruc, and Castro Alejandrino. They were kept in prison for seven months without trial.

Most sinister is the Malalos incident. The Huk squadrons 77 and 97 fought to the gates of Manila with the American 6th Army. When the Japanese retreated, they were curtly ordered to disarm. “As the disarmed men passed through the rich little town of Malalos which was in American hands (my emphasis—C. A.) they were attacked and liquidated by a guerrilla unit under a Filipino named Maclang, who the Huks claimed was a collaborationist.” Later evidence showed that they were first imprisoned, then led out, 2 or 3 at a time, and shot. 109 were thus massacred. “The Americans arrested Maclang but held him only three days. Later he was made mayor of Malalos.” (Darrill Bernegan, Far Eastern Editor of the *New York Post*, writing from Manila, December 3, 1945.)

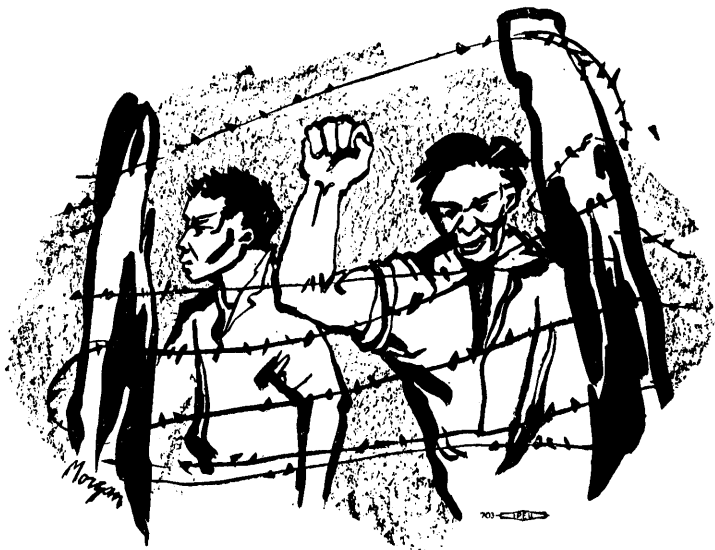
Role of Native Capitalists

Backed by American military might, the Philippine capitalists are now murdering Huk leaders who distinguished themselves in the guerrilla fighting. And what was the role of this native capitalist class itself under Japanese rule? All testimony agrees that they collaborated. Claude Buss, who was interned in the islands for two years, says: “Tokyo has at least succeeded in pasting its label upon practically every well-known leader of the former Nacionalista party.” At the same time Buss puts forward the familiar imperialist alibi for white-washing the wealthy collaborators. “Conceivably the politicians have rendered a service to the Philippine nation that could not have been rendered if the government had been taken over by irresponsible elements or by the Japanese themselves.” (*Fortune*, December 1944).

This argument is boldly advanced by the collaborators them-

selves who now dominate the present Osmena government. Three collaborationist Supreme Court Justices are back in their posts. Brigadier-General Manuel Roxas helped draft the puppet government constitution and was Minister without Portfolio in the Cabinet of José P. Laurel, the puppet President. Nevertheless, Roxas is today President of the Philippine Senate. Roxas boldly proclaims: "there is no such thing as a collaborator." Backed by the support of the Philippine industrialists and landowners, he drove out of office, Tomas Confesor, a liberal guerrilla leader who got a Cabinet Post from President Osmena in the early days of American "liberation."

The masses watch the return of the collaborationists to power with bitterness and rising anger. By a tremendous demonstration, marching to the Presidential palace 40,000 strong, they forced the release of Luis Taruc and Alejandrino. They further put forward these moderate demands. 1) Discontinuance of



illegal searches, unwarranted arrests and third degree methods used in exacting confessions. 2) Increase in peasants share of the harvest. 3) Minimum daily wage of 3 pesos (\$1.50) for workers. 4) Purchase of large landed estates and their sale in small parcels to present occupants. 5) Prompt prosecution of known pro-Japanese persons in high official and commercial positions.

Philippine economy has been smashed to the ground by successive invasions. The black market rages. Bridges, railroads, all transport and the large cities are destroyed. The American Army is today the largest employer, and thousands are glad to work for their meals alone.

The landlords who were afraid to go to the fields in the past three years are now demanding that the tenants pay 50 percent of their crops for those years—or else suffer ejection. The tenants, who staked their lives, keep their arms, hold to the land, and refuse to be ejected. Thus the Philippines hover on the verge of civil war with only the U. S. Army maintaining a semblance of "law and order." Meanwhile, the only action of the Philippine Government to alleviate the misery left by the war was to pass through Congress a bill to pay the Congressmen their salaries for the past three years.

* * *

The U. S. ruling class secured the Philippines as a by-product of the Spanish-American War, with which it formally made its debut into the society of the imperialists. The American

public, up to this time, had never even heard of the Philippines. But their attention was centered sympathetically on the struggles of the Cubans for freedom from Spain. Secretly, Theodore Roosevelt, then Assistant Secretary of the Navy, sent Admiral Dewey with his fleet to the Far East, to plan his attack upon the Philippines, two months before outbreak of the Spanish-American War. The sinking of the battleship *Maine* in the Harbor of Havana, Cuba—by nobody knows whom—furnished the pretext. The terrified Spaniards, knowing they were doomed, consented to American demands on April 9, 1898. President McKinley delivered his war message to Congress, regardless, the next day. American imperialism was not to be cheated out of this war.

The war was over in 3 months. In two battles the Spanish fleets were destroyed completely and Spanish imperialism knocked down to a third rate power.

All other sections of world capitalism looked on greedily. The American Ambassador in Berlin reported, "the German government clearly regards the emergency in the East as one from which she must gain something or lose prestige with Europe and even with her own people." German battleships sailed into Manila Harbor and maneuvered near Dewey's fleet. But the American imperialists were in no mood to divide the booty. The Germans and all other capitalists were so informed in a blunt *New York Times* editorial. "We . . . acknowledge no overlord to tell us how far we may profit by the excellence of our gunnery and the valor of our troops."

Now began the five-year war against our allies, the "liberated" Filipinos. Admiral Dewey had refused the first Spanish offer to surrender Manila, because "I had no force with which to occupy the city and I would not for a moment consider the possibility of turning it over to the undisciplined insurgents." The actual Manila surrender was arranged by the Spaniards holding out the Filipinos on one side and letting the Americans in on the other. General Anderson reported how he kept the Filipinos out of their city by "interposing our troops and placing artillery to command their positions." There followed a period of diplomatic stalling, because Dewey felt he didn't have sufficient troops. Individual travelers reported peace in the interior. The people were setting up a Republic. But the Americans spoke of "disorder" and the necessity to "put it down."

When more troops arrived, the Americans began the conquest. Two years of fighting and three years of guerrilla warfare followed. In the war with Spain the United States lost only 379 men killed in action, although 5,462 died in disease-infected soldiers' camps, most of them in the United States. In the war against the Filipinos 60,000 troops were used; 4,300 were killed.

American Atrocities

Imperialism degrades both the conquered and the conquerors. The American soldiers were inflamed to race hatred and atrocities by their own officers. The Filipino resistance was finally broken by terror. Censorship covered the reign of massacre and torture until its purpose had been gained. After a later storm of protest in the United States, a face-saving investigation was launched.

L. F. Adams, private in a Missouri regiment, wrote home, "We burned all their houses. I don't know how many men, women and children the Tennessee boys did kill. They would not take any prisoners."

General Bell estimated that in "pacifying" Luzon, one-sixth of the population died. That would be about 600,000.

The official Secretary of War's Memorandum of February 17,

1901 reveals the conduct of the officers—and their punishment. Some random examples:

“The punishment inflicted by Lieutenant Thomas was very severe and amounted almost to torture and his actions cannot be too much deplored nor too emphatically denounced.” *Fined \$300—reprimanded for cruelty and assaulting prisoners.*

Captain Brandle—tortured prisoners by hanging them by the neck for ten seconds.—*Reprimanded.*

The infamous Brigadier-General Jacob H. Smith “pacified” the Island of Samar, instructing his officer, Major L. T. Waller, “*I want no prisoners. I wish you to kill and burn. The more you will kill and burn, the better you will please me.*” (Secretary of War Root’s letter to President T. R. Roosevelt, July 12, 1902.)

The official report further states: “He did give to said Major Waller further instructions that he (General Smith) wanted all persons killed who were capable of bearing arms, and did, in reply to a question by said Major Waller, asking for an age limit, designate the age limit as ten years of age. . . .”

Japanese General Yamashita, sentenced to hang for the atrocities committed in the interests of his imperialism, should have asked for the punishment of Brigadier-General Smith, who was also found guilty. His punishment—sentenced “*to be admonished by the reviewing authority.*”

American imperialism had its hands full with the Filipinos. Consequently it struck a typical imperialist bargain with its rival, Japan, then fighting Korean insurgence. In the cynical Taft-Katsura agreement of July 29, 1905, Secretary of War Taft agreed not to disturb Japanese authority in Korea. In return, Premier Katsura agreed not to disturb American rule in the Philippines. This agreement among brigands was kept entirely secret by President Theodore Roosevelt, and by his emissary Taft, who later became President. It was revealed only years later in 1924, accidentally turned up by a historian, browsing among T. R. Roosevelt’s papers.

Independence Question Postponed Again

A puppet Philippine government was set up in 1907 by a restricted election in which only property holders—about 100,000—could vote. An American Governor-General ruled with veto power. Future “independence” was continually talked about; it never came.

After the first World War, the triumphant American bourgeoisie tightened their grip on the Philippines. They sent a new Governor-General, booted and spurred, the true symbol of the colonial administrator. General Wood demonstratively withdrew the minor concessions Woodrow Wilson had previously granted, abolished his Council of State (although it only had advisory powers), took Cabinet Departments away from the Legislature, and used only military men as his assistants.

The weak Philippine capitalist class had previously made use of “nationalization” to obtain state aid for their growth. They had set up a National Bank, a National Coal Company, a National Development Corporation and operated the Manila Railroad. Wall Street did not want such examples of public ownership; General Wood forced their transfer into the hands of private capitalists.

The Philippine bourgeoisie kept up a continual clamor for independence. By this agitation they kept political influence over their own people who deeply desired it. Investigations and discussions followed. Minor concessions were again made by Stimson who replaced Wood.

But in 1931 Japan smashed into China. World War II began

to loom up. Once again the question of Philippine Independence was postponed. The Roosevelt Administration passed the Independence Act of 1934, setting up the Commonwealth Government for 1935 and pledging complete independence on July 4, 1945. This date was later postponed for one year. These twelve years have been ominous ones; World War II has brought all questions and all pledges up for reexamination.

The economic relationship with the United States is most important for the Philippine bourgeoisie. They sell their sugar, hemp, copra, tobacco in the rich tariff-protected American home market. But after the conquest of 1898, Wall Street found the Caribbean and Latin American areas to be of greater profit for itself. A section of the American capitalists are anxious to break the ties. The most eloquent defenders of independence on the U. S. Senate floor have been the Utah beet sugar Senators and the Louisiana cane sugar Senators. Adding their voices are the representatives of the dairy and tobacco interests.

Economic “independence” for the Philippine bourgeoisie would be like amputation. 78% of their exports go to the United States; 67% of their imports come from there. Just placing a 5% tariff on Philippine imports to the United States for 1941, as required by the 1934 Act, caused a crisis. Congress had to suspend the tariff rates which were supposed to steadily increase. Today the world is ruined by the war, and the Philippines itself is ravaged. Where could the Philippine bourgeoisie find customers or markets? It is clear that they cannot survive as an independent capitalist nation. And in addition, they face a raging political and social crisis at home.

Both Paul V. McNutt, now renominated to be High Commissioner in the Philippines by Truman, and Harold L. Ickes, Secretary of the Interior, issued statements in March 1945, counselling the Philippines against independence. Truman in October spoke guardedly about a “necessary program of rehabilitation . . . a determination of the fundamental problems involved in our mutual relationship after independence.”

The Philippines, of course, cannot gain genuine independence of the mighty economic, financial and military power of American capitalism. The question, however, of a spurious “formal” independence is still open and there is evidently division among the Wall Street masters. Wm. Philip Simms, Foreign News Editor of the New York *World-Telegram*, goes so far as to write in his column (September 8, 1945), “The Philippines are going to get their independence on or before July 4, 1946, as planned, despite rumors to the contrary. The assurance comes from the highest source.”

Wall Street has certain fixed demands. Secretary of the Navy Forrestal on May 26, 1945 proclaimed that the United States “will continue to bear responsibility for the security of the Philippines and will have bases and strategic areas supporting those bases to carry out that responsibility.” This is axiomatic, for the Philippine bases are needed to form part of a great fortified perimeter extending throughout the Pacific.

It is already clear that whether Wall Street grants a spurious “independence” to the Philippines or not will not make a decisive difference. The day when the colonial struggle could be assuaged by such “concessions” has long passed. The Philippine struggle for freedom has already been merged with its struggle for social and economic freedom. The struggle of the Philippine masses has already merged with the national and class struggles now raging in Indonesia, Indo-China, China. It is only on that broader arena, and united with the socialist struggles of the west, that the Philippine masses will finally achieve their victory.

Democracy or Bonapartism in Europe?

By PIERRE FRANK

This article by a prominent European Trotskyist was written shortly after the French elections, October 31, 1945. The cabinet crisis which occurred several weeks afterwards serves to confirm the main contention of this article, the bonapartist character of the de Gaulle regime.

The second section of this study on Democratic Liberties, Demands and Bonapartism will be published in the next issue of Fourth International.—Ed.

The problems of the proletarian revolution are posed today in Europe under the most varied aspects. It is not surprising therefore that differences on these questions are expressed in the ranks of the revolutionary vanguard. The comrades of the Socialist Workers Party in particular have discussed several questions concerning democratic demands and the possibilities of democratic regimes in Europe. If for some it were only a question of putting the emphasis on democratic demands while for others one of putting it on the slogans of soviets and the Socialist United States of Europe, this difference would very likely be resolved in the daily activities of the parties, provided both tendencies knew how to connect dialectically the democratic slogans and the specific slogans of the proletarian revolution. On the other hand a question which must be treated with the greatest precision and which cannot be settled by daily activity is that of the nature of the present regimes in Europe. It is a theoretical problem of the first importance to know whether or not we have democratic regimes in Europe, for differences on this point must finally result—which is not necessarily the case with democratic slogans—in different policies, as happened on the question of the nature of the Soviet State which has so often been brought forward during the years of Stalinist degeneration and reaction.

Do Democratic Regimes Exist in "Liberated" Europe?

Our reply to this question obviously does not depend on the criteria required by the Foreign Office and the State Department for the diplomatic recognition of a government, any more than on those defined by Stalinist propaganda. Bourgeois democracy is a political form the analysis of which has been made by the most eminent Marxists and it is their analysis which serves completely to guide us on this matter.

The principal problem of Europe is Germany. Unfortunately, under present conditions, the political forms and formations there are still only in an embryonic state; the military occupation governments stifle all political life capable of disturbing their own aims. Consequently, Germany scarcely affords us criteria concerning the political forms of the state in Europe.

Throughout that part of Europe occupied by the Red Army great overturns are taking place; but the Stalinist maneuvers completely distort the simplest bits of information. In any event we are not confronted with democratic governments far or near. These are governments based on capitalist property, under the control of the Moscow bureaucracy, and with a greater or lesser base in the worker and poor peasant masses. Only the presence of the Red Army assures their continuance.

But after all, the discussion among the American comrades has dealt, and moreover rightly so, with the countries of West-

ern Europe, those which are in the "zone of influence" of American and British democratic imperialism.

Unquestionably, the most characteristic example in this zone is that of France, which once again constitutes the most appropriate subject for a Marxist study of specifically political questions. Let us say in the beginning that everything that is true for France is not necessarily true at present, for Italy, the Scandinavian countries, Belgium, etc., but it is certainly in France that the political tendencies manifest themselves with the greatest clarity and distinctness.

Do we have a democratic regime in France? Comrade Morrow, in an article aimed at summarizing the positions of his tendency in the discussion, replies in the affirmative in the following terms:

The struggle of the masses is limited by the fact that it still accepts the leadership of the reformist parties. The *objective resultant* is bourgeois democracy.

Another factor working for bourgeois democracy is the resistance of a section of the French capitalist class, led by de Gaulle, to U. S. domination. There was much indignation at the plenum, notably from Comrade Cannon, when I defined the Gaullists as a bourgeois-democratic tendency. The majority could not understand this quite simple phenomena, that a section of the French capitalist class, first to resist German imperialism and then to resist U. S. domination, was for a period basing itself on the masses through the mediation of the reformist parties. (*Fourth International*, May 1945).

We shall endeavor to show by an analysis of the class relations that this reasoning is faulty on a number of points. As one knows, it is always profitable not to examine a question solely by its appearance at a given moment, but to see it in its historical development over a longer period. This is very easy for us to do since the Fourth International has taken very clear positions on France over a period of many years.

In February 1934 a violent reactionary attack dealt a mortal blow to the democratic Third Republic. The new regime was defined by Trotsky as follows: "a preventive Bonapartist regime cloaking itself with the worn-out formulae of the parliamentary state and maneuvering between the insufficiently strong camp of the fascist regime and the insufficiently class conscious camp of the proletarian state" (August 1934).

The violent reactionary attack awakened the laboring masses. A strong surge to the left took place, which forced a leftward shift of the Bonapartist governments, at the same time that the Popular Front was created to check and mislead the revolutionary movement of the masses. The year 1936 saw the triumph of the Popular Front thanks to the exploitation of strong democratic illusions; but it also saw a strong surge of the workers (June 1936). The division of France into mortally hostile camps deepened. The regime of the Popular Front was not a democratic regime; it contained within itself numerous elements of Bonapartism as we shall see further on.

With Munich and the liquidation of the Popular Front, the governments of Daladier and Reynaud, resembling those of Doumergue and Flandin, prepared the Bordeaux transaction of June 1940 which served to install the Petain regime. Despite the support it received from German imperialism (it held power

only with German support and went under as soon as the German Army had to quit French territory), this regime was not considered by us as fascist but rather as Bonapartist. In the notes he dictated for an article shortly before his assassination, which he did not have the time to write, Trotsky expressed himself as follows:

In France there is no fascism in the real sense of the term. The regime of the senile Marshal Petain represents a senile form of Bonapartism of the epoch of imperialist decline. . . . Precisely because Petain's regime is senile Bonapartism it contains no element of stability and can be overthrown by a revolutionary mass uprising much sooner than a fascist regime. (*Fourth International*, October 1940).

Several months later a manifesto of the International Secretariat entitled "France Under Hitler and Petain" declares:

The swift invasion of the German troops has shattered the administrative system. The only group representing a certain relative solidity were the top ranks of the Army. Around them rallied some Anglophobe politicians. This combination was crowned by the octogenarian Petain. The new Bonaparte did not even use cannon against parliament, which decided on its own hook to disappear. . . .

The struggle for democracy under the flag of England and the United States will not lead to a noticeably different situation. General de Gaulle struggles against "slavery" at the head of colonial governors, that is to say, of slave masters. In his appeals this "leader" uses, just like Petain, the royal "we." The defense of democracy is in good hands! If England should install de Gaulle in France tomorrow, his regime would not in the least be distinguished from that of the Bonapartist government of Petain. (November 1940).

Thus our most responsible international body had predicted that a simple substitution of gangs following a victory of the Allies would not signify a change in the nature of the political regime. Have events verified this prediction or not? We find ourselves in the presence of an evaluation on the historical scale based on positions which were defended for many years by the Fourth International against all other theories and cheap labels spread by the other tendencies and formations of the labor movement. If an error was committed it would truly be a considerable one and we would be urgently obliged to seek the reasons for it and correct it. As for ourselves, we don't believe that our organization was in error on this point. We sought to define the regime of de Gaulle in 1944 at the moment when he had ceased being the leader of a military legion at London and had become the head of the government installed in Algeria as the step before becoming the head of the government at Paris. We gave only a personal evaluation which does not have the authority of the citations given above but one may well excuse us for reprinting it here, for it applies in large measure to the present regime in France.

The significance of the sentence pronounced by the Algiers tribunal goes far beyond the personality of Pucheu and of his judges. The sentence reveals the *common nature* of the Petain regime in France and the de Gaulle regime now established in North Africa which lays claim to the future government of France. At the same time, the sentence may serve to lay open some of the differences between the two regimes.

The Petain regime is the dictatorship of the army and the police in the service of big capital. This is Bonapartism, not fascism. It is Bonapartism propped up by the Gestapo and the German occupation troops.

The de Gaulle regime—especially since its establishment at Algiers—contains an ever increasing number of men from the army and the police who have deserted Vichy. This too is Bonapartism. It is Bonapartism propped up by the Allied troops and the crumbs of Lease-Lend

The differences between these two Bonapartist regimes are in no way exhausted by the fact that some of these French patriots have a marked preference for Basic English as opposed to the jargon of the *Voelkischer Beobachter*.

In France, independent working class organizations are driven to illegality by Petain; in Algeria, where reaction still reigned supreme at the time of the proletarian offensive of 1936, the de Gaulle regime cannot help tolerating the open expression of trade unions and working class parties and must even seek their collaboration.

In France, Petain is constantly being spurred on by the agitation of the fascist organizations, in particular by Doriot's PPF. In Algeria, these same fascist organizations have been reduced to illegality and there actually appears to be no fascist movement in existence at Algiers. Obviously, one of these bonapartist regimes leans essentially on fascist reaction, whereas the other leans more towards the exploited masses. This is nowise to the credit of one or other of the leading cliques, it is simply the resultant of the class forces in operation; but it is a fact of great importance for the future development of the class struggle. (*Fourth International*, June 1944).

We don't see that the "liberation" of France has brought fundamental changes in the above-mentioned characteristics of the de Gaulle regime. Unquestionably the weight of the worker masses is markedly heavier in France than in Algeria and the stronger democratic traditions are factors which contribute to weakening the regime and force it to drape itself in enough shapeless camouflage to hide its Bonapartist traits; but it doesn't change its nature.

Bonapartism

After having shown the continuity of our political analysis for more than ten years of French history and before proceeding to a more penetrating study of the de Gaulle regime, we believe it worthwhile to review some generalizations on Bonapartism at the cost of a new series of citations.

In *Origins of the Family, Private Property and the State* Engels explains how a Bonapartist form of state appears under certain circumstances:

At certain periods it occurs that the struggling classes balance each other so nearly that the public power gains a certain degree of independence by posing as the mediator between them. The absolute monarchy of the 17th and 18th century was in such a position balancing the nobles and the burghers against one another. So was the Bonapartism of the first, and still more of the Second Empire, playing the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and vice versa. The latest performance of this kind, in which rulers and ruled appear equally ridiculous is the German Empire of Bismarckian make, in which capitalists and laborers are balanced against one another and equally cheated for the benefit of the degenerate Prussian cabbage junkers.

Limiting ourselves in this article to the Bonapartism of the capitalist regime we merely call to mind the definition of Bonapartism applied and explained on many occasions by Trotsky in reference to the Stalinist dictatorship. But Trotsky was very insistent in attributing this conception of Bonapartism to the von Papen and von Schleicher governments in the months preceding Hitler's coming to power; he did this in two pamphlets one of which "The Only Road" devotes itself mainly to this very question. He showed the same insistence concerning the Doumergue and Flandin ministries in France which had resulted from the violently reactionary attack of February 6, 1934. He showed the differences in the class relations between a democratic regime and a Bonapartist regime:

The passing over of the bourgeoisie from the parliamentary to the bonapartist regime does not finally exclude Social-Democracy from that legal combination of forces upon which capitalist government

bases itself. Schleicher, as is well known, sought in his time the aid of the trade unions. Through his friend Marquet, Doumergue has without doubt relations with Jouhaux and Co. . . . The essence of the democratic state consists, as is well known, in the fact that everyone has the right to say and write what he pleases but that the big capitalists retain the power of deciding all important questions. This result is obtained by means of a complicated system of partial concessions (reforms), of illusions, bribery, deceit and intimidation. When the economic possibility of partial concessions ("reforms") becomes exhausted, Social-Democracy ceases to be "the main political support of the bourgeoisie." This signifies: capital can no longer rely upon a tamed "public opinion"; it needs a state apparatus which is independent of the masses—i.e. bonapartist.

In the one case, society turns almost in a circle about the big bourgeoisie as a pivot; the latter finds in the petty bourgeoisie and in a section of the working class a stable foundation; consequently the government and the state apparatus rest on these strata by means of a parliamentary majority. In the other case the big bourgeoisie does not find sufficient support in the masses which are polarised towards the camp of the revolution and the camp of the counter-revolution; under these conditions in order to save the social order the state apparatus, with the forces of repression in the forefront, tends to raise itself above society. *The state machine no longer rests on a mass base but maintains itself in unstable equilibrium between two camps*; these feats of social gymnastics come to a lamentable end the moment one of the camps takes the initiative in a decisive struggle.

The examples mentioned above for Germany of 1932 and France of 1934 are those of a weak bonapartism in the period of capitalist decline; the qualification of bonapartism in their case was not contested in our ranks probably because, as Trotsky wrote, it is still easy to recognize in an old man the characteristics which he possessed in his youth.

But the bonapartism of declining capitalism can cloak itself in other costumes. In certain cases it is fairly difficult to recognize it, for example in the case of governments of the left, even very much to the left, notably of the Popular Front type. There bonapartism is so outrageously varnished with a democratic sheen that many allow themselves to be taken in by it. The existence of bonapartist elements in the Kerensky regime was the subject of a chapter of *The History of the Russian Revolution* by Trotsky who characterized Kerensky as "the mathematical center of Russian bonapartism." This theoretical evaluation was in agreement with that of Lenin who, on September 23, 1917, wrote to the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party: "We must give . . . a correct and clear slogan: to drive out the Bonapartist gang of Kerensky with its fake pre-parliament." There was no question there of an agitational formula. In *State and Revolution*, the greatest Marxist classic on the question of the state, Lenin, after having recalled the terms of Engels cited above with the same examples, adds the following phrase: "Such, we add, is the present Kerensky government in Republican Russia since it began to persecute the revolutionary proletariat, at a moment when, thanks to the leadership of the petty bourgeois democrats, the soviets had *already* become impotent while the bourgeoisie was *not yet* strong enough openly to disperse them."

Certain individuals may be surprised to see an idea applied to regimes so widely separated from one another and will doubt its usefulness. Many other ideas familiar to Marxists are applied to extremely wide fields and yet are no less correct and useful. For example centrism. Also, for example, the dictatorship of the proletariat, which is applied to the Paris Commune under

its leadership of Proudhonists and Blanquists, as well as to Soviet Russia under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky. The term "bonapartism" does not completely exhaust the characterization of a regime, but it is indispensable to employ it in present day Europe, if one wishes to go forward with the least chance of error. Let us add finally that Marxism is not alone in the possession of such important general ideas; all the sciences do likewise. Thus chemists call bodies carbides which differ more widely from one another than the bonapartism of Schleicher and that of Kerensky. And chemistry doesn't get along so badly either on that account. The contrary is true.

Let us note that the greatest theoreticians of Marxism did not at all define the political nature of a bourgeois regime by the positions which the latter held in the field of foreign policy but solely and simply by the position it occupied in relation to the classes composing the nation. Let us likewise observe that the limitation of the struggle of the masses because of the treacherous leaderships (according to the expression of Comrade Morrow) or, what amounts to the same, the paralysis or impotence of the mass organizations (to employ the terms of Lenin or Trotsky) does not give as "objective resultant" a bourgeois democracy, in the conditions of present day France, but rather a bonapartism which possesses an apparent strength.

The de Gaulle Government

The conditions which dictate a bonapartist regime to the bourgeoisie equally dictate a foreign policy which is in no way a policy of "resistance." The social crisis of France acquires a particularly acute character precisely because of the change of its world position. But to see French capitalism or part of it "resisting" American or German imperialism and becoming democratic by virtue of this is to fall into error.

France's crisis owes its extreme acuteness to the fact that a great power of the 19th century must accommodate itself to a second-rate position in the capitalist world of the twentieth century, because of the weakness of its economic base which has remained stagnant in the face of the development of new and younger powers. A retrogression of this type (like that occurring in Great Britain after its "victory" in the Second World War) does not only signify securing a camp stool in place of an armchair in the international conferences, but above all a considerable lowering of the national revenue, and therefore a considerable reduction in the standard of life, particularly for the working masses. The first luxury article that capitalism tries to eliminate under such circumstances is democracy. Well before 1939 big capital in France understood that it could no longer claim a seat of great power as in the past. It had to find a protector for a future full of threats. Inertia had more or less kept it trailing behind British imperialism; but it was easy to see that the latter was also in serious straits although it had more reserves to hold out longer. To resist the revolutionary movements it was necessary to look elsewhere than London and its ailing democracy. Besides, French heavy industry had some special business reasons for orienting French capital towards German imperialism, which, with the coming to power of the Nazis moved forward with seven-league boots.

But if French capitalism turned its eyes towards German imperialism and was guilty of counter-revolutionary defeatism in 1940 in the interests of its domestic politics, it none the less sought to prevent those few cards which remained in its hand from being completely taken away, knowing that German imperialism was still far from having consolidated its positions and

that it had not been able to secure any better ally than Italy. On the other hand an important section of French capitalism (finished goods, industries, luxury articles, tourist trade) could not because of its special interests neglect the American continent where it had its principal customers. As a result, French imperialism, pulled from opposite sides, endeavored to play an intermediary role between Germany and the United States immediately after the debacle of June 1940, hoping to be able to earn a small commission for this work. It hasn't been forgotten that certain elements of American capitalism lent themselves for a time to this (Leahy mission). But when it became clear that the United States was intransigent toward German imperialism and the latter had no further chance of victory, this role of go-between was abandoned and the Bank of France and the *Comités des Forges* themselves became "resistant," in their own fashion, of course. Billions were transferred to Algeria in the months preceding the occupation of North Africa by the Americans; the top French administration made contact with de Gaulle.

For a little more than a year, de Gaulle, as head of the government, while endeavoring from time to time to rattle his wooden sabre a bit, tried to reestablish this courtier's policy, adopting it to the new principal powers, that is to say, the U.S. and the USSR, and ignoring England. De Gaulle quickly signed a treaty of alliance with the USSR, but this document soon proved to be worthless, for Stalin, having nothing to get from de Gaulle, let him down in all the international conferences which have been held since then. In his recent visit to Washington de Gaulle obtained some loans for French economy (in which sufficiently important American business interests are involved) but he returned empty-handed from the political point of view. It took him less than a year to learn that it is one thing to play the role of arbiter between two weaker states and another thing for a small state to wish to maneuver between two great powers. General de Gaulle would have been able to learn something about this without having to experience it if he had addressed himself to certain ancient Polish colonels. Finally, de Gaulle who was openly attacked by a section of the French bourgeoisie for his policy of isolation has taken a small step towards England and the countries of Western Europe by proposing to create an association resembling one for the blind and the paralyzed.

Any way one may examine it this foreign policy of French capitalism is in no way "resistant" and, besides, there is nothing in it which predisposes the "Gaullists" to democracy.

* * *

If one studies the class relations in France, the bonapartist character of the de Gaulle government appears in the greatest clarity, since the day of "liberation" up to the elections of October 21, 1945 and to the conditions created by them.

The liberation of Paris was accomplished under the leadership of the *Comite National de la Resistance* (CNR), whose mass base was constituted by the workers' organizations (General Confederation of Labor, Communist Party, Socialist Party) and the militias composed in great part of worker members of these organizations. The CNR and more particularly the workers' organizations, would have been able at this time to establish themselves in power, supporting themselves on the militias and the local committees of resistance. (These last represented in a bureaucratic fashion, and not democratically, the proletariat and the exploited masses in general.) In this period de Gaulle personally had very few real forces and would not have been able to oppose the CNR. As for the reaction and

the old capitalist forces they were completely demoralized and disorganized and were hiding themselves. To save the capitalist regime thus left stripped bare, it was necessary from the very beginning to find something to cover it again and to camouflage it for the eyes of the masses. For this desired effect the uniform of a resisting general was used and they raised him as the representative of the nation, above classes, parties and groupings. In many respects this operation resembled that which occurred in February 1917 when the conciliators of the Petrograd soviet yielded the power, surrendering without firing a shot, to a provisional government without any real base.

It goes without saying that the bonapartism thus created has not at all the intention of leading too precarious an existence. It seeks to create a base for itself while securing the complicity of the leadership of the political formations and others who, in the given period, canalize the class forces between which it tries to maintain itself.

Traitorous Working Class Leaders

From the very first de Gaulle had to obtain the collaboration of the leaders of the parties which included the working class in order to accomplish the dissolution of the militias, the submission of the local committees of resistance to the organizations of the old bourgeois states as well as a unification of all the armed forces under the control of the government artificially created by these leaders themselves. Despite the support of the traitorous leaders, this operation took several months to achieve.

Every bonapartist government in France has tried to create a base for itself in the peasantry; the army having been for a very long time a sort of protector of the middle peasantry (see *The Eighteenth Brumaire* in particular where Marx wrote "The uniform was the holiday costume of the peasant.") In the new circumstances de Gaulle has remained faithful to the bonapartist tradition. Shortly after the Second World War when the countryside suffered from the manpower shortage and it was necessary to resort to the employment of prisoners of war for the tasks of trained workers, especially in the mines, de Gaulle attempted to maintain an army of one million men, that is, a standing army superior to those which France had preceding the years of re-armament and direct preparation for the war. Promises have been made to the peasantry, higher prices have been allowed for their products, etc., without much being accomplished, however, in the way of results, since the peasants need manpower, materials, livestock, seeds, manufactured products; since there is a shortage of all these things; and since the profits they can make on the black market cannot be used to obtain these things.

The elections which have just taken place provide one of the most striking proofs of the bonapartist character of the regime. Elections, a constituent, a parliament, a government responsible to an elected assembly, are so many disagreeable things for the general. He couldn't throw all this into the garbage can. What he was interested in above all was to wield stable power which would not be at the mercy of an assembly. Look, he said, at the history of the Third Republic with its cascades of falling ministries. Thus he decided that simultaneously with democratic elections to elect an assembly on the bases of program and parties, there should be held a referendum in the nature of a plebescite designed to deprive the elected assembly of the greater part of its rights and to preserve, on the other hand, the greater part of the power in his own hands. Upon the announcement of this referendum a number of the democratic politicians of France shouted "bonapartism." Surely it was not a knowledge of

Marxist literature on this question but very simply an elementary knowledge of the history of their country which led them to such declarations.

For a long time the French bourgeoisie has sought to resolve a problem that the years have made as insoluble as squaring the circle. It wanted "a strong state," in part to insure the defense of its frontiers, but mainly to hold in check the domestic enemy, the working class; but all the same, it did not wish this state to become too strong, for each time that it has permitted the state to entrench itself too strongly, it quickly found its own posterior in contact with the military boots. To assure themselves that the state would not be further disturbed by political conflicts, the generals evinced an intention to transform the whole country into a barracks and to deprive everyone, including the bourgeoisie themselves, of political rights. This is the essential reason why even the most reactionary and personally arbitrary democratic politicians of the Third Republic, notably Clemenceau and Poincaré, opposed and fought vigorously against the interference of the generals in politics. But that is already ancient history.

In the October 21 elections the end of the democratic regime was incontestably demonstrated by the inglorious foundering of the principal formation of the Third Republic, the Radical party, which had dominated and been maintained in every possible and imaginable way by that Republic. In *Whither France* Trotsky showed among other things that the policy of the Popular Front, the alliance of workers' organizations with the Radical party, was going in a direction directly contrary to the development of the situation, that is to say, to the decomposition of bourgeois democracy and of its principal party, that of the Radicals.

But the voting has created a situation in which bonapartism is literally under one's nose. The double vote of October 21—the democratic elections and the plebiscite—has resulted in the most desirable situation for a general of the coup d'état.

Votes Almost Equally Divided

In the elections for the Constituent Assembly, the votes were pretty nearly equally divided between three parties: the Stalinist Party followed by a majority of the proletariat and by an important layer of the petty bourgeoisie of the towns and countryside; the Socialist Party, with a minority of the proletariat (without however losing its working class base in northern France) and a very great number of petty bourgeois votes. Finally the Mouvement Republicain Populaire (MRP), organized by Catholic politicians, who before the war flirted with the Popular Front and during the war participated in the resistance, but who were always solid pillars of the capitalist regime. In return, they received on October 21 all the votes of the reactionaries who have realized that they had no chance at all under their old colors.

The plebiscite is such a model stratagem that you can say without fear of deception it could only have been conceived beneath the kepi of a general. A direct question for or against de Gaulle would never have given the desired result, for the present day bonapartism is too weak to intimidate the voters.



DeGAULLE

Therefore guile was necessary. It was decided to pose two questions instead of one. (They even dreamt for a moment of posing three to do the job better.) To the first question there was no doubt that, save for a tiny minority of greybeards, everyone was going to reply *Yes*; the Third Republic is dead. To say *Yes* to the first question was to influence many voters to say *Yes* to the second question; besides it is easier to say *Yes* than *No* even in a referendum. It sufficed to wrap the second question in fine-spun language to finish the sowing of confusion. The result was a majority of about 60 percent of the votes for de Gaulle, who on the strength of this will receive the post of head of the government from the new assembly.

What is going to happen? De Gaulle, feeling strong with 13,000,000 votes behind him, does not have to share counsel with anyone. Before him is an assembly with three parties of practically equal numbers, and a perspective of new elections in nine months. They will all maneuver with each other. The Assembly and also the ministry in which the representatives will find each other again, will have to submit to the arbitration and will of General de Gaulle. All that resembles parliamentarism and democracy is going to be discredited in quarrels and in impotence; but there will always be a general to restore order!

At least for the most immediate future, the French government will be composed of representatives of the three parties. The Socialist party which cannot play the role of bonapartism is in the most difficult position. It evidently does not wish to form a government with the Stalinists alone (the latter strongly indicated this possibility the day after the elections, because they were sure that the socialists would not take it into consideration; the Stalinists kept insisting strongly and will do nothing to realize it). The Socialist party can no more, under the present conditions form a ministry with the MRP, leaving the Stalinists *in the opposition*.*

As for de Gaulle, it is evidently all to his advantage to make the ministry a nest of intrigues and disputes by introducing into it members of the three parties, which will contribute to discredit them and to reinforce his personal position. It is quite possible, as the Stalinists do not wish to conduct too "revolutionary" a policy and the MRP not being able to adopt too soon an openly reactionary attitude, that the crisis will not open in the very first days. But it is not the desire of the politicians—in or out of uniform—which regulates the development of events. The class conflicts will not fail at an early date to place the political problems on a razor's edge.

*Before the elections, Leon Blum, who couldn't fail to see the bonapartist danger, endeavored as is his custom to exercise it by sophisms. At first affirmed that a referendum is not necessarily a plebiscite—which is true; he added that the October 21 referendum would not be one—which was false, for its object was a vote of personal confidence and very large prerogatives to de Gaulle. Finally Blum, taking into account that the elected constituent would formally have the right to change, in very difficult conditions, the head of the government, decided that for that reason he should remain at the disposition of this assembly. No more than de Gaulle did he present himself to the will of the voters, and tried to a certain degree to hold himself above the parties, including his own party.

The Middle East at the Crossroads

III. The Role of Stalinism

By T. CLIFF

Below is the third and last section of an extensive survey of the present situation in the Middle East, written by a Palestinian Trotskyist. The first two parts, which dealt with the imperialist interests and with the role of Zionism there, appeared in the December 1945 and January 1946 issues of Fourth International. The translation is by R. Bod.

With the complication of class and national antagonisms, with the deepening of the socio-political crisis, the present situation in the Middle East can lead to one of two things: either the rise of a great revolutionary proletarian power which will lead the masses of peasants in the national liberation struggle, or the bloody victory of imperialist reaction and its allies in the upper classes. If the crisis is not solved in a revolutionary manner, it will inevitably be solved in a counter-revolutionary manner. Either revolution or communal slaughter, pogroms, etc. History itself does not give the young proletariat of the Middle East any possibility of evading the great trial. If imperialism intends to use pogroms and chauvinist incitement as a preventive measure against the coming revolution, the working class must utilize the accumulated wrath of the masses of people for the overthrow of the regime of social and national subjugation. Against chauvinism to pose internationalism. The necessity for the internationalist revolutionary party is a life and death matter. Who can fill this role?

The Second International has only one party in the Middle East. This is Mapai, the Zionist Socialist Party of Palestine, which does not differ one iota from other Zionist parties on major issues (alliance with imperialism, the expulsion of Arabs from work in the Jewish economy, eviction of Arab peasants, etc.). The Second International has no Arab sections as the grave conditions in the East do not suit the growth of reformist parties which seek kid-glove solutions.

The Stalinists have parties in the Middle East in Syria, Lebanon, Palestine (one purely Arab party, one purely Jewish party). In Egypt and Iraq they have a few tiny groups without any influence. In reality the Stalinist leadership is impotent through and through and far from any thought of the revolutionary class struggle. Thus the secretary of the Syrian Communist Party, Khaled Bakdash, writes:

It is evident that the problem of national liberation is a problem of the nation as a whole, and it is therefore possible without discussion to get the compliance of the whole nation around this great slogan, to realize full national unity. National liberation is in the interests of all inhabitants, no matter what sect, religion or class they belong to. It is in the interests of the workers, just as it is in the interests of the employers; and it is in the interests of the fellah just as it is in the interests of the national landowners; it is in the interests of small and big merchants alike. ("The Communist Party in the Struggle for Independence and National Sovereignty," Beirut, 1944, p. 74).

He goes on: "Our appreciation and honour of the national capitalist who struggles faithfully for national liberation is not less than our appreciation of the national worker who struggles for national liberation." (Ibid. p. 75). And without shame he continues: "He who reads our 'National Program' (the program

which was adopted by the Congress of the Syrian and Lebanese Communist Parties (Dec. 31, 1943-Jan. 1, 1944—T. C.) will find that it does not mention socialism. There is not one expression or demand which has a socialist colouring." In accordance with this line the C.P. decided to do away with the red flag as the flag of the party and the "Internationale" as its anthem. The flag of the Syrian party is now the Syrian flag and its anthem the Syrian national anthem; and the flag and anthem of the Lebanese party those of Lebanon. And in order to be worthy of sitting together with the "national capitalists and landowners" their form of address changed from "Comrade" to "Mister." Bakdash is a pocket edition of Stalin. His speeches served as guides to the Arab Stalinists in all the other Arab countries, who do all they can to prove that their nationalist fervour is not less than that of their teacher.

Thus when the "Arab Party," led by the Mufti, Haj Amin el-Husseini, who acted as the mouthpiece of the Nazis among the Arabs, was revived in June 1944, the Arab Stalinists, organized in the National Freedom League, hastened to send the following telegram to the leadership of the party: "The National Freedom League in Palestine congratulates you on your decision to bring your national party into activity, and we believe that this decision will help us all in unifying our efforts in the service of our dear homeland."

From this general approach flows the attitude of the Stalinists to the class interests of the workers and peasants. The clause in the National Program of the Communist Party in Syria and Lebanon which deals with the fellaheen is formulated thus: "Attention must be paid to the position of the fellah and his liberation from poverty, illiteracy and backwardness." What do "attention" and "liberation" mean? Khaled Bakdash gave a clear answer to this in his speech of May 1, 1944:

We assure the landowners that we do not demand and will not demand in Parliament the confiscation of their estates and lands, but on the contrary we want to help them by demanding the construction of large-scale irrigation enterprises, the facilitation of the import of fertilizer and modern machinery! . . . All we demand in exchange for this is pity on the fellah and that he be taken out of his poverty and illiteracy and that knowledge and health be spread in the village! . . . These are our economic, or, if you can say so, social demands. They are democratic and very modest. ("The Communist Party in Syria and Lebanon: its National Policy and its National Program," Beirut, 1944, pp. 24-5).

Bakdash is right on one point: the plea for pity is really a very modest "demand."

The Stalinists in other Arab countries follow the same line and also do not think about division of the feudal estates.

In regard to the class struggle of the worker, the line of argu-

ment is the same: "We are very modest, very conciliatory, ready with all our hearts to defend your capital, Arab bourgeois. You, too, be modest and conciliatory." . . . Instead of an appeal to the workers to struggle and organize independently for their demands comes the appeal to the conscience of the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois state. Thus for example, when the workers in the soap factories of Tripoli went on strike, *Saut u-sh-Sha'ab*, Stalinist daily (Beirut July 15, 1944) wrote: "We hope that the employers will agree to the demands of the workers as they do not demand a lot, and that the government will intervene between the employers and the workers and solve the question in a just way." In August 1944 the municipal workers of Beirut went on strike. They were savagely beaten by the police, and many were dismissed by the municipality. *Saut u-sh-Sha'ab* appealed to the government asking it to intervene in the interests of the workers August 2-3, 1944. Apparently the police is not an arm of the government!

On August 11, 1944, *Saut u-sh-Sha'ab* described the terrible conditions of the silk workers. The conclusions? The government must send an investigation committee.

In a steadily increasing number of cases the workers are coming to ask for support in a strike or other economic struggle, and the party always mollifies them in order not to violate "national unity." At a meeting of the Communist Party of Lebanon, Faraj Allah el-Hilu, secretary of the party, severely attacked those who try to lead part of the Lebanese astray and to create a spirit of doubt about the government. And if *Saut u-sh-Sha'ab* said that at this meeting (January 1944) "the workers and the employers, the fellaheen and the landowners sat side by side," one wonders whether the words of el-Hilu weakened the doubts of the workers and peasants about the government, or whether they increased their doubts about the Stalinist leadership which tails behind the employers and landowners and their government.

Stalinists Follow Kremlin's Zigzags

This tailing is a product of the Stalinists' dependence on the foreign policy of the Kremlin which caused them to lose any backbone they may once have boasted and to change their colours with chameleon rapidity.

A leaflet issued in October 1939 by the Central Committee of the Palestine Communist Party (at that time composed of Jews and Arabs combined) said: "The Hitler against whom Chamberlain is fighting is not the same Hitler he led against the Soviet Union. This Hitler who cannot conduct a campaign against the Soviet Union, but must obey (no more, no less!—T.C.) the instructions of Moscow is today no more the gendarme of Chamberlain and Daladier." Apparently he is the gendarme of world peace!

The Stalinists reached their peak during the time of Rashid Ali's coup d'etat. It could be seen by even the blind that Rashid Ali was a plaything in the hands of Germany, even without knowing the exact connections between him and Nazis. At this time the Middle East in general was not ready for any mass uprising against British imperialism. The German army was threatening to enter the Middle East. In Syria hundreds of German agents were working hand-in-glove with the Vichy administration. Under such conditions obviously no Iraqi movement could exploit the antagonism between the rival imperialist powers for the liberation of the country, and all that could evolve from the situation was that the weak Iraqi movement headed by Rashid Ali, the butcher of the Assyrians, be exploited by one imperialist power for its advantage over another.

The question of who would take advantage of whom, whether

the national movement could benefit from the antagonism between the imperialist powers, or one imperialist power from the antagonism between another imperialist power and the oppressed nation, is decided by the relative weight of the three. Any analogy, therefore, between Rashid Ali's "movement" and the mass movement of liberation of the Indian millions, backed up by the Chinese colossus, is entirely out of place. Decisive proof of Rashid Ali's being a German agent without any popular support whatsoever, was given, when, after the effortless overthrow of his government by the British, he fled to Germany.

But at the time the Stalinists could not see all this, since the Russo-German pact was then still in force. And so, Ra'if Khoury, one of the Stalinist "theoreticians" in Syria, wrote about the Rashid Ali coup: "I think I shall not be exaggerating if I say that this movement is the first strong, serious Arab movement aiming at the liberty and independence of the Arabs, and the strengthening of their common existence" ("Principles of National Conscience," Beirut, 1941, Arabic, p. 91). "We have written out, with pride and satisfaction, the declarations of His Excellency, the Prime Minister (Rashid Ali), that his government is not in the service of anyone, as the money-grabbers make out." (Ibid. p. 92). "We have for the first time seen an Arab government carrying arms shoulder to shoulder with its people." (Ibid. p. 93). And as for Germany: "We are astonished why the grand Axis power did not officially recognize independent Iraq and its government, notwithstanding the power's help, which demands our thanks, as official recognition is of particular value." (Ibid. pp. 23-24). With such sentiments he ended his thoughts on Rashid Ali.

But after a while Stalin gave a hint and the line abruptly changed.

If up to now the whole East was the foe of imperialism and "the masses of Indians and Arabs were on the eve of open revolts against imperialist rule" (*Kol Ha'am*, Hebrew organ of the Palestine Communist Party, June 1940), now a decisive change occurred in the situation: "the government must understand that it has an important region of friends in the Middle East" (*Kol Ha'am* Dec. 1942). Up to now, the "British Government in Palestine represented the regime of subjugation, exploitation, repression and black reaction. This regime is the same regime of Hitler and Mussolini with whom the British-French imperialism struggle for the monopoly over the exploitation of the proletariat of the capitalist countries and the oppressed nations of the colonies." (*Kol Ha'am*, July, 1940). From now on the British High Commissioner is the representative of democracy, and "we keep in our hearts his good personal features . . . the manifestation of his true social characteristics." (*Al-Ittihad*, organ of the Arab Stalinists in Palestine, Sept. 3, 1944).

Stalinists Laud Churchill

And if the British army is sent to suppress the Greek proletariat, then "we consider . . . that the British government will understand that its behaviour (in Greece) is not free from shortsightedness and it will change it . . . as Mr. Churchill is a man who did a lot for democracy, and it does not stand to reason that he will insist on the suppression of the Greeks. That is the meaning of Mr. Churchill's and Mr. Eden's voyage to Greece. . . . The visit to Greece of Mr. Churchill and Mr. Eden, whose efforts are directed to the solution of the Greek question, made a good impression on all circles." (*Al-Ittihad*, Dec. 31, 1944).

But of course the efforts of Bakdash and his friends were of

no avail. The Arab masses who are denied the most elementary democratic rights—freedom, of organization, assembly, speech and press—who live in conditions of cruel servitude, cannot believe that the World War, which did not bring any improvement whatsoever in their conditions, was a war for democracy. They understand simply that charity begins at home, and so despite all their efforts the Stalinists did not succeed in infusing any enthusiasm for the war. Instead spontaneous hunger demonstrations, strikes and clashes with imperialism and the local bourgeoisie (not reported in the world press) took place.

The Tasks of the Revolutionary Movement

In Palestine the bankruptcy of the Stalinists received its clearest expression in connection with Zionism, in relation to the reactionary feudal leadership in the Arab national movement and the anti-Jewish terror. The 1936-39 upheaval was diverted from its real aims by the feudal leaders who were agents either of British imperialism or of Germany and Italy, and sometimes the two together (as for instance, Haj-Amin el-Husseini, Mufti of Jerusalem, who from 1917 to the Second World War was a British agent, and from 1941 lived in Berlin). At that time the Palestine Communist Party not only opposed Zionism—which is correct—but also wrongly and blindly supported the anti-Jewish terror without understanding that there is a great difference between communal terror and an anti-Zionist struggle. Thus a PCP leaflet of July 10, 1936, said: "By destroying the economy of the Zionist conquerors by acts of sabotage and partisan attacks, the Arab liberation movement wants to make the continuation of Zionist colonization impossible." In a circular to its branches of July 7, 1936, the Stalinist Central Committee writes: "The bomb thrown on the Workers' House in Haifa (Histadrut House—T.C.) was thrown by members of the PCP by order of the Central Committee of the Party." In the same days the Arab paper of the PCP (*Nidal ash-Sha'ab*) published without commentary the declarations of the Mufti and supported his propaganda for anti-Jewish terror openly.

With the 180 degree swing in the policy of the Stalinists, when they became enthusiastic supporters of the "war for democracy," the Jewish Stalinists began, with a few reservations, to support Zionism, servant of imperialism. Obviously the Arab Stalinists could not stomach this, and so the party split into two. The Jewish one (which does not have a single Arab member) continues to bear the name Palestine Communist Party. The Arab one, which according to its statutes may include only Arabs, is called National Freedom League. A race of patriotism between the two began. On V-Day the PCP went under the blue-and-white Zionist flag with the slogans of "Free Immigration," "Extension of Colonization," "Development of the Jewish National Home," "Down with the White Paper."* The National Freedom League participates in the Arab National Front, which includes feudal and bourgeois parties and fights "Against Zionist Immigration," "Against Transfer of Land to Zionists," "For the White Paper."

Are such nonentities as Bakdash and his Arab friends, or the Jewish Stalinists, capable of leading an international revolutionary struggle against imperialism, against the British,

French, American, Arab and Jewish exploiters and thus putting an end to the bloody provocations of the reaction?

There is a tremendous disproportion between the ripening of the objective conditions in the world and in the Middle East driving towards a revolutionary struggle, and between the building of the revolutionary party in the Middle East. If this disproportion is not overcome in time, a terrible catastrophe will threaten the masses in this region. But there is no place for pessimism or defeatism. The problem will be resolved not through one battle, but in a series of battles which can give even small revolutionary nuclei great possibilities of development.

In the Arab East the initial nuclei of class organizations exist. The Trade Unions in Egypt have about 200,000 members, in Syria and Lebanon about 40,000, in Palestine (excluding the Histadrut, which is mainly a Zionist and not a trade unionist organization) 10-12,000. There are thus about a quarter of a million workers organized in trade unions. This is a small, but by no means insignificant, minority.

The Russian Revolution of 1905, and even more the Chinese Revolution of 1925-27, proved clearly that the idea that strong organizations are a precondition for the class struggle is the product of a mechanistic, undialectical approach. Sometimes, and especially where the masses are deprived of the most elementary rights, organizations are forged in the fire of the struggle. Thus during the Chinese Revolution the trade union movement increased from 200,000 to 2,000,000, and tens of millions of peasants followed it. Furthermore, the trade union movement had hardly been born when the creation of soviets was put on the order of the day. If in the conditions of cruel servitude, only a small minority is organized in trade unions, and of this minority, very tiny nuclei dare to struggle for the class independence of the trade unions from the employers, their parties and state, then in conditions of tumult, of the shaking of the domination and prestige of the ruling classes by national and social uprisings, the workers organized in trade unions become self-confident, straighten their bowed backs, and struggle courageously for the independent class action of their organizations. Hundreds of thousands who knew nothing of organization stir from their deep torpor, dare to organize and struggle. The electricity in the air turns every minor economic conflict into a large-scale political explosion, and every political explosion, increasing the general tension, in turn begets widespread economic struggles.

In such conditions the revolutionary political organization, no matter how weak during the former "peaceful" days, can increase swiftly, and become the decisive factor. The first nuclei of Fourth Internationalists exist in Egypt and Palestine. The primary task at the moment is to strengthen and unite them into one party of the Arab East.

Main Tasks of Proletariat

As against the imperialist policy of "divide and rule" the proletariat of the Arab East must build up an *international* front of the class struggle. The main tasks before it are: the agrarian revolution and achievement of national independence, and the unity of the Arab countries divided by imperialist and dynastic interests. These tasks are very closely connected. They are combined with the task of overcoming the inner partition between communities and the abolition of all national privileges, with the struggle against discrimination against minorities, and for their full equality of rights. It is clear that any national inequality will be wholly uprooted by the agrarian revolution and the nationalization of the enterprises of imperialist capital which

*In January, 1940, *Kol Ha'am* wrote: "The stopping of Zionist immigration which breaks through into the country, which lowers the standard of living of the masses, and which complicates the political and economic affairs of the country and its regulation according to the White Paper—that in general must be the path along which a devoted and honest people must go."

will open wide the path for the economic and cultural rise of all the masses without distinction of community and nation.

In order to frustrate the efforts of reaction and to exploit all revolutionary possibilities in the Arab East, the working class of the Middle East needs the help of the English worker. The English worker must understand what happens in the East, the role of the different powers acting in it, and the real interests of big finance capital which motivates imperialist policy in the East. He must understand that any communal clashes in the East are only the product of imperialism, that the imperialist policy of alternately supporting and limiting Zionist activity has as its real aim the incitement of national hatred, and that

Zionism is a real enemy of Arab and Jewish masses alike. He must understand that only the taking of the British occupation army out of the East will enable the artificial differences and conflicts between the different communities (from differences in the standard of living and national competition to bloody clashes and pogroms) to be abolished. Only the overthrow of imperialism will enable the masses of the East to free themselves from economic and political subjugation and will free the English masses from the necessity of being cannon-fodder for finance capital.

(The End)

The First Five Years of the Communist International

A Book Review

THE FIRST FIVE YEARS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL, Volume I. By Leon Trotsky. Translated from the Russian and edited by John G. Wright. 384 pages, with full index. Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York. 1945. Cloth \$2.50; paper \$1.50.

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The documents in this two-volume English edition of Trotsky's writings and speeches cover the first four Congresses and the first five years of the Communist International. Volume I begins with the Manifesto of the First World Congress, held in March 1919, and ends with the documents relating to the Third World Congress held in June-July 1921. Volume II begins with material from the Third to the Fourth Congress, and ends with documents pertaining to the period after the Fourth World Congress. Trotsky's works from this time on bear more and more the imprint of his irreconcilable struggle against the spreading ideological decay of Stalinism, for it was in the fall of 1924 that Stalin advanced his notorious concept of the possibility of building "socialism in one country." This idea marked the qualitative point in the field of theory where the caste interests of the swiftly growing bureaucracy in the Soviet Union became expressed. Thus the book *The First Five Years of the Communist International* appeared at the end of the revolutionary and the beginning of the counter-revolutionary period of the Comintern.

The monstrous campaign against Trotsky's program, which did not end by any means with his assassination, has drawn a veil of obscurity over all the programmatic documents of this early period of the Third International. World capitalism, of course, has every interest in seeing that they remain well interred. The Stalinist bureaucracy, which has occupied itself with re-writing the history of this period, has likewise done its utmost to hide and suppress the programmatic documents advanced under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky. In translating and printing *The First Five Years of the Communist International*, Pioneer Publishers not only carries out a historic duty in making available to the present generation basic materials of this almost forgotten period of the Third International, but even more impor-

tant it provides model analyses for the solution of the great postwar problems of the Second World War now confronting us, problems similar in essence to those which confronted the Bolsheviks at the close of the First World War.

In his 1924 Introduction, Trotsky divides these years of the Third International into two phases. Immediately following the 1917 revolution, the Bolsheviks took as their objective in European politics the working-class seizure of power. However, the absence of steered revolutionary parties precluded success. The Third International failed to win over the majority of the working masses in its first upsurge. A tactical shift was called for. This shift, carried out at the Third World Congress in 1921, concentrated the attention of the Communist cadres on the problem of winning the masses, preparatory to the direct struggle for power. Trotsky's Introduction, written for a Russian edition of *The First Five Years of the Communist International* published in Moscow in 1925, sums up the experiences of these two broad phases of revolutionary history.

Manifestoes Show Lenin's Program

Among Trotsky's writings of the first phase, special attention should be paid to the Manifestoes of the First and Second World Congresses. These important documents, summing up the program of Bolshevism, were officially adopted by the Third International. A comparison of these Manifestoes with the chauvinistic declamations of the Browders of every country during the war will reveal better than anything the foul depths reached by Stalinism since the time of Lenin. Whoever wishes to know what Lenin's program for the postwar period of today might have looked like can find it by reading these Manifestoes of the First and Second Congresses.

Other writings belonging to these years include Orders to the Red Army and Navy, reports on crucial aspects of Bolshevik activity delivered at various gatherings, articles published in the Bolshevik press, and personal letters intended to advance the great aims laid down in the formally adopted theses of the International. The student of the Bolshevik revolution and its desperate struggle to survive against the combined assault of world reaction will find in these documents the key to many

political problems of that period he may have puzzled over. Trotsky's great intellect, equipped with the dialectic method, ranges over the most complicated questions of working-class politics and of party organization, analyzing, synthesizing, clarifying the burning issues that confronted the world proletariat, from the rude field of armed conflict to the sphere of politico-psychological evaluations. From these documents it is possible to gain a most illuminating insight into the major political developments of many lands, including America, in the days following the First World War.

If any single document is to be singled out as "greatest" in this collection, it is without doubt the remarkable "Report on the World Economic Crisis and the New Tasks of the Communist International." Trotsky delivered a resumé of this report at the Third World Congress; it was handed to the delegates in complete form as a written report for their more considered study. One of the finest models in Marxist literature of the application of dialectic thought, it analyzes the basic developments in the world situation which necessitated a change in the tactics of the Third International. The report belongs to Trotsky's writings of the second phase of this early period he describes in his Introduction.

Analysis Is Applicable Today

Workers seeking a scientific understanding of politics cannot do better than apply themselves to study of this brilliant analysis. In all essentials it applies as much today as in the period of its composition. Its astonishing validity and applicability to current problems arises from the fact that not one of the contradictions of world capitalism has been mitigated or ameliorated since then; on the contrary they have been deepened, sharpened and exacerbated.

Marxists are required, in the development of an objectively revolutionary situation, to first of all, clearly demarcate themselves, along programmatic lines, from all opportunists and centrists. Once that task is accomplished, the strictest scrutiny of the actual process of events is necessary in order to make constant tactical adaptations to the needs of revolutionary strategy.

The First Five Years of the Communist International, in essence, a textbook which teaches these lessons on the basis of the experiences of the Comintern in the revolutionary period following the First World War.

No one can today contest the fact that the post-1918 period in Europe had all the elements of an objectively revolutionary situation. The economy had broken down completely. The ruling class was rocking uneasily on its throne, shaken by the social convulsions unloosed by the October Revolution in Russia. Everywhere the working class shook off the torpor of the "national unity" poison of the war years. Strike struggles and mass political demonstrations swept the continent in waves, resulting (as in Germany and Austria) in half-way "constitutional" revolutions, and in aborted proletarian attempts at seizure of power (as in Hungary and Bavaria.)

The first question before the revolutionary Marxists, the Communists under Lenin and Trotsky, was: How can this objectively revolutionary situation be transformed into a successful proletarian uprising? The Communists naturally approached the problem with characteristic optimism, with the unrestricted will to resolve it. As the first task Lenin and Trotsky saw the need to combat all forms of revisionism, all forms of compromise with it under centrist labels; the need for absolute clarity on program. The fight for program is embodied in the docu-

ments of the first two congresses of the Comintern and summarized in the famous "21 points" of affiliation.

The next task the revolutionary leaders saw in the building of mass communist parties, solidly based on program and rooted in the working class. Such parties were not at hand. Only in Russia had the revolutionary Marxists built up their own independent mass party, the Bolshevik party. In the rest of Europe the revolutionary Marxists had existed before the war, and even in the course of it, only as small propaganda groups and sometimes as isolated individuals, within the mass parties of the opportunists, the social democracy.

Could such small groups grow overnight, so to speak, into mass communist parties? The Bolsheviks approached this question too with characteristic vigor. The possibility existed. In the midst of a full-scale objectively revolutionary situation such a development could take place at a rapid tempo.

In the first years of the Comintern they did what they could to aid this development, in the main by their great programmatic contributions. The rapid growth out of splits and fusions of the German Communist party, the French Communist party, etc., testified to the fact that their hopes were not unrealistic.

But the growth of the Communist parties in Europe, swift as it was, did not keep pace with the changing social and economic situation. While revolutionary Marxism was gaining constantly in organized numerical strength at the expense of the opportunistic social democracy, the European bourgeoisie had utilized the lack of a prepared revolutionary leadership, to adjust the objective situation to its advantage. As Trotsky points out in speeches and articles reprinted in this book, the capitalists proceeded first to restore the "class equilibrium" at the expense of the "economic equilibrium." That is, it aided the social democracy by granting widespread reforms to the masses. That provided it with a temporary stabilization on a "conciliationist" basis. At the same time, it combined this policy in the countries where the social democracy remained strong with a policy of outright terror, in countries where the threat to its power became more direct (Hungary, Bulgaria.) That provided it with a more permanent stabilization on a Fascist basis. For Europe as a whole, as well as in individual countries, it combined these two policies in order to achieve a "class equilibrium." The reestablishment of this "class equilibrium" permitted the European bourgeoisie to tackle the problem of the "economic equilibrium." But that problem required the aid of the American imperialists and could only produce new contradictions, on a much wider, on a world scale.

Ultra-Left Tendency

It was precisely this new turn in the objective situation, which raised new problems for the Communist International. The Communist parties had grown, but had not matured sufficiently to meet this changing situation. They were still acting on the basis of the revolutionary situation which existed at their birth. This lag in development showed itself in the ultra-left tendency which expressed itself with particular sharpness in the German party. At the Third Congress of the Communist International, Lenin and Trotsky were confronted with this tendency.

In *The First Five Years of the Communist International* appear Trotsky's speeches and articles which deal with this problem too. These works go into detail to scrutinize the changes brought about in the objective situation and, without moderating the revolutionary perspective of the author, to point out the necessary readjustment in strategy as well as the required tactical adaptations flowing therefrom.

The present volume is the first of two dealing with these five eventful years and covers only the period ending with the Third World Congress, at the end of 1921. The second volume, which is still unpublished, will deal with the period from 1921 to 1924 which brought other, though not less important, problems of revolutionary strategy to the fore.

For the Fourth International, the first period after the conclusion of the Second World War—more precisely, from the fall of Mussolini in 1943 up to the present—has also been a period requiring the reaffirmation of the basic Marxist program above everything else. The objective situation at the conclusion of the Second World War has been no less revolutionary in its implications than that following the First World War. It was truly continental in extent, and in that sense an advance even beyond the situation at that time. *Everywhere* in Europe the masses flocked to the parties they considered revolutionary, the working class parties, the Socialists and Stalinists. Even in England, the masses have turned completely left and found their organized expression in the majority Labor Government. On the other hand, the new betrayals of the Stalinist parties, heaped upon those of the Social democrats, have prevented as swift and decisive a revolutionary sweep of this leftward movement as could be noted in some countries after the last war. Revisionism and opportunism were even more malignant and more dangerous than in Lenin's day. The task of the Fourth International, clearly indicated, was no less urgent than that of the Bolsheviks in the early Comintern: Clear demarcation in program from the opportunists and centrists. For, without this solid base there could be no growth on a substantial basis. In that task, the Fourth International today has acquitted itself in the best tradition of Lenin and Trotsky as the documents of the movement in America as well as in Europe attest.

But the objective situation is undergoing constant change. The revolutionary situation has not deepened and matured. The

revolutionary parties have not grown swiftly. With the aid of the social reformist and Stalinist traitors, the European bourgeoisie—more bankrupt and more shaken than ever before—appears once more to have temporarily succeeded in reestablishing a very shaky, unstable "class equilibrium." The masses, ready for the struggle for power and armed in the course of the struggle against the Nazi oppressor, have been disoriented and disarmed by the opportunist parties to the advantage of the Anglo-American imperialist conquerors. The Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union has utilized the Red Army for the same counter-revolutionary purpose in the territories under its occupation. These factors have brought a temporary shift in the objective situation which requires of the Trotskyists an adjustment in strategy and an adaptation of tactics similar in certain respects to those undertaken by Lenin and Trotsky at the Third Congress.

But like the latter, the Fourth International will undertake these tasks without yielding an inch in Marxist program, and without giving up an iota of the basic perspective of proletarian struggle for our revolutionary epoch. For, the new "stabilization" of the objective situation is even less real, even more tenuous than in Lenin's day. The revolt of the colonial peoples, in Indonesia and Indo-China—where it has flared with extraordinary force—and in China, India, in the Near East is already brewing to set new sparks for a world-wide revolutionary conflagration. The victories in the British elections of the Labor party likewise lay the ground for a tremendous new revolutionary wave even closer to the continent. Moreover, the great, elemental upsurge of the American working class is bound to shake the very citadel of world capitalism and imperialism.

For the Trotskyists, therefore, reviewing perspective and readjusting tactics means building a springboard from which to prepare for a greater leap in the struggle between the world proletariat and the imperialists, in the struggle for socialism.

H. S.

From the Arsenal of Marxism

Discussions With Trotsky On the Transitional Program, June 7, 1938

Trotsky: The significance of the program is the significance of the party. The party is the vanguard of the class. The party is formed by selection from the most conscious, most advanced, most devoted elements and the party can play an important historical political role not in direct relation to its numerical strength. It can be a small party and play a great part. For example, in the first Russian Revolution of 1905, the Bolshevik fraction had not more than 10,000 members, the Mensheviks 10,000 to 12,000; that is the maximum. At that time they belonged to the same party, so that the party as a whole had not more than 20,000 to 22,000 workers. The party guided the Soviets throughout the whole country thanks to correct policy and to cohesion. It can be objected that the difference between the Russians and the Americans, or any other old capitalist

country, was that the Russian proletariat was a totally fresh, virgin proletariat without any tradition of trade unions, conservative reformism. It was a young fresh virgin working class which needed direction and looked for this direction and in spite of the fact that the party as a whole had not more than 20,000 workers this party guided 23,000,000 workers in the fight.

Now, what is the party? In what does the cohesion consist? This cohesion is a common understanding of the events, of the tasks, and this common understanding—that is the program of the party. Just as modern workers more than the barbarian cannot work without tools so in the party the program is the instrument. Without the program every worker must improvise his tool, find improvised tools, and one contradicts another.

Only when we have the vanguard organized upon the basis of common conceptions then we can act.

One can say that we didn't have a program until this day. Yet we acted. But this program was formulated under different articles, different motions, etc. In this sense the draft program doesn't presage a new invention, it is not the writing of one man. It is the summation of collective work up until today. But such a summation is absolutely necessary in order to give to the comrades an idea of the situation, a common understanding. Petty bourgeois anarchists and intellectuals are afraid to subscribe to giving a party common ideas, a common attitude. In opposition they wish moral programs. But for us this program is the result of common experience. It is not imposed upon anybody for whoever joins the party does so voluntarily.

I believe it is important in this connection to underline what we mean by freedom in contradiction to necessity. It is very often a petty bourgeois conception that we should have a free individuality. It is only a fiction, an error. We are not free. We have no free will in the sense of metaphysical philosophy. When I wish to drink a glass of beer I act as a free man but I don't invent the need for beer. That comes from my body. I am only the executor. But insofar as I understand the needs of my body and can satisfy them consciously then I have the sensation of freedom, freedom through understanding the necessity. Here the correct understanding of the necessity of my body is the only real freedom given to animals in any question and man is an animal. The same holds true for the class. The program for the class cannot fall from heaven. We can arrive only at an understanding of the necessity. In one case it was my body in the other it is the necessity of society. The program is the articulation of the necessity, that we learned to understand, and since the necessity is the same for all members of the class, we can reach a common understanding of the tasks and the understanding of this necessity is the program.

We can go further and say that the discipline of our party must be very severe because we are a revolutionary party against a tremendous bloc of enemies conscious of their interests and now we are attacked not only by the bourgeoisie but by the Stalinists, the most venomous of the bourgeois agents. Absolute discipline is necessary but it must come from common understanding. If it is imposed from without it is a yoke. If it comes from understanding it is an expression of personality, but otherwise it is a yoke. Then discipline is an expression of my free individuality. It is not opposition between personal will and the party because I entered of my free will. The program too is on this basis and this program can be upon a sure political and moral basis only if we understand it very well.

Why Draft Program Is Not Complete

The draft program is not a complete program. We can say that in this draft program there are things which are lacking and there are things which by their nature don't belong to the program. Things which don't belong to the program are the comments. This program contains not only slogans but also comments and polemics against the adversaries. But it is not a complete program. A complete program should have a theoretical expression of the modern capitalist society in its imperialist stage. The reasons of the crisis, the growth of unemployed, and so on and in this draft this analysis is briefly summarized only in the first chapter because we have written about these things in articles, books, and so on. We will write more and better. But for practical purposes what is said here is enough

because we are all of the same opinion. The beginning of the program is not complete. The first chapter is only a hint and not a complete expression. Also the end of the program is not complete because we don't speak here about the social revolution, about the seizure of power by insurrection, the transformation of capitalist society into the dictatorship, the dictatorship into the socialist society. This brings the reader only to the doorstep. It is a program for action from today until the beginning of the socialist revolution. And from the practical point of view what is now the most important is how can we guide the different strata of the proletariat in the direction of the social revolution. I have heard that now the New York comrades are beginning to organize circles with the purpose of not only studying and criticizing the draft program but also elaborating the ways and means in order to present the program to the masses and I believe that it is the best method which our party can utilize.

The program is only the first approximation. It is too general in the sense in which it is presented to the international conference in the next period. It expresses the general tendency of development in the whole world. We have here a short chapter devoted to the semi-colonial and colonial countries. We have here a chapter devoted to the fascist countries, a chapter on the Soviet Union and so on. It is clear that the general characteristics of the world situation are common because they are all under the pressure of the imperialist economy, but every country has its peculiar conditions and real live politics must begin with these peculiar conditions in each country and even in each part of the country. That is why a very serious approach to the program is the first duty of every comrade in the United States.

There are two dangers in the elaboration of the program. The first is to remain on general abstract lines and to repeat the general slogan without real connection with the trade unions in the locality. That is the direction of sectarian abstraction. The other danger is the contrary, to adapt too much to the local conditions, to the specific conditions, to lose the general revolutionary line. I believe that in the United States the second danger is the more immediate. I remember it most especially in the matter of militarization, armed pickets, etc. Some comrades were afraid that it is not real for the workers, etc.

In the last few days I read a French book written by an Italian worker about the rise of Fascism in Italy. The writer is opportunistic. He was a Socialist, but it is not his conclusions which are interesting but the facts which he presents. He gives the picture of the Italian proletariat in 1920-1921 especially. It was a powerful organization. They had 160 socialist parliamentary deputies. They had more than one-third of the communities in their hands, the most important sections of Italy were in the hands of the socialists, the center of the power of the workers. No capitalist could hire or fire without union consent and this applied to agricultural workers as well as industrial. It seemed to be 49 percent of the dictatorship of the proletariat, but the reaction of the small bourgeoisie, the demobilized officers was terrible against this situation. Then the author tells how they organized small bands under the guidance of officers and sent them in buses in every direction. In cities of 10,000 in the hands of the Socialists thirty organized men came into the town, burned up the municipality, burned the houses, shot the leaders, imposed on them the conditions of working for capitalists, then they went elsewhere and repeated the same in hundreds and hundreds of towns, one after the other. With terrible terror and these systematic acts they

totally destroyed the trade unions and thus became bosses of Italy. They were a tiny minority.

Methods of the Fascists

The workers declared a general strike. The Fascists sent their buses and destroyed every local strike and with a small organized minority wiped out the workers' organizations. After this came elections and the workers under the terror elected the same number of deputies. They protested in parliament until it was dissolved. That is the difference between formal and actual power. All the deputies were sure that they would have power, yet this tremendous movement with its spirit of sacrifice was smashed, crushed, abolished by some 10,000 fascists well-organized with a spirit of sacrifice and good military leaders.

In the United States it might be different but the fundamental tasks are the same. I read about the tactics of Hague. It is a rehearsal of a Fascist overthrow. He represents small bosses who became infuriated because the crisis deepened. He has his gang which is absolutely unconstitutional. This is very, very contagious. With the deepening of the crisis it will spread all over the country and Roosevelt who is a very good democrat will say, "Perhaps it is the only solution."

It was the same in Italy. They had a minister who invited the Socialists. The Socialists refused. He admitted the Fascists. He thought he could balance them against the Socialists, but they smashed the minister too. Now I think the example of New Jersey is very important. We should utilize everything, but this especially. I will propose a special series of articles on how the Fascists became victorious. We can become victorious the same way but we must have a small armed body with the support of the big body of workers. We must have the best discipline, organized workers, defense committees, otherwise we will be crushed and I believe that our comrades in the United States don't realize the importance of this question. A Fascist wave can spread in two or three years and the best workers' leaders will be lynched in the worst possible way like the Negroes in the South. I believe that the terror in the United States will be the most terrible of all. That is why we must begin very modestly that is with defense groups but it should be launched immediately.

Question: How do we go about launching the defense groups practically?

Trotsky: It is very simple. Do you have a picket line in a strike? When the strike is over we say we must defend our union by making this picket line permanent.

Question: Does the party itself create the defense group with its own members?

Trotsky: The slogans of the party must be placed in quarters where we have sympathizers and workers who will defend us. But a party cannot create an independent defense organization. The task is to create such a body in the trade unions. We must have these groups of comrades with very good discipline, with good cautious leaders not easily provoked because such groups can be provoked easily. The main task for the next year would be to avoid conflicts and bloody clashes. We must reduce them to a minimum with a minority organization during strikes, during peaceful times. In order to prevent fascist meetings it is a question of the relationship of forces. We alone are not strong, but we propose a united front.

Hitler explains his success in his book. The Social Democracy was extremely powerful. To a meeting of the Social Democracy he sent a band with Rudolf Hess. He says that at the end of the meeting his thirty boys evicted all the workers

and they were incapable of opposing them. Then he knew he would be victorious. The workers were only organized to pay dues. No preparation at all for other tasks. Now we must do what Hitler did except in reverse. Send 40 to 50 men to dissolve the meeting. This has tremendous importance. The workers become steeled, fighting elements. They become trumpets. The petty bourgeoisie think these are serious people. Such a success! This has tremendous importance as so much of the populace is blind, backward, oppressed, they can be aroused only by success. We can only arouse the vanguard but this vanguard must then arouse the others. That is why I repeat it is a very important question. In Minneapolis where we have very skilled powerful comrades we can begin and show the entire country.

I believe that it would be useful to discuss a little this part of the draft which is not sufficiently developed in our text. It is the general theoretical part. In the last discussion I remarked that the theoretical part of the program as a general analysis of society is not given completely in this draft but is replaced by some short hints. On the other side it does not contain the parts dealing with the revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the construction of society after the revolution. Only the transition period is covered. We have repeated many times that the scientific character of our activity consists in the fact that we adapt our program not to political conjunctures or the thought or mood of the masses as this mood is today, but we adapt our program to the objective situation as it is represented by the economic class structure of society. The mentality can be backward; then the political task of the party is to bring the mentality into harmony with the objective facts, to make the workers understand the objective task. But we cannot adapt the program to the backward mentality of the workers, the mentality, the mood is a secondary factor—the prime factor is the objective situation. That is why we have heard these criticisms or these appreciations that some parts of the program do not conform to the situation.

Our Program Must Fit Objective Situation

Everywhere I ask what should we do? Make our program fit the objective situation or the mentality of the workers? And I believe that this question must be put before every comrade who says that this program is not fit for the American situation. This program is a scientific program. It is based on an objective analysis of the objective situation. It cannot be understood by the workers as a whole. It would be very good if the vanguard would understand it in the next period and that they would then turn and say to the workers, "You must save yourselves from fascism."

What do we understand by objective situation? Here we must analyze the objective conditions for a social revolution. These conditions are given in the works of Marx-Engels and remain in their essence unchanged today. First, Marx one time said that no one society leaves its place until it totally exhausts its possibilities. What does this signify? That we cannot eliminate a society by subjective will, that we cannot organize an insurrection like the Blanquists. What do "possibilities" signify? That a "society cannot leave?" So long as society is capable of developing the productive forces and making the nation richer it remains strong, stable. That was the condition with slave society, with feudal, and with capitalist society. Here we come to a very interesting point which I analyzed previously in my introduction to the *Communist Manifesto*. Marx and Engels waited for a revolution during

their lifetime. Especially in the years 1848-1850 did they expect a social revolution. Why? They said that the capitalist system based on private profit had become a brake upon the development of the productive forces. Was this correct? Yes and no. It was correct in the sense that if the workers had been capable of meeting the needs of the nineteenth century and seizing power the development of the productive forces would have been more rapid and the nation richer. But given that the workers were not capable, the capitalist system remained with its crisis, etc. Yet the general line ascended. The last war (1914-1918) was a result of the fact that the world market became too narrow for the development of the productive forces and each nation tried to repulse all the others and to seize the world market for its own purposes. They could not succeed and now we see that capitalist society enters into a new stage. Many say it was a result of the war, but the war was a result of the fact that the society exhausted its possibilities. The war was only an expression of its inability to further expand. We have after the war the historic crisis becoming deeper and deeper. Capitalist development everywhere was prosperity and crisis but the summation of the crises and prosperity was an ascendancy. Beginning with the war we see the cycles of crisis and prosperity forming a declining line. It signifies now that this society exhausted totally its inner possibilities and must be replaced by a new society or the old society will go into barbarism just as the civilization of Greece and Rome because they had exhausted their possibilities and no class could replace them.

Three Requisites for New Society

That is the question now and especially in the United States. The first requisite now for a new society is that the productive forces must be sufficiently developed in order to give birth to a higher. Are the productive forces sufficiently developed for this? Yes, they were developed sufficiently in the nineteenth century—not as well as now but sufficiently. Now especially in the United States it would be very easy for a good statistician to prove that if the American productive forces were unleashed that even now today they could be doubled or tripled. I believe that our comrades should make such statistical survey.

The second condition—there must be a new progressive class which is sufficiently numerous and economically influential in order to impose its will upon society. This class is the proletariat. It must be the majority of the nation or must have the possibility to lead the majority. In England the working class is the absolute majority. In Russia it was a minority but it had the possibility to lead the poor peasants. In the United States it is at least half of the population but it has the possibility to lead the farmers.

The third condition is the subjective factor. This class must understand its position in society and have its own organizations. That is the condition which is now lacking from the historic point of view. Socially it is not only possible but an absolute necessity in the sense that it is either socialism or barbarism. That is the historical alternative.

We mentioned in the discussion that Mr. Hague is not some stupid old man who imagines some medieval system exists in his town. He is an advance scout of the American capitalist class.

Jack London wrote a book, *The Iron Heel*. I recommend it now. It was written in 1907. At that time it seemed a terrible dream but now it is absolute reality. He gives the development of the class struggle in the United States with the capitalist

class retaining power through terrible repressions. It is the picture of Fascism. The ideology he gives even corresponds with Hitler. It is very interesting.

In Newark the Mayor begins to imitate Hague and they are all inspired by Hague and by the big bosses. It is absolutely certain that Roosevelt will observe that now in the crisis he can do nothing with democratic means. He is not a fascist as the Stalinists claimed in 1932. But his initiative will be paralyzed. What can he do? The workers are dissatisfied. The big bosses are dissatisfied. He can only maneuver until the end of his term and then say goodbye. A third term for Roosevelt is absolutely excluded.

The imitation of the Newark mayor has tremendous importance. In two or three years you can have a powerful fascist movement of American character. What is Hague? He has nothing to do with Mussolini or Hitler, but he is an American fascist. Why is he aroused? Because the society can no longer be run by democratic means.

It would of course be impermissible to fall into hysteria. The danger of the working class being out-run by events is indisputable, but we can combat this danger only by energetic systematic development of our own activity under adequate revolutionary slogans and not by fantastic efforts to spring over our own heads.

Democracy is only the rule of big bosses. We must understand well what Lundberg showed in his book, that 60 families govern the United States. But how? By democratic means up until today. They are a small minority surrounded by middle classes, the petty bourgeoisie, workers. They must have the possibility of interesting the middle classes in this society. They must not be desperate. The same holds true for the workers. At least for the higher strata. If they are opposed they can break the revolutionary possibilities of the lower strata and this is the only way of working democracy.

"Democratic" Regime Possible Only for Rich Nations

The democratic regime is the most aristocratic way of ruling. It is possible only to a rich nation. Every British democrat has 9 or 10 slaves working in the colonies. The antique Greek society was a slave democracy. The same in a certain sense can be said of British democracy, Holland, France, Belgium. The United States has no direct colonies but they have Latin America and the whole world is a sort of colony for the United States, not to speak about appropriating the richest continent and developing without a feudal tradition. It is a historically privileged nation but the privileged capitalist nations differ from the most "pariah" capitalist nations only from the point of view of delay. Italy, the poorest of the great capitalist nations first became fascist. Germany became second because Germany has no colonies or rich subsidiary countries and on this poor base exhausted all the possibilities and the workers could not replace the bourgeoisie. Now it is the turn of the United States even before Great Britain or France. The duty of our party is to seize every American worker and shake him ten times so he will understand what the situation is in the United States. That it is not a conjunctural crisis but a social crisis. Our party can play a very great role. What is difficult for a young party in a very thick atmosphere of previous traditions, hypocrisy, is to launch a revolutionary slogan. "It is fantastic," "not adequate in America," but it is possible that this will change by the time you launch the revolutionary slogans of our program. Somebody will laugh. But revolutionary

courage is not only to be shot but to support the laughter of stupid people who are in the majority. But when one of them is beaten by Hague's gang he will think it is good to have a defense committee and his ironic attitude will change.

Question: Isn't the ideology of the workers a part of the objective factors?

Trotsky: For us as a small minority this whole thing is objective including the mood of the workers. But we must analyze and classify those elements of the objective situation which can be changed by our paper and those which cannot be changed. That is why we say that the program is adapted to the fundamental stable elements of the objective situation and the task is to adapt the mentality of the masses to those objective factors. To adapt the mentality is a pedagogical task. We must be patient, etc. The crisis of society is given as the base of our activity. The mentality is the political arena of our activity. We must change it. We must give a scientific explanation of society, and clearly explain it to the masses. That is the difference between Marxism and reformism.

The reformists have a good smell for what the audience wants—as Norman Thomas—he gives them that. But that is not serious revolutionary activity. We must have the courage to be unpopular, to say “you are fools,” “you are stupid,” “they betray you,” and every once in a while with a scandal launch our ideas with passion. It is necessary to shake the worker from time to time, to explain, and then shake him again—that all belongs to the art of propaganda. But it must be scientific, not bent to the moods of the masses. We are the most realistic people because we reckon with facts which cannot be changed by the eloquence of Norman Thomas. If we win immediate success we swim with the current of the masses and that current is the revolution.

Question: Sometimes I think that our own leaders don't feel these problems.

Trotsky: Possibly it is two things. One is to understand, the other feel it with muscles, fibers. It is necessary now to be penetrated by this understanding that we must change our politics. It is a question not only for the masses, but for the party. It is a question not only for the party but also for the leaders. We had some discussions, some differences. It is impossible to come to the position at the same time. There are always frictions. They are inevitable and even necessary. It was the reason for this program, to provoke this discussion.

Question: How much time should we allow for this discussion among the leaders?

Trotsky: It is very difficult to say. It will depend on many factors. We cannot allow too great deal of time. We must now accomplish this new orientation. It is new and old. It is based on all past activity but now it opens a new chapter. In spite of errors, frictions, and fights, now a new chapter opens and we must mobilize all our forces upon it in more energetic attitude. What is important, when the program is definitely established, is to know the slogans very well and to maneuver them skillfully so that in every part of the country everyone uses the same slogans at the same time. 3,000 can make the impression of 15,000 or 50,000.

Question: Comrades may agree abstractly to this program but do we have experienced comrades to carry out slogans in the masses? They agree abstractly but what can I do with the backward workers in my union?

Trotsky: Our party is a party of the American working class. You must remember that a powerful proletarian movement not to speak of a powerful proletarian revolution has not occurred in the United States. In 1917 we didn't have the possibility to win without 1905. My generation was very young. During 12 years we had a very good chance to understand our defeats and correct them and to win. But even then we lost again to the new bureaucrats. That is why we cannot see whether our party will directly lead the American working class to victory. It is possible that the American workers, who are patriotic, whose standard of living is high will have rebellions, strikes. On one side Hague, the other Lewis. That can last for a long period, years and years, and during this time our people will steel themselves, become more sure of themselves, and the workers will say, “They are the only people capable of seeing the path.” Only war produces war heroes. For the beginning we have excellent elements, very good men, seriously educated, a good staff, and not a small staff. In this more general sense I am totally optimistic. Then I believe that the change in the mentality of the American workers will come at a very speedy rhythm. What to do? Everybody is disquieted, looking for something new. It is very favorable for revolutionary propaganda.

We must remember not only the aristocratic elements but the poorest elements. The cultivated American workers have a plus and a minus such as English sports. It is very good but also a device to demoralize the workers. All the revolutionary energy was expended in sports. It was cultivated by the British, the most intelligent of the capitalist nations. Sports should be in the hands of the trade unions as a part of the revolutionary education. But you have a good part of the youth and women who are not rich enough for these things. We must have tentacles to penetrate everywhere into the deepest strata.

Question: I think the party has made a great advance since the last convention.

Trotsky: A very important turn has been accomplished. Now it is necessary to give this weapon a concentrated action. General dispersed agitation doesn't penetrate into the minds of the uneducated. But if you repeat the same slogans, adapting them to the situation, then repetition which is the mother of teaching will act likewise in politics. Very often it happens not only with the intellectual but with a worker that he believes that everybody understands what he has learned. It is necessary to repeat with insistence, to repeat every day and everywhere. That is the task of the draft program—to issue a homogeneous impression.

FASCISM and BIG BUSINESS

By DANIEL GUERIN

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Facing the New Revolutionary Period in Spain—III

Following is the third and last part of the thesis approved by the Internationalist Communists, Spanish section of the Fourth International, at their conference in May 1945. The first two sections appeared in the December and January issues of Fourth International. Translation is by Chris Andrews.

* * *

POUM SLOGANS

55) The slogans which the POUM left wing gives—nationalizations, dissolutions of the Army, workers' control of production, convocation of a constituent assembly in the shortest possible time, reestablishment of the social legislation of 1936-1939, have the character of demagogic phrasemongering, since they are not linked intimately to the arming of the workers and the poor peasants, to the setting-up of committees of the masses, that is to say, to the development of organs of dual power, toward the proletarian insurrection, but on the contrary seek to combine such formulas with their traditional policy of "extreme Left" of the Popular Front, today the Junta of Liberation.

It is evident that the utilization of the democratic and transitional slogans can and must play a role of first rank in the development of the Spanish Revolution. "But the formulas of democracy," points out the transitional program, "mean for us only incidental or episodic slogans in the independent movement of the proletariat, and not a democratic noose fastened to the neck of the proletariat by the bourgeoisie's agents (Spain)!" In the framework of the restoration of the Republic, the anti-Fascist front, about which the POUM left wing is dreaming, can be nothing else but a new Popular Front, a new betrayal, not only of the proletariat but also of the petty bourgeois masses.

56) In the international arena, also, the left wing wishes to "continue the POUM." In fact, the most recent abortion of which news has been received—an "International Socialist Commission," set up in Mexico represents not one step forward but almost a step backwards. This Commission does not seek to deepen the analysis of the different revolutionary experiences and of the present perspectives in a work strictly demarcating itself from the petty-bourgeois, pacifist, socialist currents, etc., but to "convoke when circumstances permit, a World Socialist Congress, to which would be invited all the economic, political, trade union and cultural organizations of all nations, large and small, and from the colonial peoples, that accept the necessity of a socialist transformation of society." It is out of this Assembly of the "partisans of the socialist transformation of society" that the POUM left wing expects to build its new "International," side by side with other hybrid groups, without a past or a future.

57) The complexity of the tendencies in the ranks of the anarchist movement is even greater

than in the remaining sectors of the proletariat. In recent years we have witnessed an increasing abandonment by part of the anarchist and anarchist-sindicalist leaders of their traditional positions in order to fit themselves into the framework of bourgeois politics. A clear and full abandonment by some, and a disguised but no less actual abandonment by others. In the face of this veering toward reformism by those who only yesterday were the champions of pure anarchism, the reaction of the rank and file expressed itself in the most hopeless confusion. By refusing to draw up the perspective of an independent class policy, as against the reformist policy, the pure anarchists disarm themselves for the effective struggle against the renegades, not only from anarchism, but from the proletarian revolution. That's why every struggle in this field terminates in a "reconciliation" or in "a postponement of the disputed questions" in which under cover of the "sacred unity in defense of the organization" the political and doctrinal bankruptcy of the anarchists is smeared over.

58) In spite of this evolution of the anarchist leaders, the attitude of the bourgeoisie continues to be extremely reserved toward the CNT. The "Spanish Junta of Liberation" of Mexico was set up behind its back; and in the local Juntas of Liberation or in the Anti-Fascist Alliances, an attitude of reticence has characterized, in general, the position of the bourgeois republican elements. To this attitude, the anarchist leaders do not respond by formulating class positions, but by marching at the heels of the official "republican" policy and offering their support to a utopian government which, within the republican-bourgeois framework, should guarantee "the substance of the conquests of July 19." The only thing such a government will guarantee will be the substance of capitalist exploitation. From the moment that the anarchist leaders do not link the guarantee of the July conquests to the creation of workers and peasants militias, to the patrols of control, to the committees, in a word: to the organs of struggle and power that arose in July, the position of the anarcho-sindicalist leaders is clearly revealed in all its opportunism.

59) The revolutionary strategy of the present period must be directed toward the violent conquest of power by the proletariat. This does not by any means signify that the whole task of the revolutionary leadership must consist in preaching such a thing. It would be completely erroneous and sectarian to believe that the maturing

of the objective conditions for the socialist revolution frees the revolutionary Party from participation in the daily movements of the masses, no matter how limited or partial. The gaze should be fixed upon the conquest of power; but the ear should be attentive to the real processes of the daily struggle.

"It is not a question," the Communist International pointed out in the days of Lenin and Trotsky, "of preaching the final objectives to the proletariat, but of making a concrete struggle develop, which only can lead them to struggle for their final objectives."

All this signifies that the revolutionary party must mobilize the masses around a program where the democratic and transitional slogans are so combined that the struggle for the winning of immediate demands is transformed by the development of working class action into a struggle for the final objectives by the organisms that must provide their attainment.

ALIANZA OBRERA (WORKERS ALLIANCE)

60) In regard to Spain, a viable program of working class action necessitates withdrawing the toiling masses and their organizations from the influence of the bourgeoisie. More concretely: from class collaboration, hailed by the bureaucratic leaderships of the workers movement, who follow formulas of "Popular Fronts" and "Patriotism." The instinctive sentiment for unity of independent action which animates the masses must, from our side, be moulded into a slogan that expresses at the same time a positive experience lived through by them. This slogan is ALIANZA OBRERA (Workers Alliance). But the campaign for the constitution of the Alianza Obrera will remain a zero if it is not combined with the formulation of some programmatic bases that arise from the needs of the masses and are intimately entwined with their experience.

61) The first of these aspirations is their liberation from the bloody dictatorship of Franco. One must go, then, to the masses, proclaiming: We are in the front rank fighting Franco and his régime. But this struggle is inseparable from the struggle against the Spanish bourgeoisie and its economic and political power. The dissolution of the reactionary Army; the destruction of the economic and political power of the clergy; the expropriation without indemnity of the landlords and the handing over of the land to the peasants; nationalization of the banking system, of the means of transportation, of the trusts and pri-

vate monopolies, the arming of the workers and against Franco must lead, and only the working class can give that leadership.

Turn to the leaderships of your parties and organizations, demanding that they build upon this basis the Alianza Obrera, making of it the center, the leadership of the resistance and the struggle of the masses against the Franco dictatorship: *Against Franco and his regime; Alianza Obrera!*

62) It is impossible to foresee the concrete forms the revolutionary movement will take in Spain in regard to the organs of struggle and dual power. It is not excluded that in a given situation the experience of 1936 might be repeated with the decentralization and the autonomy of the Committees and the Militias. In any case, we do not suggest that the Committees of the Alianza Obrera will come to perform the role of the July Committees (which with all their defects represented a superior form of organization) and even less to suggest that the Alianza Obrera should compete with the Committees. The Alianza Obrera in the present period should be conceived as a policy of united front among the workers' organizations, serving to restore to the workers' movement its class independence and thereby opening up the road to the future mass Committees.

TRADE UNION UNITY

63) Connected with the slogan for the building poor peasants. . . This is where the struggle Unity. The creation of a single trade union body is one of the problems most preoccupying the Spanish proletariat, which has felt and knows the inconveniences and harm that the division of the workers means on the trade union level. The force of the urge for trade union unity is so strong that its weight has made itself felt even in the midst of the UGT and CNT bureaucracy, which, without any enthusiasm, have been obliged to outline a policy of contacting and of Joint Committees. The current among the masses towards unity must be stirred up in order to sweep past the dikes which the bureaucratic leaderships have erected against it. Each group persists in maintaining its trade union body as a point of support for its own policies.

The building of the Joint Local and Regional Committees (CNT-UGT) must be systematically pushed forward. The slogan of periodic, common Assemblies of these local and regional CNT-UGT Joint Committees must take a principal part in the policy toward trade union unity. They must be open to all workers, who must be able to democratically choose their leadership, breaking with all monopolies whatsoever of this or that political or "non-political" tendency. At all times the propaganda for trade union unity must be united to revolutionary policy on the trade union field. In that way the slogan finds its full content. That means: against collaboration with the bourgeoisie, against compulsory arbitration, for direct action, for proletarian democracy and the international solidarity of the workers.

64) We must open up before the workers and peasants the perspective of a revolutionary way out of the Spanish situation. To the attempts of the bourgeoisie and its agents in the working

class to substitute for Franco's government, a governmental apparatus of class collaboration, we must counterpose the slogan of a Workers Government, of a government of workers' organizations. That signifies: a break with the bourgeoisie and its parties.

65) The experience of the first biennium in Spain (1931-1933, Azana) and what is being seen in the situations of the "liberated" countries of Europe, demonstrates that the Socialists and Stalinists justify their treacherous policies to the masses by accusing their colleagues, the bourgeois Ministers, with being guilty of the governmental policies.

THE LAND TO THE PEASANTS

The revolutionists must demand that the Stalinists, Socialist, and Anarcho-Syndicalist leaders set up a Workers Government in order to realize the program which they profess they want to carry out. "Break the Coalition with the Bourgeois Parties," "Take the Power," will be the formulas which will sum up Marxist policy in such a situation in order to accelerate the experience of the masses. The slogan of "Workers Government" in the manner indicated, will be translated into the formula of "Workers and Peasants Government" in the case, for example, of the regional power in Catalonia, and other regions where the weight of the small farmers, who have set up their own organizations, is decisive in the solution of the agrarian problem.

66) The destruction of the great landholders' properties is expressed in the slogan: The Land to the Peasants. In the solution of the land problem, there arise a whole series of demands which must be placed in the forefront, such as: Nullification of taxes, rents, mortgages and statutory rights. Nationalization without indemnity of the vast pasture lands, forests and other types, where division would give no direct benefits to the peasants.

Redemption of the common wealth without indemnity and the disposal of the benefits under the direction of elected Committees, subject to recall.

Delivery by the State without charge to the poor peasants of the instruments of labor needed for the first year's work. Easy credit terms to be made available by the State. Cancellation of usurers' claims.

For revaluation of agricultural products. For the setting up of voluntary collectives to which the small farmer and poor peasant should have access. For the socialization of agricultural enterprises where advanced industrialization has already made this possible.

The building of Peasants' Committees and their linking with the Committees of Workers and Soldiers continues to be the central slogan in the mobilization of the agricultural workers for the destruction of the apparatus of the bourgeois state.

67) The experiences of collective development of the land, carried out during the Civil War, upon the basis of the free consent of the peasants and the existence of technical means necessary for such collective development, has already revealed the immense possibilities and advantages of socialist agriculture. Nevertheless, the expe-

rience of forced collectivization, in the places where it was practiced, also demonstrated the erroneous nature of such an orientation. The problem of collectivization can only be approached to the degree in which the technical elements needed for greater production and greater labor yield can be utilized. That is how the individual peasant can be gained to the cause of socialist agriculture; how collective exploitation of the land will be solidly established. Nevertheless, this collective farming is necessary in large-scale cultivations, in those where industrialization already exists.

68) The slogan of land to the peasants is not the completion of the revolutionary program in this problem, but the means of destroying the great landholding class. Only the workers' power can and must carry out from the first day a true collectivization of land by the State, which will serve not only economic ends, but also teach by example the individual peasants, who will never be won over to the collective system by abstract propaganda but by reality and the experience of daily life. Only the power of the proletariat, aided by the armed peasantry, can guarantee the transfer of the land to the peasants and the keeping of it in their hands.

69) But revolutionary policy in a country like Spain must always keep in mind the existence of a vast agricultural proletariat, to which the forms of organization and the political concepts displayed in the functions of the industrial proletariat, are substantially applicable. It is above all on the agricultural workers, in their trade unions and Committees, that the policy of division of the land must be based. The Committees of agricultural workers, in intimate unity with the poorest layers of the peasantry, must prevent the rich and well-to-do farmers from being the principal beneficiaries of the agrarian revolution.

EXPROPRIATION OF THE CHURCH AND RELIGIOUS BROTHERHOODS

70) The clergy plays a most important role in the economic and political life of Spain. It has been and continues to be one of the most solid pillars of Spanish reaction. The struggle for the separation of Church and State and for the immediate confiscation of ecclesiastical wealth for the benefit of the workers and peasants is one of the first objectives of the Spanish Revolution.

For the expropriation of large industry, of the mines, the transportation system, nationalization of the banking system, of securities, workers control, planned economy and monopoly of foreign commerce.

71) The sources of wealth must be torn from the hands of their owners and placed at the disposal of the people. Only by this policy can Spanish economy be raised out of the decay into which the bourgeoisie has sunk it. The fall of Franco, the entry onto the scene of the masses, will put in first place the problem of the restoration of the economy, an economy to be built up on the recognition of the needs of the masses.

The propaganda and the measures for the expropriation of the great monopolies of the large industries, of the corporations, for workers' control of production, must be linked up with the idea of planned economy, established by the

working class through its trade union organizations, through its Factory Committees. We must tirelessly denounce to the masses the bourgeois trick of pseudo-nationalization, whether by indemnification, or by keeping in the capitalists' hands the ownership and actual direction of the industries. Nationalization is inseparable from the concept of workers' control of production.

72) In propagandizing and agitating for this socialist economy, we must base ourselves upon the vivid historical experience lived through by the Spanish proletariat during the Civil War, not only in order to win the masses to this program, but also to point out the omissions and negative aspects of this experience. Its first lesson is the impossibility of building a collective economy without destroying the apparatus of the bourgeois state.

The working class economy cannot be a mixture of "collectivized enterprises," each one of them constituting a world in itself, but a system of planned economy, centralized, directed by a Central Commission for Planning, designated by the great trade union congresses of the proletariat. This presupposes the expropriation of the entire banking system, the establishment of a single bank, which can distribute credit according to the actual necessities of production and which will provide "cheap credit."

73) The hours of labor required for production must be divided up among all workers. There must be no unemployed at the same time as long working days for those who are employed. A sliding scale of hours under workers' control with customary income assured for all! The worker's salary must be calculated in relation to living costs. The collective contracts must assure automatic increases in salaries, related to the increase in the prices of consumers' goods. Sliding scale of wages! Workers' control of hiring and firing!

74) In the manner suitable for bringing forward the realization of the democratic rights of the masses, upon the basis of the experience lived through during the Civil War, the revolutionary policy must not only differentiate itself fundamentally from the "republican" policy, but it must push the proletariat toward class consciousness and the decision to take power. While consistently defending the most elementary democratic rights of the masses against any attack or restriction by the bourgeoisie, this defense and the very existence of these rights must be intimately linked with the establishment and development of the organs of defense and dual power by the proletariat.

75) Instead of the "liberty of the press" of the Republicans and reformists, which will consist, in the majority of cases, of the "right" to publish, by a thousand sacrifices, publications of small press runs, while the greatest technical means will remain in the power of the bourgeois owners, the liberty of the press of the working class must consist in tearing from the hands of the Luca de Iena, Godo, Mencheta, etc., these means of information, broadcasting and propaganda, in order to place them at the service of all the workers' and peasants' organizations.

We must denounce as treachery any policy which tries by different pretexts to leave the

great printing presses and the great supplies of paper in the hands of their bourgeois proprietors. The same must be said of the radio stations which must be placed at the disposal of the proletarian organizations, of the big meeting halls, etc.

THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

76) The problem of the Constituent Assembly can appear as one of the most critical in a revolutionary situation. According to the circumstances, the slogan of "the Constituent" can, as in Germany in 1918, be a fatal trap, presented by a shrewd bourgeoisie; or as in Russia, in 1917, an important step toward the revolutionary solution of the crisis. For this reason, because it is a two-edged sword, it is not surprising that there are few problems in which the danger of deviations and tendencies toward sectarianism and ultra-leftism appear with such sharpness.

All the more reason to comprehend the role that the slogan of the "Constituent Assembly" can play in the revolutionary Spanish situation. The slogan of the "Constituent" does not go beyond the category of a transitional slogan. The Constituent Assembly cannot accomplish the revolution. Therefore, even in those cases where such a slogan must be launched, we must tirelessly explain to the masses, we must warn them that the "Constituent" can in itself provide no definite solution for their problems and their aspirations. Save in extremely exceptional cases, the slogan of the "Constituent Assembly" is not a slogan which forces itself toward its own final realization. Either it is a *defensive* slogan in the descending course of a revolutionary wave which is retreating before the counter-attack of a military dictatorship; or if it is employed in an ascending revolutionary wave, it is probable that at a certain point, the growing radicalization of the masses will make it possible to surpass it by means of the decisive aid of the organs of dual power. In any case, it is needless to say that its use does not correspond to a period of complete bourgeois "democracy."

77) In Spain, concretely, the slogan of the "Constituent Assembly" will be able to have an important value and aid the revolutionary mobilization of the masses, in the event that Franco is replaced by the "liberal" bourgeoisie, arising out of conditions, for example, analogous to the situation in France under the regime of De Gaulle. To every attempt by the bourgeoisie, after the replacement of Franco, to continue governing by decree, by special powers, without making any direct appeal to the people, the slogan for us, in such a situation, of "immediate elections" and of "convocation of a Constituent Assembly" can offer during a determined period an appreciable contribution to the revolutionary mobilization of the Spanish masses.

78) The slogan of the free self-determination of the peoples must be systematically wielded in the course of the Spanish revolution. Federalism within the framework of working-class power must be the fundamental principle of the revolutionary structure. This federalism is a decisive weapon in the plan for the destruction of the old bourgeois state apparatus, a channel for the action and initiative of the masses as well as a

guarantee of the administrative and cultural rights of the nationalities. This federalism must carry with it, on the one hand, the most energetic condemnation of all nationalism, of every tendency for separation from the Spanish community in revolution, tendencies which could only benefit the bourgeoisie and be stirred up by their agents as a lever for destroying or weakening the indissoluble unity of the revolution. On the other hand, this federalism necessitates the most absolute centralization in the management of planned economy.

79) The Spanish Revolution will develop itself under the sign of internationalism. This orientation must not consist solely of general propaganda, but in a consistent activity against imperialism and for the world revolution, supporting all the revolutionary actions produced in other countries and arousing in them a political radicalization by means of the proper orientation.

INDEPENDENCE OF MOROCCO

80) The Spanish Revolution will develop under this sign of internationalism. Throughout the whole period which may extend between its triumph and that of the world proletariat, it must wield two powerful levers: independence of Morocco, and expropriation of the interests of the great foreign companies. The first slogan, linked intimately to a policy of destroying the great land-owning class and all the feudal survivals, will find a profound echo in the hearts of the colonial peoples, who are also drawn into the world revolutionary process which has now begun. The second, combined with calls for acts of international proletarian solidarity, for defensive actions and to paralyze the imperialist counter-offensive, must be an instrument of intense radicalization, not only of the Spanish Revolution, but also of the world revolutionary process.

81) The problem of arming and of military preparation of the workers' cadres, of its organization into special combat and defense groups, must not be left until after the fall of Franco. It must be begun immediately and increased to the degree that the decomposition of the Franco regime makes itself clearer, investing this question with a character of class unity and class independence, of proletarian democracy. All the revolutionary slogans will assume a demagogic phrase-mongering character, unless they start from the fundamental principle that the arming of the proletariat and the poor peasants constitutes the only guarantee for the revolutionary struggle. Every action, all the propaganda for a class program, must then lead above all to the task of arming the worker masses in the Workers' Militia.

82) The propaganda for the disarming of the bourgeoisie and for the arming of the workers and poor peasants, must be based not only on general considerations, but on the problems and preoccupations of the masses themselves at each given moment. It must also be based on the very experience of the Spanish proletariat, which set up its militias during the course of the Civil War. Although by building them upon the base of the various parties and organizations, rather than by setting up one single Workers' Militia in a

democratic organization, they directed themselves along an essentially wrong road.

83) No confidence in the organisms of the bourgeois state in any pretended "purging" of the Army. The recent lesson of Italy in which the Badoglio and other such types were maintained must serve to show the worker and peasant masses what the bourgeoisie means by such changes. There is the opposite to the conception that the masses have of such problems, as the even more recent experience in North Italy has also shown us.

Everything which is not directed practically toward the dissolution of the Army will leave unresolved the crucial problem of the Revolution. Its dissolution, like that of the Civil Guards and the other repressive forces of the State, will only be realized by the action of the proletariat, taking into its own hands the arms torn from the armed bodies of the bourgeoisie.

LOCAL AND REGIONAL WORKERS COMMITTEES

84) Just as in Asturias in 1934 and on July 19, 1936, in the workers' districts, in the industrial cities, in the villages and towns, the COMMITTEES will surge up, and will take into their hands the exercise of political, economic, and military power, based upon the arming of the working class and the poor peasants. Only on this road of the Committees is the victory of the Spanish proletariat and the popular masses possible.

85) The Committees of July 19 were appointed in general from *above* by the leaderships of the different organizations and parties. Moreover each Committee worked and lived in isolation, disconnected from the whole of the proletariat, from the entirety of the Committees on the provincial, regional and national scale. This lack of a democratic base and a centralization of activities and efforts were two mortal weaknesses of the July Committees. The future Committees must be constituted by direct designation of the worker and peasant masses in their factories and in their trade unions. The Committees must be the democratic representation of *all* the workers, democratically electing their delegates, able to revoke them at any time.

86) Each one of the workers' struggles, up to the open revolutionary period, requires of itself the establishment of such Committees, embracing all the proletariat, as an expression of the profound necessity of the workers to give a unified, truly democratic leadership, without bureaucratization of any kind, to its class mobilization. It requires the development of such organisms, the coordination of their activity, their furious defense against the attacks and maneuvers of the bourgeoisie. Each Committee must send its representatives to the regional congresses, to the *National Congress of Workers and Peasants delegates*. Each Committee must make itself the agitator for this goal, must organize larger and larger meetings, must impart energy and strength to the existence of the Committees.

87) These Committees of the masses will be the only organizations surging directly from the ranks of the masses of the city and country,

that will drive them to action at a given time. Their force, their authority will definitively prevail against the power of the bourgeoisie, if the Committees, animated by the revolutionary party, are fully conscious of their power and direct themselves along the road which fulfills the slogan: **ALL POWER TO THE COMMITTEES.**

That will be the result of the common experience of the working masses and the activity of the revolutionary party. The campaign for the constitution of the Committees must start from, and base itself constantly on the desires, the necessities that at all times impel the masses to action. Before converting themselves into organs of power, the committees must be the organized and fighting expression of the actions and desires of the masses.

88) The perspectives and revolutionary tasks which we have analyzed are impossible to realize without the existence of a firm revolutionary direction, firm in its political positions and in its organizational principles. These tasks and perspectives have a European and world scope. For the problem of the revolutionary leadership to be really resolved, it must be approached from this international angle. To speak of the revolutionary party, for us means to speak of the *World Party of the Socialist Revolution*.

89) For ourselves this world orientation of the proletarian revolution exists in the program and organization of the Fourth International. Since the degeneration of the Third International, it has shown how to give to the proletariat an experience, a program and revolutionary cadres that were hardened in the struggle for fidelity to revolutionary Marxism, to Bolshevism. We are vindicating this revolutionary capital; and we consider that the revolutionary party of the Spanish proletariat must be based on it and on the organization which defends it.

The movement of the Fourth International—and that is the best guarantee for the future—has satisfactorily passed the severe test of the Second World War. The capacities of the Internationalist Communists have not been expressed in slurring over crises, errors, and desertions, but in finding in the correct program and the correct methods of organization the necessary resources for straightening their course and making their cadres more cohesive.

90) Such a characterization of our position signifies that we not only faithfully adhere to the fundamental principles of Marxism, but more concretely: that we maintain our fidelity to the political and organizational principles of Bolshevism as the expression of Marxism in the contemporary epoch.

The retreats suffered by the working class in the course of these last years has caused a veritable slaughter in the camp of the petty-bourgeois currents, disguised as Marxism. To revise, to re-examine, to give a "new" theory to the workers movement are expressions now "in vogue" among the men and organizations that have not known how to apply Marxism in their own actions, and, therefore, have seen themselves disarmed in the period of social action we have lived through in these years. Against all these, we reaffirm that Marxism appears to us

today more than ever the scientific doctrine of the revolutions; and Bolshevism is the system of organization and of political struggle for the Marxists of our time.

91) The federalist conceptions concerning the political organization of the proletarian revolution in Spain have nothing to do with the present organization of the revolutionary party, which cannot be the anticipated image of the future classless society, but the steel instrument for to the communist society of tomorrow. A revolutionary Spanish working class policy must concentrate on the building of a "national" and centralized party, and not upon a hybrid and impotent amalgam of "regional" parties. The Spanish revolution constitutes a single whole; and *one* party must be built for its leadership. A party in which the fullest internal democracy destroying capitalist society and opening the road permits the elaboration, the comparison and the constant criticism of political positions together with the most iron unity and centralization in the development of the revolutionary struggle.

92) The political and organizational desertion by the leaders of the former Spanish Section of the Left Communist Opposition brought it about that the positions of the Fourth International in the midst of the Spanish Revolution were defended only by isolated revolutionary militants. Alone in full civil war, the actions of "The Leninist Voice" Group defended the revolutionary program and constituted itself as the Spanish Section of the Fourth International. Its numerical weakness, its lack of roots in the ranks of the vanguard of the Spanish workers, considerably limited the range of such activity.

The regrouping of the Spanish militants of the Fourth International, the existence in Spain and in the emigration of militants and of Internationalist Communist nuclei, constitutes an important step in the building of the revolutionary party, which is the fundamental objective of the Communist-Internationalists. In the task of building "the Internationalist Communist Party" of Spain, other nuclei or political currents can agree with the necessity of such work. A systematic labor of discussion and clarification must be carried on by our comrades along that line.

One affirmation must be clearly formulated by us in order to give greater seriousness and effectiveness to such activities. The Internationalist Communists are not a grouping of militants who "seek a new doctrinal base for the workers movement" or who "are in a period of thoroughgoing revision," etc. For us, the question consists in knowing how to apply the political fundamentals that the first Four Congresses of the Communist International bequeathed to us, and all the political material developed since in defense of the proletarian revolution by the movement of the Fourth International.

We carry our revolutionary capital with us in order to oppose it to the programs which others think might add to it, better it or disprove it. In this way we Internationalist Communists will develop our work in the building of a revolutionary leadership.

MAY, 1945

(The End)

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