

Workers

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International



News

*Theoretical
Organ of the
Revolutionary
Communist
Party*

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OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

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April
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WORKERS INTERNATIONAL NEWS

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Manager's Column

Due to financial and technical difficulties the present and last issues of *Workers' International News* have had to be bi-monthly numbers. It is hoped that from now on it will be possible to resume monthly publications; but that depends largely on the help which we receive in the immediate future from our readers and supporters.

Are you doing all you can to increase sales of the magazine and raise financial support? Unless our readers increase their efforts in these directions it will not be possible to maintain regular production of W.I.N.

Each issue is produced at a loss. Revenue from sales by no means covers the cost of production and distribution.

Yet W.I.N. can be run on a sound financial basis. This demands, on the part of our supporters, sustained efforts to raise funds and get new readers and, above all, to *pay accounts conscientiously*.

Since our theoretical journal appeared in its new format it has become very popular, here and abroad. It will be a tragedy if we cannot continue the regular appearance.

The matter rests in *your* hands. Don't leave it to the other fellow! The continued existence of *Workers' International News* is dependent on increased circulation and financial support. That in turn depends on you.

WORKERS INTERNATIONAL NEWS

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Editorial Notes

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL MEETS IN WORLD CONGRESS

THE Fourth International, World Party of the Socialist Revolution, has held its first world congress since the termination of World War II, the first international meeting in fact since the emergency conference of 1940.

It is significant to note that we came together at a time when "international" meetings are fashionable. The entire trend of historical development has demonstrated irrefutably the international character of our epoch; that capitalist nationalism and the progressive historic rôle of the nation states belong to the past; that all major problems of society can be solved only on a world scale.

Even the capitalist "statesmen" have been compelled to give limited recognition to this fact. Together with the bureaucratic usurpers in the Moscow Kremlin, they are paying lip-service to internationalism and international planning. The United Nations Organisation, the world food conferences, meetings of foreign ministers, the Paris "peace" conference and similar theatrical performances occupy the time and energies of the capitalist and Stalinist politicians. Following in their wake the trade union leaders also meet in world conferences to endorse the decisions of their capitalist and Stalinist masters and to devise the most effective means of rendering service to capitalism by helping to betray and canalise the progressive strivings of the masses towards a revolutionary solution of their problems.

But all their labours will prove to have been in vain! The bickerings and quarrels amongst the capitalist nations and with the U.S.S.R., the constant failures to find a basis for other than the most general agreement, are but the overt manifestations of the deep rooted general crisis of world capitalism which renders imperative the struggle for socialism. For only when the proletariat of all countries has political power in its hands can a solution be found to the problems of our epoch.

THE PURPOSE OF THE CONGRESS.

This is the setting in which representative delegates from twelve countries assembled to discuss resolutions on the major questions which face the proletariat; to decide the tactical methods of transforming the existing cadre organisations in the various countries into mass revolutionary parties; and, as a primary prerequisite, to create an authoritative central leadership of the International.

The principal work of the Congress was the discussion around, and adoption of, the international political report presented by the European Secretariat who

had been charged with the task of convening the Congress. The general ideas of the adopted report appear in the form of a popular manifesto—"Only Victorious Socialist Revolutions Can Prevent The Third World War"—which appears elsewhere in this issue.

The Congress showed that the Fourth International, unlike its predecessor, the degenerated Stalinist Comintern, is a homogeneous but not a monolithic organisation. The world party and its sections function as a unit observing unity in action. We carry on the traditions of Lenin's International and condemn its Stalinist caricature. The Fourth International does not respond to any bureaucratically imposed *diktat* like a trained animal to the crack of its master's whip. On the contrary, freedom of discussion is a cardinal feature of the Fourth International and its Sections, which hold a healthy respect for minority viewpoints.

By this Bolshevik method Congress reached general agreement on the revolutionary character of our epoch; the opportunities for building the mass parties of revolutionary Marxism; and the applicability of the Transitional Programme of the Fourth International.

On the more precise questions of estimation of the forces and tempo of development and the tactics flowing from these appraisals differing viewpoints were naturally in evidence. The discussion around these important questions continues within the International thus establishing its democratic character, its willingness to test out its ideas and learn from the development of events which can alone give the final answers to the issues raised. In this way it shows also its understanding of the nature of Marxist theory which is "not a dogma but a guide to action" as Lenin so aptly expressed it.

WE CONTINUE THE TRADITIONS OF LENINISM.

It is of importance to note that this Congress of our International is the only authoritative political assembly of the world Labour movement to convene since the imperialist war. The Second (Labour and Socialist) International was a casualty of the first world war. Its sections were divided by the frontiers of the warring capitalist gangsters whom the spineless and treacherous Labour leaders of the various countries supported.

Lenin, and the small group of internationalists around him, understanding the nature and depth of this betrayal, issued the call to build the Third (Communist) International on the principles of revolutionary Marxism. Basing themselves on the logic of the class struggle, on the achievements and internationalist character of the Bolshevik revolution, and on the faith in the proletarian revolution, the vanguard of the world working-class came together in 1919 and created the Communist International.

However, along with the degeneration of the Russian revolution after the death of Lenin, and in line with the reactionary-nationalist, Stalinist theory of building "socialism in one country" and abandoning the world revolution, the International of Lenin has dissolved into a series of Kremlin border patrols serving no other purpose than the dissemination of the policy of the Russian foreign office. Together with their Menshevik partners-in-crime, the Socialist Parties of the various countries, the reformist sections of the formally dissolved Comintern now constitute an *objective barrier* to the world socialist revolution.

THE FOURTH IS THE ONLY PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONAL.

The Comintern revealed its utter impotence as a revolutionary instrument when it allowed the German working-class to be crushed by Nazism without lifting a finger to resist. The "Left Opposition," led by Leon Trotsky, had hitherto been conducting a struggle, despite their expulsion,

to reform the Communist International. But the German events of 1933

revealed the rottenness of the Comintern. In September, 1938, after five years political and ideological preparation, the First World Congress was held. The Fourth International was founded.

To-day, after nearly eight years of momentous struggle, including five years of imperialist war with its unparalleled political repressions, we are the only tendency of the world socialist movement which even dares to lay claim to being an international. The Socialist and Stalinist Parties are, for the most part, the most active participants in the governments of the various capitalist countries. They are the main supports of the crumbling capitalist structure. The London Bureau of Revolutionary Socialist Unity—which included the British I.L.P.—and which during its brief span of life had such noisy pretensions to international leadership, has disappeared hardly leaving behind a trace of its existence. Despite the counterposing by Brockway, Pivert, Brandler, *et al* of their "realism" to the "artificial" and "sectarian" Fourth International, the generation of workers now being drawn into the revolutionary struggle will learn of the London Bureau—the 2½ International—only through the historical records. In contrast the Fourth International not only lives but is the only force capable of giving guidance and leadership to the revolutionary struggles of the toilers throughout the world.

In the period through which we are now living two diametrically opposed forces confront each other—capitalism and communism. The social problems of our epoch, aggravated and raised to a higher pitch by the war, can be solved only on a world scale, that is, only through the world proletarian revolution.

Capitalism, in decline since the beginning of the century, faces its greatest crisis. The crisis of overproduction which generated the world war has been transformed by the war into its opposite. Millions of people in Europe and Asia are on the verge of starvation. Millions will die of famine in the coming months. The military conflict has speeded up the economic decline of capitalism on a world scale. In a few years it will plunge mankind into its greatest economic catastrophe, into a depression of hitherto unseen depths.

THE FUTURE IS OURS

As the Congress resolution lays down, we are living in an objectively revolutionary period. The objective conditions for the proletarian revolution exist. Confronting society is the life and death struggle between capitalism and communism. There is no middle way. Either the continuance of capitalism with its fascism, unemployment, poverty, inequalities and war or the proletarian revolution. That is the issue which faces us. That is the point of departure of the Fourth International which recognises that socialism alone can lead mankind out of the present impasse, away from the abyss of reaction into which capitalism threatens to plunge our planet.

But socialism will not come by itself. It will be achieved only through the class struggle, only through the proletarian revolution. Such a struggle, such a goal, demands that there shall be in the vanguard of the insurgent toilers a steered and politically clear leadership. The World Congress recently concluded in Brussels is an historic stage in the development of such a leadership, in the growth and development of the World Party of the Socialist Revolution, the revolutionary communist Fourth International.

Only Victorious Socialist Revolution Can Prevent the Third World War

Manifesto of the Fourth International addressed
to the Workers, the Exploited and the Oppressed
Colonial Peoples of the Entire World.

* * * * *

The first world-wide conference of the Fourth International since the conclusion of the second imperialist war meets at a time when the crisis of society has reached unprecedented depth and breadth.

In the very sight of the smouldering ruin and devastation and blood-letting of the last holocaust, the third world war is being prepared! The empires of Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy, and Japan have been destroyed by the "United Nations." But already the victors are engaged in a furious race among themselves for the possession of the most perfected weapon of destruction, the atomic bomb. What the totalitarian war fought with flying fortresses and super-tanks, buzz-bombs and bazookas, flame-throwers and katinkas has still left standing faces complete annihilation by this most dreadfully thoroughgoing of all death-dealing inventions. Thus the crisis of humanity has become a life-and-death question in the deepest and most literal sense of the words.

The Fraud of the "Four Freedoms"

The second imperialist war was solemnly consecrated by the govern-

ments of the "United Nations" and their flunkies at the head of the "socialist" and "communist" parties as well as the trade union bureaucrats, as a war against fascism and for democracy. It was a war for the "Four Freedoms" in the words of its foremost protagonist, the late leader of American imperialism, Franklin Roosevelt.

Instead of "Freedom from Fear" mankind faces the threat of atomic self-destruction.

Instead of "Freedom from Want" three-fourths of the world is plagued with starvation and disease.

Instead of "Freedom of Speech" the vast majority of the peoples are forced to obey the dictates of military governments or the puppets of the victors.

Only the spurious "Freedom of Religion" remains, in the hands of the rulers always a pliant tool by means of which to create rancour and strife among the ruled.

That is the true face of the promised freedoms. Meanwhile, under the benevolency of the victors, fascism raises its head again under new forms, as in Italy with the "Uomo Qualunque" movement, and elsewhere.

These were the *alleged* aims of the war, the promises brandished before the masses of the people. They have proved to be a pack of deceitful lies. In the Manifesto of the Emergency Conference of the Fourth International in May, 1940, we branded these lies in advance. The Fourth International alone told the truth!

"Contrary to the official fables forged to drug the people," the 1940 Manifesto written by Trotsky said, "The principal causes of the war like that of all other social ills—unemployment, the high cost of living, fascism, colonial oppressions—lies in private property of the means of production and in the bourgeois state which rests on its foundation."

Like Lenin during the first world war, we warned: "But as long as the main productive forces in society are in the hands of the trusts, that is, of tiny capitalist cliques, so long must the struggle for markets, for sources of raw materials, for the rule of the world inevitably take on a more and more destructive character."

These were the *real* aims. These remain to-day the motive forces leading to the next war.

If victorious revolutions of the working class do not supplant the rapacious system of private property and establish a planned socialist order of production for use, we repeat with Lenin and Trotsky, imperialist war is sure to follow once more. This time, accompanied by atomic annihilation of the entire industrial areas of whole countries at once.

This manifesto is therefore directed to the workers, the exploited, the oppressed. The fate of mankind rests in their hands and in their hands alone. It is to them that this conference of the Fourth International, the World Party of the Socialist Revolution, turns with its explanation of the situation we face together, and it is they whom we summon to action against the rulers of the world.

The Results of the First World War

The real aims of the war were the struggle for markets, for sources of raw materials, for hegemony of the world economy. Two sets of capitalist powers faced each other in the conflict.

There were on the one side the old and bloated imperialist nations like England and France, who had long ago divided up among themselves the lion's share of the world's markets into col-

onies, but whose antiquated industrial technique made their economic hold very tenuous.

On the other side were the younger imperialist nations like Germany and Japan, which rose late in capitalist development, benefited from that fact in order to equip themselves with the most modern industrial plant, but found the world market already divided and colonies only obtainable by force of arms from the older powers.

In the sphere of the former were also such "sated" secondary powers as Belgium and Holland. In the sphere of the latter, such "hungry" powers as Italy. Their alignment was predicated upon their early or late arrival on the scene of capitalist development.

Hovering over the lot was the threat of the newest capitalist giant, the United States of America. Although it too came late on the scene, America possessed a vast internal market which enabled it for a long time to enrich itself without coming into direct clash with the other powers and at the same time to build the most modern productive plant in the world. In the first world war, which was only a prelude to the second, the United States had participated only as a preventive measure. It wanted to forestall the threat of Germany's swallowing up all of Europe.

Meanwhile, the productive apparatus of world capitalism as a whole had expanded to such an extent as to make even the existing market shrink by comparison. The struggle for markets thus brought into conflict every imperialist nation with every other imperialist nation. Resort to war was determined only by the degree of desperation for markets. "Export or die" was the battle-cry of Nazi Germany in its struggle for "living space."

Already in the first world war, while defeating Germany, both England and France became greatly weakened economically to the great benefit of America, which came out of the war with the greatest gains.

But a factor of the first importance which reduced the market for capi-

talism as a whole was the great proletarian revolution in Russia in October, 1917. By abolishing private property and socializing all industry, the revolution led by the Bolshevik Party at one stroke withdrew one-sixth of the earth from capitalist exploitation.

Under the impulse of this event, the first great colonial uprisings took place in the Far East, warning imperialism of the coming universal revolt against its rule. All capitalist powers, after vain attempts to crush the young socialist republic by armed intervention from 1917 to 1921, cast greedy eyes upon this lost market. Their fear of further loss by the spread of the revolution to Europe and their desire to recoup the original loss, attenuated for more than twenty years the struggle they were conducting among themselves. That is why all the victors of 1914-1918 aided in rebuilding capitalist Germany. They meant to use Germany as a battering ram against the U.S.S.R. At the same time, England hoped by doing her share toward this end to keep her French competitor weakened and to find alliance against the American colossus. France and America had similar aims.

The Rise and Fall of Nazi Germany

But German capitalism, once helped to its feet, with the high degree of technical culture it had attained, would not rest content with this role. Since the unification of Europe was not accomplished by a victorious proletarian revolution throughout the Continent the German capitalists undertook this task by reactionary means. That was to be their springboard in the struggle for world domination. To carry out these ambitions, they chose the most murderous and barbaric form of government yet known—the Nazi state of Adolf Hitler. The task of the Nazi state was to subjugate the working class at home, crush the U.S.S.R., and enter into struggle for hegemony of the world with the U.S.A.

The initial phase of this task was directly aided by the "democratic" powers. It was facilitated by the bank-

rupt, cowardly, and treacherous policies of the social democracy, the Stalinists, and the trade union officialdom. Even when their own skins were at stake, the latter could not form a united front of the working class to struggle against Nazism. The later phases brought on the clash with the Western powers, on whose side first the social democrats and later the Stalinists then participated in the war.

In the Far East, the imperialists similarly looked upon Japan as a bastion against the U.S.S.R. There, too, Japan was not content with its role. Swallowing up half of China, with the toleration of the other powers, the Mikado's empire set out to challenge British and American domination over the markets in the Pacific, with the aim of creating a Japanese "Greater East Asia."

The economic resources of Italy, Germany, and Japan proved insufficient for the vast totalitarian second imperialist war that ensued. One after another they finally succumbed in the struggle. But England, France, and the other secondary powers were not any more equal to this struggle of world proportions. Each has come out of the war vastly reduced in stature, its economy weakened as never before, its empire threatened with disintegration. Their *real* aims in the war—to retain their markets, to continue and increase their colonial exploitation, to safeguard their age-old profit system—were not attained any more than were Germany's and Japan's.

The Capitalist Victors and their Prospects

Only the United States came out of the war tremendously strengthened. Its rivals, Japan and Germany, lie in ruins. Its allies, France and England, have become indebted to it to the point of vassalage. But what price victory for the American imperialists?

The U.S.S.R., that great sector of the world market withdrawn from capitalist exploitation in 1917, still stands. It even threatens to engulf numerous other countries around its

border, thus further causing the capitalist market to shrink.

The remaining world under capitalist rule has been vastly impoverished and devastated by the war and the purchasing power of its population reduced by *half*. At the same time, American productive capacity has, in the course of the war, more than *doubled*.

Even if its domination were absolute and unchallenged in the capitalist world, American imperialism could gain profits only during a short boom, while the shelves at home and abroad are still altogether empty because of the conversion of all industry in the past period to war production. Once recon-verted industry begins to satisfy pent-up demands, American capitalism faces the crisis of "overproduction": a depression so acute, as to put in the shade the memories of 1929-33 with the 15,000,000 unemployed of that time.

But Wall Street's domination is not unchallenged and absolute. The other capitalist states, with their lower standard of living and lower wages, still retain a certain degree of importance as competitors to harass it.

A resumption of planned production in the U.S.S.R., and particularly its acceleration with a revolutionary overthrow of the Stalin regime and reinstatement of workers' democracy, is an ever-present threat.

Meanwhile the colonial world is rife with revolts—beginning with Indonesia and Indo-China and penetrating India and China as well, not to speak of the Near East and Africa.

The masses of Europe have entered into a sweeping swing to the left, challenging the whole system of capitalism including that of the oldest bourgeoisie in the world, England. Only the cowardice and treachery of the traditional workers' parties (Labour Party, socialists, Stalinists) to whom the workers turned in the first phase of this swing, and the continued absence of mass revolutionary parties, have for the moment arrested its transformation into successful revolutions.

Wall Street's own army, reflecting the moods of the toiling masses from whom its ranks hail, clamours to go home from all the outposts of the world. The G.I.'s do not want to serve as overseers of a world of slaves. And at home, Big Business has initiated a wage-freezing and union-breaking drive in order to prepare for cheaper production with which to consolidate the markets won by military might. But the masters face a rebellious wave of millions upon millions of strikers resisting this drive, fighting to bring their earnings in line with the rising cost of living.

The Results of World War II

Even as regards their real aims, the second imperialist war has resolved none of the basic problems of the world's rulers. On the contrary, they have become more acute than ever. As long as private property of the means of production, as long as production for profit, as long as the search for the elusive market amidst a constant decline of the masses' purchasing power continues—that is, as long as capitalism continues to exist—so long must misery and chaos and the inevitable and futile recourse to war exist.

The second imperialist war, with its 50 million dead and 50 million crippled victims, with its hundreds of millions uprooted from hearth and home, with its immense destruction of cities and devastation of fields, solved nothing. *But it was inevitable.* The coming third world war, whose only conclusion can be the atomic annihilation of the human race, is just as inevitable as long as capitalism exists.

Make no mistake about it. The third world war is on the way. The anti-Soviet, anti-Communist harangues of Churchill; the spy-scars around the atomic bomb; the orders reestablishing secrecy of troop movements and reactivating air forces in the American army—all these are drum-beats announcing it. In their greed for super-profits the capitalist rulers are entirely heedless of the fate of mankind. The two

world wars since 1914 have demonstrated this with shattering effect. Only successful proletarian revolutions which will transform society into a planned socialist order can prevent the third world war and the barbaric self-annihilation of humanity.

The Power of Marxist Prognosis

When the Nazi panzers rolled over Europe to the English Channel and Hitler still maintained his pact with Stalin, certain impressionable people, rejecting Marxist theory, drew "innovating" conclusions. Europe, according to them, faced a whole epoch of the "New Order." Some even went so far as to see in the events, and in the fact of the Stalin-Hitler pact, the rise of a new class replacing the entrenched capitalists as well as the challenging proletariat in the hegemony of society. They spoke of the new "managerial society," which bracketed the National Socialist Party of Hitler, the Fascist Party of Mussolini, the New Deal of Roosevelt, with the Stalinist bureaucracy under one head. These innovators found wide currency among the petty bourgeoisie and even penetrated into the ranks of the workers' vanguard. The Fourth International, defending Marxism against the revisionist "innovators," wrote in its manifesto in 1940:

"In return for the enslavement of the peoples Hitler promises to establish a 'German peace' in Europe for a period of centuries. An empty mirage! The 'British peace' after the victory over Napoleon could endure a century—not a thousand years!—solely because Britain was the pioneer of a new technology and a progressive system of production. Notwithstanding the strength of her industry, present-day Germany, like her enemies, is the standard bearer of a doomed social system."

How quickly this evaluation has been verified! How quickly those of the revisionists have been refuted! The power of the Fourth International lies in its programme, which is capable of withstanding the test of great events.

The fall of Nazi Germany as well as that of Fascist Italy merely proved that even the most brutal and open form of state dictatorship cannot solve the tangled contradictions of the capitalist class. Frenetic fascism, like decadent bourgeois democracy, are doomed because they are merely different forms of the same decayed social system long ago condemned by the development of the productive forces.

The Fourth International in 1940 also castigated the lie that the United States, victorious in the war, would sponsor a democratic European federation of states, sharing the world market with it.

"The state is not an abstraction," the Manifesto said, "but the instrument of monopoly capitalism. . . . Voluntary renunciation by the most powerful state of the advantage given by its strength is as ridiculous a Utopia as voluntary division of capital funds among the trusts."

As to the future of the U.S.A. itself, the Manifesto declared: "However, the industrial, financial and military strength of the United States, the foremost capitalist power in the world, does not at all insure the blossoming of American economic life, but on the contrary invests the crisis of her social system with an especially malignant and convulsive character."

Compare these prognoses made six years ago with the reality of to-day. In every important respect the analysis of the Fourth International has stood the test of time!

The Basic Antagonism in the World To-day: U.S.S.R. versus World Imperialism

At that time, conjunctural considerations based on the Stalin-Hitler pact aroused speculations about the "fundamental" alignment of the U.S.S.R. with the fascist states, just as the rupture of the pact and the unleashing of the war between the partners later gave rise to allegations of a "fundamental" alignment of the U.S.S.R. with the "democratic" states. The theses of the Fourth International long ago gave an evaluation that remains valid:

"Episodic agreements between the bourgeoisie and the U.S.S.R. do not alter the fact that 'taken on the historic scale the contradiction between world imperialism and the Soviet Union is infinitely more profound than the antagonisms which set the individual capitalist countries in opposition to each other.'"

Only on the basis of this evaluation could the unleashing of Hitler's war against the U.S.S.R. be explained after the Stalin-Hitler pact. Only on the basis of this evaluation can the current violent war-mongering campaign of American imperialism and its British junior partner against their Soviet ally of yesterday be explained to-day.

The whole period of world politics before us is characterized by this basic contradiction. As long as the U.S.S.R. exists in its present social structure, despite the ever more monstrous degeneration it has undergone under the rule of the Stalinist bureaucracy, it remains an obstacle on the path of the imperialist greed for markets. The second world war did not solve this contradiction, but only sharpened it.

The laying waste of the whole industrial western regions of the U.S.S.R. has weakened the Soviet Union tremendously from an economic point of view. The reactionary, chauvinistic, and pillaging policy of the Stalinist bureaucracy has weakened the U.S.S.R. politically by alienating wide strata of its natural allies, the masses of Eastern Europe. But the very fact that the U.S.S.R. has survived the war, that the bureaucracy has not been able to destroy its social foundations from within, and has even been forced to give an impetus toward the social transformation in varying degrees of the economies of the countries occupied by the Red Army under its command, has increased the acuteness of the problem of imperialism. That is why the imperialists have posed the settling of accounts with the U.S.S.R. as their most pressing task.

The Fourth International remains unreservedly for the defence of the U.S.S.R. against imperialism. But this

defence, now more than ever, can only be a revolutionary defence. Consequently, it can have nothing in common with the counter-revolutionary policies of the Kremlin.

The Role of the Stalinist Bureaucracy

"The defence of the U.S.S.R. coincides in principle with the preparation of the world proletarian revolution. We flatly reject the theory of socialism in one country, that brain child of ignorant and reactionary Stalinism. Only the world revolution can save the U.S.S.R. for socialism. But the world revolution carries with it the inescapable blotting out of the Kremlin oligarchy."

From 1924 on, when the nefarious theory of "Socialism in one country" was first proclaimed by Stalin, the policy of the Kremlin has served to prevent the establishment of socialism in any country. In practice, this theory was meant to justify the entrenchment of a privileged caste of nationalist bureaucrats. Basing itself on the isolation of the young Soviet state amidst the decline of the first revolutionary wave in capitalist Europe, and on the fatigue caused by years of civil war in Russia itself, the bureaucracy sought to assure itself a privileged position at the expense of the masses on whose backs it climbed to power. Rejecting the internationalist policy of Lenin which, with the aid of the workers in all lands, saved the U.S.S.R. in its first years against imperialistic intervention, the Stalinist clique utilized the Communist International he founded to undermine a whole series of revolutionary opportunities.

Thus, in 1926, at the time of the British General Strike, it made opportunist deals with the Labourite trade union council to prevent the revolutionary development of the great strike wave. In China, from 1925 to 1927, it bound the Communist Party hand and foot to the politics of the bourgeois Kuomintang, which eventuated in the dictatorship of Chiang Kai-Shek, the hangman of the Chinese proletariat. From 1929 to 1933, it promulgated the

concept of "social-fascism" to lump social democrats and Nazis under one head, preventing a united-front struggle of the workers' organizations and thus permitting Hitler to come to power. In 1936, when the wave of sitdown strikes raised the question of power in France, the Popular Front which it had created with the reformists worked to tie the working class to its capitalists. When the civil war broke out in Spain that year, it did everything in its power to restrain the revolutionary action of the masses and to confine them within the strangle-hold of bourgeois democracy, thus making possible the victory of Franco. The development of this whole policy was motivated by the desire to ward off attacks from without and permit the bureaucracy to entrench itself from within the U.S.S.R., but currying favour with the capitalist rulers and their petty bourgeois agents among the masses. In the process the Communist parties were transformed into mere tools of the Kremlin's foreign policy. The natural allies of the U.S.S.R., the masses in all capitalist countries, were led by the Stalinists from defeat to defeat.

Within the Soviet Union itself, the Kremlin oligarchy developed a violent wave of repression against the Left Opposition led by Leon Trotsky. For Trotsky pointed out each step in the growing betrayal, from the proclamation of the theory of "socialism in one country" to the strangling of the Spanish revolution. Only advanced Communist militants in all countries, rallying to the banner of Trotsky and the International Left Opposition, could at first grasp the counter-revolutionary import of this evolution of the clique which usurped power in the first workers' state. But the Moscow Trials and the blood-purge of the whole generation of Lenin's co-workers in 1937 began to open up the eyes of everwider strata of workers to the counter-revolutionary role of Stalinism.

The Stalin-Hitler pact was accompanied by the partition of Poland and the whitewash propaganda picturing Nazi imperialism as "peace-loving."

Fascism became, according to Molotov, "a matter of taste." Wide masses of workers everywhere were repelled by this vile self-debasement of the Kremlin. When Hitler repaid the Stalin clique for this service which inaugurated the war by unleashing his whole war-machine against the Soviet Union, the Kremlin made an about-face. In a campaign of the wildest chauvinism, Stalin branded not only the "peace-loving" Nazi band of yesterday, but *the whole German people*, for the crimes of Hitler!

To-day, with the military action concluded, the Red Army under Stalinist orders is directed to plunder and pillage industry and homes in Germany, in Austria, in all of conquered Eastern Europe. The aim is allegedly to rebuild ruined Soviet industry. That is a foul lie. The pillage and plunder are intended solely to cover up the bankruptcy of the Stalin regime, against which the Soviet masses are growing increasingly restive.

The present foreign policy of the Kremlin, which serves only the bureaucracy and its privileges, is directed ostensibly to strengthen the U.S.S.R. against imperialism, just as the whole pre-war policy was directed toward "neutralizing" the capitalist states and preventing war. But the bloc with the British trade union fakers, the capitulation to Chiang Kai-Shek, the betrayal of the French and Spanish revolutions, the allowing Hitler to come to power without a struggle, and finally the Stalin-Hitler pact — all these "clever" manoeuvres—did not prevent Hitler's war and the devastation of half of Soviet industry. They weakened the Soviet Union tremendously and threw back its progress for years. Just in the same way, the present counter-revolutionary policy of pillage and plunder in Eastern Europe and Asia, and of outright suppression of the movement of the masses in these countries, cannot but lead to the inevitable strengthening of American imperialism and the preparations it is making for the ultimate crushing of the U.S.S.R.

In 1940, Trotsky wrote:

"As a consequence of the first period of the war, the international position of the U.S.S.R., despite the window-trimming successes, has already obviously worsened. The foreign policy of the Kremlin has repelled from the U.S.S.R. broad circles of the world working class and the oppressed peoples. . . . Meanwhile Germany has obtained the most important and the most industrialized section of Poland and gained a common frontier with the U.S.S.R., that is, a gateway to the east."

A year later, this warning was completely borne out!

To-day the Fourth International warns: in spite of the advances in territory, in spite of the wholesale looting, the policy of the Kremlin has in this latest phase of the war still more weakened the international position of the U.S.S.R. The peoples of Eastern Europe smart under the criminal policy of the Kremlin and turn, as the elections in Austria and Hungary have shown, to the most backward parties as an expression of their anger. In the Far East, the insurrectionary mood of the masses is making itself felt not only in the territories under British and American domination, but also in Korea and Manchuria, where the Red Army rules. Meanwhile, American imperialism has penetrated the very outposts of the U.S.S.R. everywhere, strategically encircling its territory from Eastern Europe to China, the whole stretch of the globe.

The Kremlin oligarchy thus only facilitates the aims of imperialism against the U.S.S.R. itself and at the same time undertakes the task of directly suppressing the independent movements of the masses for their emancipation, hatred and fear of which it shares with the capitalist rulers.

Only the revolutionary action of the masses can forestall the plans of predatory imperialism, defend the U.S.S.R. by extending the social overturn of October, 1917. But the revolutionary

action of the masses is possible only in struggle for the overthrow of the counter-revolutionary Stalinist regime in the U.S.S.R. itself and its replacement by Soviets elected freely by the workers and peasants. The defence of the U.S.S.R. thus implies directly the defence of the European and world revolution against Stalinism.

The Present Revolutionary Situation

Are the conditions ripe for the revolutionary action of the masses? Will not Stalinism on the one hand, and the social democratic helpers of world imperialism on the other, prevent revolutionary developments once more from reaching a successful conclusion? Will the Fourth International, with the small forces at its disposal to-day, succeed in overcoming these obstacles and in giving leadership to the masses? These are questions that no doubt are bound to be raised by serious-minded workers.

The past defeats of the working-class, under social democratic and Stalinist leadership, hang heavy indeed. These were grave blows. The great weight of Stalinism to-day undoubtedly remains a grave obstacle. But as against these, there must be weighed the fact that to-day the critical situation of world capitalism is by far graver than ever before. That is the point of departure for revolutionists, for those who seek to point out the road to action to the masses.

Long ago the Fourth International enumerated the conditions for the workers' revolution:

"The fundamental conditions for the victory of the proletarian revolution have been established by historical experience and clarified theoretically: (1) the bourgeois impasse and the resulting confusion of the ruling class; (2) the sharp dissatisfaction and the striving toward decisive changes in the ranks of the petty-bourgeoisie without whose support the big bourgeoisie cannot maintain itself; (3) the consciousness of the intolerable situation and readi-

ness for revolutionary actions in the ranks of the proletariat; (4) a clear programme and a firm leadership of the proletarian vanguard—these are the four conditions for the victory of the proletarian revolution.”

Never has the impasse of capitalism been more tangled or the confusion of the ruling class more widespread. In one country after another, inflation is rampant. The burden of the state debt reaches astronomical figures. The decline in the standard of living and the impoverishment of the mass of the population as a whole reaches unprecedented proportions. In spite of a degree of government regulation and control never before attained, the economic crisis continues to rise in a dizzy spiral and, being already acute in Europe and in the colonies, threatens to overtake the most stable economy in the world, that of the U.S.A.

After the first world war the bourgeoisie, in order to reestablish the class equilibrium in society threatened by the revolutionary wave that commenced in Russia, resolved to make considerable economic concessions to the masses. It thus lent a certain degree of stability to the political regime of social reformism, which was called upon to save it from destruction. After this war such a strategy is a luxury which the capitalist class can no longer afford. Particularly in Europe, where unproductive expenditure for war needs and the vast destruction of capital values have enormously reduced the specific weight of the economy the world market, the bourgeoisie can hope to rebuild ever so slightly its profit-making capital only by a further onslaught on the wages and living standards of the masses. But this holds true in a broader sense of England and the U.S.A. as well.

If the government is therefore permitted to fall into the hands of the Labour Party in England, or of a coalition of the socialist and Stalinist with bourgeois democratic parties in a “People’s Front” in France, Belgium, etc., that is not the design of the bourgeoisie. The ruling class tolerates

these “leftist” regimes because the pressure of the workers and the mass of the population is too strong, their own forces as yet too weak, for an open dictatorship. The capitalists reckon that the consequences of the economic breakdown will heap discredit upon the traditional parties of the masses which have been driven to take power. They correctly assess the cowardice of these parties, who fear to go beyond the limits of the bourgeois structure of the state, who leave the reactionary army and police set-up unchanged, who stand in awe of private property which is so sacred to the bourgeoisie.

While the hatred of the trusts leads the workers and peasants to clamour for the socialization of industry, the reformist parties in power are forced to take measures of “nationalization.” But these measures do not touch the property rights of big business. They assure the owners of “nationalized” plants full compensation, thus imposing new burdens on an already overburdened economy. By means of government bonds issued to them in place of their former stocks, the capitalists are assured continued profits. The direction of “nationalized” industries, instead of being turned over to workers’ committees, is in effect left in the hands of the old managers who serve the trusts. By means of these fictitious “nationalizations,” the bourgeoisie thus aims to concentrate ever more the power over the whole economy in the grasp of monopoly capitalism.

While the socialist and Stalinist ministers disarm the independent militias of the workers and peasants which sprang up in the course of the Nazi occupation, while they put down all manifestations of class revolt in the armed forces, the bourgeoisie concentrate the permanent apparatus of the state (army, police, secret service) in its own hands. Behind the scenes it prepares and conspires with royal dynasties and reactionary generals for the proper moment to seize full control of the state and set up new Bonapartist dictatorships.

Meanwhile, its whole policy, based on the aggravated economic situation, is marked by indecision and vacillation. After more than a year of efforts to bolster his position by authoritarian ultimata, de Gaulle steps aside and into the background in France. In Belgium the bourgeoisie alternately pushes forward and retreats in its campaign for the return of King Leopold. In Greece, the attempts to reinstate the monarchy under the protection of British bayonets foreshadows open civil war, etc., etc.

At the same time, the petty bourgeoisie, upon whose support monopoly capitalism has in the past depended both for its internal aims (fascism) and for its foreign policy (war) has been torn loose from the control of big business. In the countries where fascism has been the state form no less than in the "democratic" countries, the process of proletarianization and pauperization of the urban middle class has not only not been halted, but accelerated by the wiping out of savings and the absolute decline in the standard of living brought about by inflation. On the other hand, the peasantry which, as in every war, seems to have profited from the black-market conditions, is in reality no better off than before. Its profits are mainly in devaluated currency. With its paper riches it cannot buy the necessary and increasingly more costly agricultural machinery, fertilizer, cattle, etc. Thus a new and more acute agrarian crisis looms ahead.

Furthermore, the war has blown up the old petty-bourgeois illusions of national unity. The big bourgeoisie has revealed itself to be thoroughly "collaborationist." The discontent of the petty bourgeoisie and its efforts for a decisive change are revealed in the mass swing to the parties traditionally known to it as *labour* parties. The tremendous victory of the British Labour Party, the huge vote for the socialists and Stalinists in France, in Belgium, and in Italy, the mass support for the E.A.M. in Greece, etc., cannot be understood except in this light.

Meanwhile, the mounting wave of strikes, which involve one country after another in Europe and in the Far East, reaching their highest points in the American citadel of world capitalism itself and spreading into its half-colonies in South America, attest by their persistence and high degree of militancy as by their advanced slogans ("for the sliding scale of wages," "open the books of the big corporations," etc.) to a growing consciousness of an intolerable situation in the ranks of the working-class. The incipient formation, during the first period of the war's end, of workers' militias and factory committees in Italy, in France, in Belgium—for the time being thrown back through the connivance of the Stalinists and reformists with the bourgeoisie—were clear indications of preparation for revolutionary action.

If these elements in the preparation for revolutionary action have not yet matured actually in Europe, this is in no small measure due to the unprecedented physical collapse of Germany. The signal for the intensification of the revolutionary struggle all over the continent was expected in the form of the outbreak of the German revolution. The criminal campaign of chauvinism unleashed during the war by the Kremlin against the German people, including the working-class—and supported by the treacherous reformist and Stalinist parties in all the "democratic" countries—served to bewilder the German masses in the course of the catastrophic military developments and to paralyse their action with the increasing debacle of the Nazi regime. At the same time the Big Three connived to prevent the outbreak of revolution by concerted physical destruction never before known to history (on a much larger and vaster scale than the bombardments against insurrectionary Turin and Milan after the fall of fascism).

Before the German working-class, the potentially most powerful in Europe and the one with the longest revolutionary traditions, can take the road to revolution which it undoubtedly will,

the physical prerequisites (re-establishment of a minimum of food, shelter, communications, and the return of its millions of young men from the prison camps) will have to be fulfilled. But the failure of the revolution to break out immediately in Germany has only slowed down the tempo of development. It has not in the slightest altered the trend.

In spite of this fact, in spite of the disarming of the workers' militias, in spite of the crushing of the armed struggle of the masses in Greece, we have not witnessed a turn toward reaction. None of these defeats has been decisive. On the contrary, all attempts of reaction to entrench itself (through the monarchy in Greece, Italy, Belgium, through the establishment of an authoritarian executive in France) have thus far met with the greatest resistance on the part of the masses, and failed of their purpose.

On the other hand, the workers do not confine themselves to combating all these reactionary attempts. They go over to the offensive. The strikes against the freezing of wages, directed against the bourgeois regimes in which their "own" parties participate, objectively pose the question of state power.

While the revolutionary developments show a slackening of tempo in Europe, they take on a more accelerated pace elsewhere. The waves of strikes and soldiers' demonstrations in the U.S.A. testify to a speedy development of the revolutionary consciousness of the American masses, in the past much more backward than those in Europe in this respect. But of even greater importance is the present ripening of the revolutionary struggle in the colonies. Starting out with tenacious insurrections against British, French, and Dutch imperialism in Indonesia and Indo-China, and with an incipient revolt even against hypocritical "liberating" American imperialism in the Philippines, the wave of struggle in the Far East has penetrated the Indian masses, where great political strikes and mutinees foreshadow the outbreak of nation-wide insurrections

with the object of overthrowing all imperialist rule. The effect in China, and later in Japan, is certain to make itself felt. In the Near East as well, the persistent mass demonstrations and strikes of the Egyptian masses are the prelude to the revolutionary uprising of the masses in all the Arab lands.

The world situation thus shows all the earmarks of fulfilling the first three conditions for a victory of the proletarian revolution, which were posed in the Manifesto of 1940. What about the fourth—is there a "clear programme and a firm leadership of the proletarian vanguard?"

Posed differently, the question is: In a situation which is undoubtedly as favourable for revolution as never before, both because of its profound crisis character as well as its universal extent, does the party exist which is necessary to lead the revolution successfully? Shall we, in other words, succeed in transforming the present revolutionary minority into mass parties of the working-class? Or will the old parties, the reformists and Stalinists, once again be able to betray the revolution?

To answer this question, we must put it in its proper setting. The present situation is not one of a conjunctural crisis. It is not a matter of a single uprising in a given country. It is a matter of a whole revolutionary period taking place on a world-wide scale. The capitalist world has no other way out except its prolonged death agony. In such a period the programmes of the old parties—the socialists and the Stalinists—cannot have the slightest validity among the masses. That is why they are bound to clash with them. On the other hand, our programme is built precisely for this epoch. In the turbulent developments occurring before us, our programme has already found and will continue to find growing response.

Only a few short years ago, skeptics and dilettantes ridiculed the Transitional Programme of the Fourth International. To-day its main slogans—"For a Sliding Scale of Wages and

Hours," "For Nationalization without Compensation," "Open the Books of the Big Corporations to Workers' Control," "For Workers' Militias," "For a Workers' and Peasants' Government"—are beginning to echo from the lips of millions in all parts of the world. The programme is clear. The growing response it receives shows the great possibilities that open up for the building of mass parties of the Fourth International.

The building of mass parties, however, even in the most favourable situations, is a process that entails great difficulties. A whole complex of organizational problems requires mastery. Confidence must be established in the relationship between the leadership and the party, between the party and the masses. Not everywhere is the process even. Undoubtedly there will be situations still where the failure of a mass party, of a revolutionary leadership to develop in time, will cause a partial defeat. But it is precisely because a whole epoch is involved that such defeats are partial, that the task of rapidly building mass parties is constantly posed before us anew, that the opportunities increase. That is the perspective on which the young parties of the Fourth International base themselves.

A firm revolutionary leadership is developed, in the first place, in defence of the programme. If the programme of the Fourth International is to-day beginning to penetrate millions, if it is beginning to be verified in the test of action, that is due first and foremost to the ability of the young cadre parties of the International to withstand all assaults on its foundations and to survive against all the obstacles placed in their path.

The Fourth International Has Survived the Test of War and Reaction.

The cadres of the Fourth International were gathered in the bitter struggle against the stream, in the years of reaction that followed the decline of the revolutionary wave after the first world war. The slogan of

Trotsky, the founder of the Fourth International, was from the beginning of its development in 1923: "Back to Lenin!" That was the original battle-cry of the Trotsky Left Opposition against Stalin and the whole clique that then began its counter-revolutionary course by *revising* the internationalist, class-struggle theory of Lenin and Marx. That was the battle-cry which in the years that followed signified the devotion of the Trotskyists to the programme and concept of the Bolshevik party, the first and only party in history which showed how the proletarian revolution can be successfully achieved.

At the outbreak of the second world war, the Fourth International once again had occasion to fight other attempts to revise the foundations of the revolutionary programme. This time in its own ranks. It was in that struggle that the Fourth International armed itself from within against the trying test of the war years that ensued. "Back to Lenin," back to proletarian internationalism, to fraternization between the warring peoples, to the revolutionary defence of the U.S.S.R., to the continuation of the class struggle, to the preparation for the coming revolutionary tasks—that was the battle-cry of the Fourth International in the dark years under the Nazi terror and amidst "Allied" persecution.

The Second International disappeared without a trace and the social democratic parties within it became transformed into miserable propaganda agencies of Anglo-American imperialism. The collapse repeated in more grotesque form its performance of 1914-1918.

The Third International, after being corroded by years of betrayal, was merely traded out of existence by Stalin in exchange for Wall Street's Lend-Lease.

All the centrist organizations, like the London Bureau, simply broke up into their component parts.

Only the Fourth International held high the banner of proletarian inter-

nationalism, of the revolutionary struggle against war. Only the Fourth International withstood the test of the war. Only the Fourth International remained true to the programme of Marxism, to the traditions of the October Revolution. "Back to Lenin" remains our battle-cry, for that is the battle-cry of proletarian victory.

The war has been a terrible trial for the Fourth International. Aligned against it were all the powers of present-day society, from imperialism and its war machines to the Stalinist bureaucracy and its G.P.U.

In the very first year of the war, in August, 1940, the Fourth International was bereft of its founder and organizer, of the great revolutionary genius of our time. Leon Trotsky was foully assassinated by an agent of the G.P.U., in Mexico. It was a monstrous blow. Our enemies thought that it was fatal for the young International. But Trotsky had built better than they knew. Trotsky was dead, but the International he built took the dastardly blow as a challenge. The Fourth International honoured the memory of its great martyr by expanding and growing more than ever before.

In France, in Belgium, in Holland, in Greece, on the whole European continent the cadres of the Fourth International were submitted to the murderous terror of Hitler's Gestapo.

Leon Lesoil, Marcel Hic, Pantelis Poliopoulos and their friends, a whole generation of heroic Trotskyist leaders, fell victims to Nazi and Fascist bestiality.

Right in the midst of the Nazi domination of Europe, French and German Trotskyists together organized fraternization between soldiers and workers. They published and spread within Hitler's Wehrmacht the remarkable newspaper "Arbeiter und Soldat" which held high the banner of proletarian internationalism even as the storm of chauvinism was still raging. Sixty Trotskyist soldiers and workers, under the leader-

ship of the dauntless Victor Widelin, paid for this work with their lives. Their memory will be cherished by all workers when the Fourth International triumphs.

In Greece, the vile agents of Stalin murdered over a hundred of the best fighters of the Fourth International right in the midst of the civil war of December, 1944.

But they could not kill the world party of the socialist revolution. In spite of the frightful and debilitating losses, the sections of the Fourth International have grown all over the European continent.

In England and America, the "democratic" bourgeoisie clamped the Trotskyist leaders, alone among all the working-class parties, into the jails of Roosevelt and Churchill. They sought to decapitate the party. But the British and American Trotskyists, no less than their European brothers, took the persecution as a challenge and redoubled their forces.

Even more vicious were the persecutions and jailings meted out to our comrades in India and China, in the colonies. But there too the fighters of the Fourth International proved equal to the challenge of the rulers.

In the very midst of the war, with terror and persecution at their fiercest, new sections of the Fourth International arose in India, in Egypt, in Italy, and in South America.

The fact that neither Stalin nor Hitler, nor the "democratic" imperialists were able to suppress the onmarch of the Fourth International is a token for the future. It shows the workers that the surest way to overcome the treachery of Stalinism and reformism lies in rallying to the new parties, to the parties who learned to swim against the stream with the programme of the Fourth International.

The test of the war has shown that the Fourth International is not only a living reality but possesses such vitality that not even the most adverse conditions can impede its growth. This con-

ference, calling the roll of the sections after years of interrupted relations, can proudly say to the workers of the world:

Your International lives! The Fourth International has survived the worst years of reaction and imperialist war! The parties of the Fourth International are everywhere in a process of growth and maturation!

More than that, this conference can report to the workers of the world that, despite isolation and lack of direct communications during the war, the parties of the Fourth International find themselves in greater programmatic solidarity than ever! The strength of the Fourth International, its own experiences have shown, lies in its unshakable Marxist programme. The survival and growth of the Fourth International in the struggle against reaction and war augurs well for the development of its sections into the mass revolutionary parties which are needed to transform the present favourable revolutionary situations into successful revolutions. The overthrow of capitalism, the next steps toward the establishment of the world federation of socialist states which alone can prevent the annihilation of another war and solve the crisis of humanity—that is the task for which the Fourth International has been prepared by its whole past.

The Programme of the Fourth International.

This conference of the Fourth International meets after the so-called "United Nations Organization" has adjourned its sessions in London and as preparations are being made to hold their "Peace" Conference at secret sessions next month in Paris. The U.N.O. conference was marked by clashes between the representatives of American and British imperialism on the one hand, and of the Stalinist bureaucracy on the other. Hypocritical concern over the fate of small nations served to cover up the clash. The "Labourite" Bevin bemoans the fate of

Iran, Rumania, and Bulgaria at the hands of the Kremlin while continuing in full the arch-imperialist Churchill's policy in the British Empire and in Greece. The representative of the Stalinist bureaucracy, Vishinsky, bemoans the fate of Greece and Indonesia at the hands of Britain while the Kremlin violates the conscience of the workers of the world by its shameful actions in Eastern Europe and in Asia. Two bureaucrats, raised on the backs of the workers to power, play the game as "world rulers" according to the prescriptions laid down by rotten imperialist diplomacy. The U.N.O. even elects the "socialist" Spaak of Belgium as its chairman and the "labourite" Lie of Norway as its general secretary. But none of this "leftist" camouflage can hide the fact that the U.N.O. is merely a new edition of that imperialist League of Nations which Lenin dubbed the "thieves' kitchen." Not a single act in this assembly aroused the slightest enthusiasm among the masses of the world. Its debates were watched with fear and apprehension, or at best apathy, by the world's peoples. No one expressed any hope that it would solve any of the problems facing humanity. It was simply accepted as a new arena of combat among the warring powers, completely belying its name. The "Peace" Conference in Paris is not regarded with any greater optimism.

But even while the diplomats are heckling each other in London or in Paris, the revolutionary storm is brewing in India, in Egypt. Developing events there follow the pattern set forth by the programme not of the aborted U.N.O. or of any of its participants—but by the programme of the Fourth International. That is why we can say with assurance that the deliberations of our conference are of infinitely greater importance than those of the bourgeois "international" with all its imposing funds and for all the labour-camouflage lent it by the treacherous reformists and Stalinists.

This conference of the Fourth International calls upon all workers, all the exploited and oppressed, not to despair at the handiwork of their masters, but

to take up the struggle against them. Not merely to disdain their misleaders, but to impose upon them their own will. The present masters of the world dangle the threat of the horrendous atomic bomb to cow mankind. But they forget that atomic bombs, too, need the hands of workers to be produced. They forget that workers in uniform will be required to handle the dread weapons. Workers, filled with distrust for their greedy bosses, will know how to strike in atom-bomb factories as well as at other points of production. Soldiers, filled with hatred for their imperialist rulers, will know how to prevent the utilization of this weapon of self-annihilation. They need but the consciousness of the power of the world-wide solidarity of the working-class and of its revolutionary socialist goal. That is the only way to face the threat of the atomic bomb.

The world conference of the Fourth International, in summoning the international proletariat to action, hails first and foremost the heroic struggle of the Indian and Egyptian masses who, as it is gathered, have entered upon the path of revolutionary overthrow of the yoke of British imperialism. It notes with satisfaction that in these mass upheavals signs are already evident that the attempt of American imperialism to profit from the dilemma of its British rival is being met with open hostility and demonstrative resistance. It warns against the attempts of the colonial bourgeoisie, tied to imperialism by its capitalist interests, to curb the struggle and sell it out. No trust in Ghandi, Nehru, Patel, and their counterparts! The struggle of India, Egypt, Indonesia, Indo-China, and every other colonial people for national independence, for complete freedom from imperialist oppression, can be successful only by an uncompromising fight against the oppressors. Only the young working-class, supported by the peasant masses, can lead the struggle to a victorious culmination!

Form your own workers' and peasants' councils to organize the struggle! Seize the land for those who till it! Establish control over

the factories by workers' committees! Do not permit the bourgeois leaders and the Stalinist betrayers to conclude a rotten compromise with imperialism! Demand the immediate convocation of a Constituent Assembly which will freely express the will of the people and their right to govern themselves as they wish!

The struggle of the colonial masses for freedom is part and parcel of the struggle of the workers in England, in Europe, in America, against the same imperialist masters. The Fourth International calls upon the workers of the great metropolitan countries to rally to the defence of the colonial masses.

Hands off the Indian Revolution! Hands off the revolution in Indo-China, in Indonesia, in Egypt, in the Far East and in the Near East! That must become the determined voice of the workers in England, America, and Europe against the machinations of their capitalist masters!

The oppression in the old colonies is faced with revolt just as the imperialist masters in accord with the Kremlin bureaucracy, are attempting to foist the same kind of predatory oppression upon the masses of the defeated imperialist nations—Germany, Japan, Italy. The Fourth International calls upon the workers of the "democratic" nations to rise up against these reactionary plans.

Against the chauvinist lies which attempt to cast the war guilt of all the imperialists on the shoulders of the German, the Japanese, the Italian proletariat, the Fourth International calls upon the American, the British, and the European workers to demonstrate their class solidarity with the workers in the defeated countries. Withdraw the troops from Germany, Japan, Italy! Full freedom for the masses of these countries to decide their own fate—freedom of speech, of press, of assembly, free elections!

Only in raising these demands against the imperialist oppressors and their Kremlin henchmen can the German, the Japanese, and the Italian masses be won by the workers of the "Allied"

nations for their common goal; the Socialist United States of Europe and the world.

In all countries, the raging inflation and enormous tax programmes, by means of which world capitalism is attempting to shift the burden of its war debt upon the backs of the masses, must be met by the counter-offensive of the masses led by the working-class. The Fourth International calls upon the workers to defend themselves under these slogans.

For the Sliding Scale of Wages to Meet the Rising Cost of Living!
Tax the Rich. Not the Poor! Confiscate the War Profits of the Big Corporations!

At the same time, the bourgeoisie is planning to cast off the burden of the coming depression by throwing countless millions out of work, thus demoralizing the working-class and dividing it against itself. The Fourth International calls upon the workers to combat the depression plans of the capitalists under the slogans.

For a Sliding Scale of Hours!
Share the Work Among All Able to Work!
Reduce the Work-Week Without Any Reduction in Pay!

The war has revealed what prodigious feats of production modern industry is capable of. But under capitalism these great productive efforts all go for war, for destruction. With the end of the war, factories stand idle—capitalism cannot produce for peace. The Fourth International calls upon the workers in every country to demand: Open the Idle Factories! Operate them under Workers' Control! To the laments of the bourgeoisie that these measures would "ruin the economy," the Fourth International calls upon the workers to demand: Open the Books of the Trusts to Inspection by Workers' Committees! Abolish the Business Secrets! In this way the robbery and plunder of monopoly capitalism will be revealed to all.

In Great Britain, in France, in the other Western European countries, the leftward swing of the masses has put

the monopoly capitalists and their trusts on the defensive. To the rising voice for the socialization of industry, the Labour government and the coalitions of social reformists and Stalinists, with the bourgeois parties are replying with "nationalizations" which leave the profits of the capitalists untouched. Thus the monopolists are in a position to utilize the cover of such "nationalizations" to increase their stranglehold over the economy. The Fourth International warns against these fake-measures and calls on the workers to demand:

Nationalization Without Indemnity and Without Compensation! For Workers' Control over the Nationalized Industries!

To put through these necessary measures, without which there is no war to prevent world-wide crises from plunging humanity deeper into the death-agony of capitalism, the workers' organizations must break with the capitalist parties, must carry on independent working-class politics. The Fourth International therefore calls upon the masses to demand of their traditional organizations:

Break the Coalition with the Capitalists! Take Full Power! Form Workers' and Peasants' Governments! Apply a Genuine Anti-Capitalist Programme under the Control and Protection of Workers' and Peasants' Committees!

The Fourth International puts forward those slogans while participating actively in the daily struggles of the masses, while going through their experiences with them and drawing the lessons of these experiences. In the course of the common struggle, the parties of the Fourth International unfold its full programme, the programme of the socialist revolution and the establishment of free workers' republics within the world federation of socialist states. In the fight for this programme the Fourth International calls upon the workers to combat chauvinism, both of the reformist and the Stalinist variety. In the Eastern European countries, particularly, it calls

upon the workers to combat the fierce chauvinism of the Kremlin by fraternization with the troops of the Red Army. To combat the reactionary bureaucratic policy of pillage and plunder, they must unfold their independent movement of workers' and peasants' councils to enforce socialization of industry and the division of the land among the poor peasants, to fight for their democratic rights, for the right of all nationalities to self-determination. To fight successfully for these demands, the toilers of Eastern Europe will join forces with the workers of the U.S.S.R. to overthrow the reactionary bureaucracy under Stalin and re-establish the workers' state as a genuine Soviet democracy.

In opposition to social reformists and Stalinists, the Fourth International constructs its policy, not on the basis of the military and diplomatic designs of the capitalist states, but upon the crying needs of the workers, the exploited, the oppressed. Its programme is the programme of full emancipation of the working class from capitalist exploitation, of the colonial peoples from imperialist rule, of the Soviet masses from the blight of paralyzing bureau-

cracy. The Fourth International supports none of the existing regimes. It calls upon the workers to overthrow these regimes and to establish their own power. The overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of workers' power is a task that can be fulfilled only on a world scale.

Only Socialist states, united in a world federation of socialist republics, can banish war for all time, organize production for use with plenty for all, and bring about the society of the free and equal. Only a socialist world federation can transform atomic energy from its present position as a threat of annihilation against mankind into an unprecedented boom for the progress of humanity.

This is our programme, Workers of the world; there is no way out but this—to unite under the banner of the Fourth International!

—*The International Conference of the Fourth International World Party of the Socialist Revolution.*

Brussels.
April, 1946.

BIG BUSINESS & THE NATIONALISATION POLICY OF THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT

By AJIT ROY

The publication of the list of the new Directors of the Bank of England has caused great satisfaction in the City. A reading of the list of names makes it clear that nationalisation has not brought with it any basic change in the character of the Bank.

The same men who ran it in the past, are to continue to run it in the future. Let us take a look at some of these men to whom the Labour Government has entrusted the financial policy of the nation.

SIR CHARLES HAMBRO :

Chairman of the Great Western Railway; Managing Director of Hambro's Bank, and a Director of Union Corporation.

SIR PATRICK COOPER :

Governor of Hudson Bay Company; Deputy Chairman of the London Assurance Co., and a Director of General Electric Co.

SIR ALBERT GLADSTONE :

Senior Partner of Ogilvie Gillanders Co., Director of British French Discount Bank, and the Bank of Rumania.

J. C. HANBURY-WILLIAMS :

Managing Director of Courtaulds.

BASIL SANDERSON :

Managing Director of Shaw Seville and Albion; Director of Aberdeen and Commonwealth Line, and President of the International Shipping Federation.

BRIGADIER BROOK :

Assistant Manager of National Discount Co.

LORD AIREDALE :

Deputy Governor of the London Assurance Co., and a Director of Ford Motor Co.

Apart from Mr. George Gibson, one of the safest of the Trade Union breaucrats, the membership of the new Board is derived entirely from the top layer of City Financiers and Big Business representatives, who are the real rulers of the country.

It is no wonder, therefore, that the *Financial Times* writes gleefully :

"The majority of the changes of the Court of the Bank of England under the new regime are politically neutral. If a Labour-wedge is introduced, it is thin-edged. Thirteen of the sixteen members (plus the Governor and the Deputy Governor) were in office before the Act was passed. The Bank, in fact, has predominantly a 'City' directorate. The Government as 'owner' has clearly wished to act 'correctly'. It can only be hoped that all future administrations will have the same desire."

The *Economist* similarly commented :

"The only immediately visible alteration is in the Court of Directors which has been remodelled painlessly and without the risk of affront to evn the tenderest susceptibilities. Even an irresponsible critic of the Government or of nationalisation could not represent these as revolutionary changes."

The same policy of appeasing Big Business is manifest in the Investment

(Control and Guarantees) Bill, which is about to become law.

In the Election Manifesto of the Labour Leaders, published in the pamphlet "Let Us Face The Future", we were told that the Labour Government would maintain "a firm public hand on industry in order to get jobs for all." All private investments were to be controlled in the interest of the nation. Very little now is heard of even these meagre promises.

The new Investment Bill is a mere face-saving device, which does not control investment at all. Under its provisions all borrowings for investment purposes above the minimum of £50,000 has to receive the sanction of the Government, acting under the advice of two committees—the Capital Issues Committee, and the National Investment Council.

Dr. Dalton, writing in the Birmingham Labour Party Weekly, *The Town Crier*, has claimed that this Bill is one of fundamental importance in National Planning. "This time," he wrote, "the Government and the Labour Party mean to insist that National Need rather than private profit-seeking shall determine priorities. Finance must now be the servant and not the master of industry and of the nation." Noble words, these, but only words.

It is sufficient to point out that seven-eighths of the total investment of the country does not take place through borrowing at all, but are made by the giant combines and monopolies out of their immense profits and financial reserves.

In 1938, the total private investment amounted to some £615,000,000. Out of this, only £70,000,000 was raised by borrowing from the City. The rest and the greater part, was made by the Big Combines out of their own immense resources.

Take the case of the Prudential Insurance Co. At the end of 1944, its total funds amounted to £420,674,000, bringing in an annual profit of £60,000,000. There is nothing in the present Bill to enable the Government to control even a farthing of these huge funds. There can be no talk of controlling investments until the Government is ready to seize and take control of the revenues and reserves of the monopolies and combines. But this the Labour leaders refuse to do.

Let us look again at the composition of the National Investment Council, which is to advise the Chancellor on all matters concerning investments and industrial developments. Of the nine persons appointed, seven are company directors, holding between them fifty directorships. Is it any wonder that even the Tories should mock at the Labour leaders for their cowardice? This is what Ralph Assheton, the Tory spokesman for the City, had to say about the Investment Bill:

"I regard it as nothing more than a facade set up by the Chancellor to take the place of the Investment Board which he and his party promised the country at the election, in that pamphlet which secured them many votes. They have thrown it overboard. I do not criticise the Chancellor for departing from such a promise, which he probably had not studied very closely when it was published. In any case, it is quite clear that he has learned better now. He has told us that he has advanced since the General Election, it is very encouraging to see progress by the right hon. Gentleman."

While the Labour leaders are humiliating the Labour movement by going down on their knees to appease Big Business, the latter are openly flouting the Government and its directives. In his December Budget, Dr. Dalton refunded 20% of the Excess Profits Tax to the capitalists with the plea that the refunded money was to be spent in modernising and re-equipping industry, and not in paying extra dividends to the shareholders. But no sooner were these huge sums refunded than dividends began to soar. Led by Woolworth's which increased its dividend from 45 to 55%, a large number of leading firms have begun to pay super-dividends. An analysis of the dividend list over the past few weeks shows that between one-third and one-half of the companies are paying more.

Reynolds News, commenting on this tendency, wrote:

"Dividends are soaring. And the City is wondering if it is a plot to increase the difficulties of the Labour Government. While Big Business is stoutly opposing wage increases as liable to raise purchasing power and thus cause inflation, it is busily handing out vast increases in purchasing power to company share-holders."

The subservience of the Labour Government to Big Business is clearly demonstrated when one compares the measures taken by the Bolsheviks in 1917 with the present methods of nationalisation. We print below, the Decree "On Nationalisation of the Banks" issued by the Central Executive Committee of the Supreme Soviet in 1917:

"In the interest of the regular organisation of the national economy, of a thorough eradication of bank speculation and the complete emancipation of the workers, peasants, and the whole labouring population from the exploitation of banking capital, and with a view to the establishment of a single national bank of the Russian Republic which shall serve the real interests of the people and the poorer classes, the Central Executive Committee (Tsay-ee-kah) resolves:

1. The banking business is declared a state monopoly.
2. All existing private joint-stock banks and banking offices are merged in the State Bank.
3. The assets and liabilities of the liquidated establishments are taken over by the State Bank.
4. The order of the merger of private banks in the State Bank is to be determined by a special decree.
5. The temporary administration of the affairs of the private banks is entrusted to the board of the State Bank.
6. The interests of the small depositors will be safeguarded."

These measures, which offer the only solution to the chaos and anarchy of British industry, could be carried out by a genuine workers' Government in one day. And with the present relationship of class forces, any attempt on the part of the capitalist class to resist, could be easily defeated by the working class.

If industry is to be planned according to the needs of the working class, only those measures similar to those taken by the Bolsheviks can offer a solution. The measures taken by the Labour lackeys, who are dependent upon the bourgeoisie, cannot solve anything. It is the task of Communist workers ruthlessly to expose the fraudulent character of Labour's nationalisation programme and to fight for the Bolshevik solution.

THE PROGRAMME OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GERMANY: A CRITICISM AND AN ALTERNATIVE

Editorial Note.—The following article was issued recently in the German language by the British RCP. It has been distributed in Germany amongst

members of the German Communist Party as a discussion document and an appeal to join forces with the Fourth International.

Socialist and Communist workers of Germany! It is time for the advanced elements, who must lead the German people out of their nightmare of the last three decades, to understand the problems with which they are faced. What is responsible for the horrors that the workers of Germany and the world have experienced in the last period: world war I, the inflation, slump, the rise of fascism, the second imperialist war and the present crisis in Germany?

The leaders of the Communist Party and the Social-democracy, in defiance of the teachings of Marx and Lenin, want to lay the responsibility for the war and the bestial crimes of German fascism on to the shoulders of the whole German people. This is a miserable lie invented by the craven slaves, agents and apologists of capitalist imperialism. The first and second world wars, as foretold by Lenin, as foreseen by Liebknecht and Luxemburg, were the inevitable result of the contradiction between the development of the productive forces and the private ownership of the means of production and the national state. Finding no other way out of the contradictions of capitalism, the imperialists attempted a redivision of the world at each other's expense. It is capitalism, imperialism, which is responsible for the war.

Not alone the Hitler gangsters but all the imperialists were responsible not only for the war, but also for the

bestial crimes of the Nazis! British, French and American imperialism helped Hitler to take power. They armed Hitler. They financed him for the purpose of crushing the German working class. They viewed Hitler and his crimes against the working class with delight, regarding him as bulwark against the socialist revolution. Britain allowed Hitler to rearm, handed him Austria and Czechoslovakia for the purpose of strengthening him against the Soviet Union. Only when Hitler threatened their interests did the imperialists fight. And then not against fascism as an ideology, but only the threat to their possessions from German imperialism which Hitler personified. As Trotsky has phrased it: Hitler, Goering and Co. are just the first criminals in the dock. Together with them should go the British, French and American imperialists and also the Stalinist bureaucrats who signed the Stalin-Hitler pact and thus unleashed the world war.

The Nazis have committed unheard of crimes against other peoples. So also did they commit them against the German people. But the imperialists covered up the crimes of Hitler so long as they were directed against the German working class and peasantry because they thought they was a means of staving off the revolution. *Thus they are just as responsible for these crimes as the Nazis.* British imperialism allowed five million Indians to starve to death during the imperialist war, their crimes are as numberless as those of the Nazis. Are the British workers, then, responsible for the atrocities and crimes of their imperialist masters? If that was so why does not the Communist Party leadership and the Social-democratic Party leadership in Britain advocate the occupation of Britain and the payment of reparations to the Indian and colonial peoples? All the imperialists are guilty. Neither the German, nor the British nor any other workers can be held in any way responsible for the crimes of capitalism and imperialism, either in its democratic or fascist garb.

Lenin denounced the Peace of Versailles as the most monstrous peace treaty in history. How he would have scorned and condemned the shameful, super-Versailles which is being imposed on Germany to-day. By their support of the bloody peace of vengeance, of a cruel and humiliating peace of national slavery, the Social-democratic and Stalinist leaders prepare the way for the rise of a new reactionary nationalist movement in Germany.

In its programme for Germany the Communist Party says: *"The United Nations, with the Soviet Union, England and America in the forefront, stand for the principles of justice, freedom and progress. The sacrifices of the armies of the United Nations have saved humanity from Hitler barbarism. With the destruction of the Hitler army and the Hitler state, they have brought peace to the German people and liberated them from the chains of Hitler slavery."* This is a foul and cynical

deception of the people of Germany and of the whole world. Britain and America are oppressing hundreds of millions of the peoples of the colonies to whom they deny the elementary rights of national freedom and democracy. America foully oppresses under almost a Hitler degree of racialism, the Negroes of the South. The Stalinist bureaucracy plays an infamous role in Eastern Europe and the rest of the world. Lenin denounced the Versailles Treaty as one which reduced Germany to the level of a semi-colony of the Allies. The so-called "United Nations" have not brought peace to Germany but a new slavery. One even worse than that of Versailles. They have replaced the domination of Europe by German imperialism with the domination of Europe (and above all of Germany) by Anglo-American imperialism and the Stalinist bureaucracy. They have shamefully dismembered Germany, and plundered her with the same rapacity and greed and with the same viciousness employed by Hitler in his treatment of the countries conquered by Germany. If they have allowed elements of working class organisations and democratic rights in Germany, this is not due to any inherent love of democracy, but because they have been forced to do so. The mood of the working class in Britain and America, the impossibility of maintaining British, American and Russian troops indefinitely to hold down the German people by means of military dictatorship, the need for some kind of base within Germany: these are the factors which have forced the democratic concessions. In addition, the Social-democratic and Stalinist leaderships were prepared to do the dirty work of Allied imperialism and Stalinism by pretending that the German people must accept the monstrous dismemberment, reparations, plunder and limitations of productivity on the grounds that they were responsible for Hitler.

Who really was responsible for Hitler? First and foremost capitalist imperialism in an attempt to save its rotten system. The German working

class never supported Hitler. The workers, organised in the Communist and Social-democratic parties, in the trade unions, in the Red Front Fighters' League and in the Reichsbanner were eager and willing to fight the Nazis. It was the Social-democratic and Stalinist party leaderships that split the workers, paralyzed their will to resist the Nazis and betrayed the German workers (eight million of whom were socialists and six million communists) to Hitler without firing a shot. Shame on these traitors who now want to make the German workers responsible for their own crimes! When Trotsky warned in his many books and pamphlets written during the period 1930-33 of the consequences of a victory for Hitler, the Stalinists split the workers and joined with the Nazis in the notorious "Red" Referendum of 1931. The Social-democrats supported Hindenburg and the Iron Front and so paved the way for Hitler.

Stalin, with his policy of "social-fascism" and the refusal of the united front with the Social-democrats, and the Social-democratic leaders, with their "theory" of the "lesser evil," were *jointly responsible* for the catastrophe. Not content with playing the role of Judas to the proletariat they now want to hamstring their victim even further so that they shall expiate their crimes and those of imperialism.

Lenin castigated the crimes of the Social-democrats because in saving capitalism in the revolution of 1918-19 they prepared the way for the victory of reaction. The leadership of the C.P. in 1923 failed to take the power. Thus the failure of the proletariat to solve the problems posed by the decay of capitalism prepared the way for the frenzy of the middle class who sought a way out in the demagogy of the Nazis.

The Communist Party programme says: "*To-day, on the termination of the Third Reich, the Social-democratic workers will agree that the fascist pest could only spread in Germany because*

the war criminals were not punished in 1918; because there never was a struggle for real democracy. Therefore we demand: no repetition of the mistakes of 1918." But Lenin said that the great mistake of 1918, the great crime of 1918, was the failure of the working class to overthrow capitalism and take power into its own hands. That was what Liebknecht and Luxemburg fought for. What the German Communist Party was to carry through. Yet, in the name of Lenin and Luxemburg, you are carrying through the same fatal policy as the Social-democrats did in 1918. Shame on those who besmirch and distort, in the name of Lenin and Liebknecht, the doctrines for which they stood! Shame on those who in their name perpetrate the crime of carrying through the very teachings and policy of class-collaboration and cringing to the victors against which Lenin and Liebknecht fought so implacably!

The internationalist policy of Lenin, Liebknecht and Trotsky has been changed for a policy of support for the victors whose cynical policy is "woe to the vanquished."

The French and British Stalinists and Social-democrats denounce the German people in the most chauvinistic and shameful manner. But only yesterday the British Labour leaders tried to justify the shameful capitulation of the German Social-democrat and trade union leaders to Hitler without a civil war. In the early period of the war the Stalinists, including the German C.P., attacked only Anglo-French imperialism. They wanted peace on Hitler's terms prior to the attack on the Soviet Union. Thus, faithfully and obediently, the Social-democrats act as agents of the bourgeoisie while the Stalinists act as agents of the foreign policy of the Soviet bureaucracy. To-day they neither wish to pursue an independent class policy. They collaborate with the capitalists who put Hitler in power and act as agents of the foreign conquerors and oppressors. Listen to this toadying:

"We must learn from the past and commence a new way. Every German must be aware that in view of the fact of repeated imperialist crimes tolerated by the people, the United Nations have to take measures to prevent a repetition of German catastrophic policies. In that lies the meaning of the Potsdam Conference, to enable the German people to prove that through its own ability it will grow into a peace-loving democratic nation. Only when every German becomes conscious that he must honestly turn a new leaf and continue the democratisation of Germany which began in 1918—only then can the German people win the confidence of other nations. Only then will it again achieve honour and freedom—only then will a German government represent a real democratic Germany and will be able to participate at a Peace Conference."

Why the Germans? Because they have been defeated? Are not the workers of other countries, who for many reasons—especially the treachery of their leaders—were unable to overthrow capitalism in time, also responsible? If the Germans are guilty then the Russian, French, American, British and other peoples are no more or no less guilty. The Potsdam Conference was a gathering of the robbers to divide the loot. It had nothing to do with socialism or democracy. It was merely the development of power politics to the extreme. Are you to make the German people responsible for the first world war also? Then you must overthrow the teachings of Lenin and Liebknecht, admit openly that you have nothing to do with the teachings of Marxism.

Lenin pointed out that not the German people, or even German imperialism alone was responsible for the first world war, but the criminal capitalist imperialists of all the great powers. Not a single one could absolve themselves from this crime against humanity. Not only that but Lenin predicted that if the workers did not overthrow capitalism then there would inevitably

be a second, a third, even a tenth imperialist war.

The road to peace lies not in the German people ceasing to "tolerate" aggressive German imperialism, but in the overthrow of capitalism in Europe and throughout the world. All other ways, Lenin taught, were perfidious deception of the masses. No "United Nations" mumbo-jumbo can prevent war if the cause of war, capitalist imperialism, is allowed to remain. No sooner has the defeat of Germany and Japan been accomplished than the victors are quarreling among themselves. Britain with America, Russia with America and Britain, and so on. Inevitably the seeds are being sown for world war III with even greater destruction and slaughter for the peoples of the world.

There is one way, only one way to peace, freedom and plenty for the peoples of Germany and Europe. That way is the overthrow of capitalism and the organisation of a Socialist United States of Europe. That was the lesson of 1918, of 1923, of Hitler and of world war II. *Yet it is precisely this lesson that the Communist Party leadership pretends not to understand.* They draw the amazing conclusion, apparently, that the Soviet system does not correspond with the present development in Germany. Why? In their own words: *"We are of the opinion that it would be false to force on to Germany a soviet system because it does not correspond with the present development in Germany. On the contrary, we are of the opinion that the main interests of the German people in the present position of Germany demand a different perspective, namely the formation of an anti-fascist, democratic regime, a parliamentary democratic republic with all democratic rights and liberties for the people."*

This is a repetition of the mistake and crime of the Social-democracy in 1918. It was precisely the *bankruptcy of capitalism in a democratic form*—because that is what the parliamentary

republic means—which laid the seed for the rise of fascism and the victory of Hitler. "Democracy," bourgeois democracy, could not flourish in a Germany ruined by Versailles, faced with the contradiction of her enormous industrial potential and the impossibility of its full exploitation because of the restrictions imposed by capitalism. The democratic republic could not even give bread to the people. It ruined not only the working class but the middle class as well. As Lenin pointed out, it could only be the rule of monopoly, finance-capital. Democracy must have a class content. Bourgeois democracy must mean the rule of the trusts and the banks and those very elements responsible for Hitler. Yet the German C.P. quite openly and unashamedly now stands on a programme which despite their covert support for it, the Social-democracy did not dare openly advance in 1918. In the words of C.P. programme: "*Unhindered development of free trade and the initiative of private enterprise on the basis of private property.*"

Even though it were true that it was not possible *immediately* to set up a soviet system in Germany, it would still be the duty of a party carrying on a Leninist policy to explain to the working class and to the broad masses that only thus could they find a solution to their problems. This would be the aim to which all the propaganda work of the revolutionary party would be directed. No lies would be told to the people, no illusions would be spread that a new democratic Germany (and the Stalinists avoid the question of its class basis) could lead to peace, bread and freedom. You lie, gentlemen! Like that of the Social-democrats of 1918, your policy is preparing new horrors and misery for the peoples, new wars, new fascist scourges.

That makes the sugary phrases of the C.P. policy, for example, "protection of the workers from excessive exploitation," so much nonsense. On a capitalist basis the German people

would have to toil for decades to build up Germany and pay the reparations which you suggest. "Recognition of the duty to make reparations to countries damaged by the Hitler regime. Fair distributions of the burdens arising out of these reparations on the basis that the rich carry the heaviest burdens." As if the rich do not always load the burdens on to the poor and the oppressed. As if it would be possible to build up industry on a capitalist basis without the capital coming from the blood and sweat of the workers. Such a way would lead to catastrophe for the German workers and the German people. But not only that, it would be a catastrophe for all Europe.

No matter in what disguised form, the Social-democrats, and above all the leadership of the C.P., stand for the dismemberment of Germany, for the ruin and enslavement of the German people in the interests of the Allied oppressors. Yet this way provides no benefit, not only for the German people, but for the working class of France, Britain, Russia and America. It helps only the capitalists of these countries and the Stalinist bureaucracy in Russia. But the expropriation of the German capitalists and the running of industry and the country under the control of the working class with the support and assistance of the petty bourgeoisie in a socialist, soviet Germany would prepare the way for the socialist united states of Europe. All the wonderful productive resources of Germany could be utilised to rebuild, as Lenin had dreamed, the whole of Europe on entirely new foundations. That is the road that should have been sketched for the working class of Germany and Europe. Yet these traitors and vandals justify the destruction of a great part of German heavy industry, and the limitation of her productive capacity, by a pretence that this will curb her war-making propensities. Like the British Luddites, who destroyed the machines, these people wish to blame the machines, *not the class in control of the machines.* At least the Luddites were only poor ignorant workers who

did not know any better, and who learned very quickly. But what excuse can be offered for those who claim to be the enlightened leaders of the working class? The problem of Germany can only be solved by the conquest of power by the working class of Germany and of Europe.

This is the fundamental programme of Marxism and Leninism. Even if the argument is accepted that it is not possible at the present time—and this is only true because of the policies of Stalinism and Social-democracy internationally—then transitional demands will have to be developed, not as ends in themselves, but as a step towards the socialist revolution. Democratic demands will figure on the programme of the revolutionary party. But not the demand for “law and order,” always the rallying cry of counter-revolution. It was under the cry of “law and order” that the bloodhounds of Noske and Scheidemann smashed the German workers who were led by Liebknecht and Luxemburg. Liebknecht and Luxemburg were themselves murdered in the name of “law and order.” Hitler, too, committed his thuggery in the name of “law and order.” Gallifet slaughtered the Communards likewise in the name of “law and order.” Now we know where the leaders of Stalinism stand. They stand under the sinister bourgeois cry of “law and order.”

With this sinister programme it is not surprising that they wish to carry through the fatal social-democratic policy of a bloc with the bourgeois parties. Nowhere in the literature of Lenin can justification be found for collaboration with the class enemy.

Communist workers! Socialist workers! Demand that this quisling policy cease. Fight for a socialist programme. Fight for a programme of economic and political emancipation of the working and middle classes, not a programme of slavery and degradation. It is utopian to imagine that a new world can be created on the basis of

capitalism, especially capitalism based on the ruins of Europe. In an endeavour to win the mass of the population for the socialist revolution a positive programme of transitional demands must be developed. The problems of Germany can only be solved on a European scale. The fate of the German workers is linked with that of the French, British and Russian workers. Therefore an internationalist policy must be developed by the German working class.

In the name of struggle for socialism the Stalinists declared the Social-democrats the main enemy and prepared the victory of Hitler. Now they wish to use the shout of unity . . . not only with the Social-democrats but with the capitalist parties as well in order to safeguard capitalism. We are for the unity of the working class. We will unite with the Communist Party and a Social-democratic Party in the struggle for any demand, no matter how small, which is in the interests of the working class. Unity yes, but what for? That is what the workers must ask. The only unity of the lion and the lamb is in the stomach of the lion. The only unity between capitalists and workers is in the interests of capitalism. We are against unity with the capitalists of all countries. We are for a relentless struggle against them. Our programme and our programme alone we believe offers the way out for the working class. But while the workers retain confidence in the Social-democratic and Communist Parties we are prepared to have a united front with them on any question of *struggle* against capitalism, not of collaboration with it.

(1) Against a new and worse Versailles planned by the imperialist powers and the Stalinist bureaucracy; against the dismemberment and plunder of Germany and its reduction to a colony or semi-colony of Allied imperialism; against the oppression of all people, including the German people.

(2) The way out for Germany can only lie in the expropriation without compensation of the big capitalists who are responsible for capitalism and the war. No repetition of 1918.

(3) For the expropriation of the Junkers, without compensation, and the sharing of the land among the peasants. For cheap credits for the small shopkeepers and middle class. For an alliance with the petty bourgeoisie against big capital.

(4) For the withdrawal of all the armies of occupation and the democratic right of self-determination of the German people.

(5) No reparations or dismemberment of Germany.

(6) For free elections and unfettered choice of the German people.

(7) For the right of the working class to organise in unions and in the factories; for the right of free speech, free press, free voting, etc.

(8) For the punishment and expropriation of all Nazi supporters (i.e., the big capitalists) and S.S. volunteers. No action to be taken against the dupes of the Nazis, the rank and file, who did not benefit.

(9) For workers' control of production.

(10) For the equal distribution of all food, clothing, fuel, etc., under the control of committees of workers, housewives, small shopkeepers and peasants.

(11) For the unconditional return of the prisoners of war.

(12) For an eight-hour day and overtime pay for all time worked in excess of eight hours.

(13) For a minimum standard of living with a sliding scale of wages. Make the capitalists pay the cost of reconstruction.

(14) For a Socialist Germany and a Socialist United States of Europe.

This is the programme of the Party of Marx and Lenin. This is the real programme of Communism which alone can lead the workers of Germany and the world out of the hell of capitalism into a new world.

How can it be explained that the C.P. should have strayed from the teachings of Lenin in this monstrous fashion? It is because they do not represent the workers of Germany or Russia or any other country, but of the Soviet bureaucracy which has usurped control out of the hands of the workers of Russia. Only this can explain the criminal policy of Stalinism in 1930-33 which led to the victory of Hitler, and the even more criminal policy which they are pursuing to-day. These are but the reflection of the foreign policy of the Stalinist bureaucracy. Of the conquests of the October revolution nothing remains but the State ownership of the means of production. All the other conquests have been swept away by Stalin and the traitor bureaucrats. Lenin laid down four laws for the rule of the working class:

The election of Soviets and the right of recall of all representatives by the masses whom they represent.

The abolition of the standing army and its replacement by the armed people.

No official to receive higher payment than the average worker.

No permanent officialdom.

To use Lenin's phrase, "Every cook should be able to become prime minister, when everyone is a bureaucrat no one is a bureaucrat."

Not a single one of these conditions exists in Russia to-day. The destruction of the conditions Lenin demanded for the rule of the working class has laid the basis for an enormous privileged caste of bureaucrats to take control in Russia and to manipulate the Communist Parties all over the world, not in the interests of the world revolution, but for the day-to-day needs of the bureaucracy.

Our Party fights for the restoration of these conditions in Russia and for the overthrow of capitalism and the institution of these conditions in other countries.

We stand for soviets and the freedom of soviet parties, i.e. all parties who are ready to accept the soviet system as a basis shall have the right to press, paper, radio, and all other means of moulding public opinion to the ideas of any grouping of workers accepting the above conditions. The German workers have had a horrible experience of totalitarianism. They will fight for a genuine socialist democracy on the basis of the rule of the working class. They must not be trapped into support for bourgeois democracy.

In all parts of the world there are internationalists — members of the Fourth International—who are with you in your darkest hour. They alone stand for the great programme of international socialism and the destruction of capitalism nationally and internationally. It is to you that they look with

hope for the future of Germany. In France, Belgium, Holland, Italy and other parts of Europe our comrades class. They alone refused to allow themselves to support their own rulers have issued internationalist manifestoes of solidarity with the German working in the imperialist bloodbath, they stood for the traditions and programme of international communism. Not for them the policy of terrorist assassination of individual German soldiers in the occupied countries—a policy which flowed from the chauvinist policy of Stalinism—but the policy of class fraternisation with the German workers in uniform.

In Britain it was our Party, the Revolutionary Communist Party, which kept the banner of internationalism alive through the class struggle. It was our Party that was hounded by the reactionary coalition of the miserable Social-democrats and Stalinists with the bourgeoisie.

At this moment of our first contact we stretch out our hands to you in comradeship and fraternity. May this contact lead in the shortest possible period of time to the strongest bonds of unity and help to destroy the policies that the quisling leaders of the German Social-democracy and Stalinism are trying to foist on the German working class. May it lead to the unity of the German militants with the militants of our international movement. For without such unity not only will the German working class remain nationally oppressed but we in Britain also will never be free. We repeat, *the working class of Britain, America, of Europe and of Russia, will never be freed while Germany is occupied and oppressed.*

For the United Socialist States of Europe, of America and of the World!

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