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A LETTER FROM SOUTH AFRICA

Cape Town, June, 1941

Comrades,

Here, in Cape Town, the Fourth International group has been forced by the war pressure to withdraw into comparative partial illegality as far as the outside world is concerned. We are, however, not idle; we have set ourselves the task of preserving intact the theoretically powerful nucleus of our group, and of winning over by persistent argument, based upon our Leninist convictions, the best student elements in the city. We have no trade union control over the workers here, though some few of our men place the viewpoint of the Fourth International before their fellow workers. The main reason for our failure in this field is the control exercised over the white labor movement here by the Stalinists and by the Labor Party (Second International) bureaucracy. The Stalinists have deliberately sabotaged and wrecked all our efforts to enter upon the industrial field (except in Johannesburg where one of us succeeded in organizing many thousands of natives into unions -- for this he has been hurled into a concentration camp, maltreated by the Nazis there and only recently, due to pressure by our Johannesburg group, has been released.) We also have dominated the discussions in the Non-European United Front (N.E.U.F.) conferences, been elected by a Western Province conference to its Committee of Action only a year ago, and been stifled, and our work ruined, by the Stalinists who use the N.E.U.F. machine for the ends of Comintern "foreign policy" (i.e., rationalization of Stalin's counter-revolution).

As a result of a duplex opposition from the bourgeoisie (both imperialist and colonial) and from the Second and Third Internationals, we have had a hard struggle even to survive. This we have done, and more. Despite a small though concentrated and extremely studious membership of no more than twenty-five, we have a large though loose peripheral following. At our infrequent public meetings we have drawn crowds of hundreds, mainly workers. We are known to all leftists through our attacks on the Stalinists and Labor Party at public meetings held under the auspices of these vassal organizations. The people composing these parties, incidentally, are of petty-bourgeois, even bourgeois mentality and social and economic position and occupation (in the trade unions the Stalinists exercise a nominally strong but really inflated and paper-influence over the workers and are mistrusted by the politically conscious.)

At crucial moments our comrades have always risen to their tasks while the Stalinists have, literally, fled before the bourgeois truncheons. For instance: when, in May, 1939, the non-European (Malays, Asiatics, mixed nationalities synthesizing French, Portuguese, Italian and English national immigrants) in Cape Town rose, 25,000 strong, against the racialistic legislation before the House of Assembly (composed of United Party -- Britain's executive instrument; the Nationalist Party -- the tool of the Boer farmer -- landlord "comprador" bourgeoisie; the Dominion Party -- satellite to the United Party; the Labor Party -- labor-stick of the United Party) many of our youngest non-European comrades lead the march upon the House. The leaders of the Stalinists (except one) fled, and later, for nights thereafter, cooled the workers down.

One ray of success has illumined our efforts. At the University of Cape Town some of our comrades founded and are at present leading the Students Socialist Party. It is by no means a Trotskyist organization, for there are many Stalinists as members and in the executive but its program is being forged by Trotskyists. Its frank, outspoken Socialist program has piqued the authorities. It is significant that the local Stalinist paper, "The Guardian," with a 10,000 circulation, at first supported the Students Socialist Party, thinking to Stalinize it. The ruse failed. Now it ceases, refuses to publish reports on the activities of this party, even to advertise it. The inference is that the handful of Trotskyists at the lead know how to get their internationalism across, even to milk and water student Stalinists.

Also, we are at present educating some non-European teachers in missionary schools. We regard the urban industrial native and non-European worker as the crux of the South African national revolution. We regard the rural and village Bantu native serf (yes, there are many hundreds of thousands of unpaid farm hands, technically speaking, real serfs, in "sunny" South Africa), sharecropper ("squatters" we call them) share-tenant, tenant, and peasant and agricultural laborer together with the 3-1/2 million tribalists herded in "Kraals" as the "rural mass" giving "numbers" to the urban "quality" of our national struggle for colonial freedom, and democracy for the 8,000,000 ostracized oppressed blacks. The national colonial movement plus the nation-wide agrarian revolution is the process whereby South Africa will achieve socialist freedom. Our aim is socialism, with South Africa as a unit in a world commonwealth of Socialist Peoples. The fundamental

prerequisite for South African freedom is the American and English-European socialist revolution. Hence our enormous interest in world events, our close analysis of these and our many written theses on overseas problems.

Our method is the class struggle, uniting the native (Bantu) and non-European toiler both on land and factory in a struggle for democratic rights (trade union rights, equal wages with Europeans, better social conditions and the abolition of residential segregation, full civic rights for all South Africans, the franchise -- at present 80% of the land is not allowed to vote in municipal, provincial or parliamentary elections -- and the right to bear arms, with equal treatment in military training, equipment, housing, etc., at the military camps and schools), for the complete abolition of all color bars (between white and black; between non-European and native) in economics, social life, civic life, political life, culture and education and for the construction, through the process of this class struggle in the land (and beyond to the northern countries of Africa), of a Workers' and Peasants' Government (compare with the "programmes" of the Fourth International published after the 1938 Switzerland Conference).

The above, comrades, is a sketchy summary (a) of our organizational strength, (b) of our programme, and (c) of our methods.

Enclosed is a copy (rough, not completely correct, perhaps faulty in style, but correct in principles, facts and, we hope, generalizations and conclusions) of our programme. We have spent years elaborating our local programme, have made an intensive study of South African history, economics and politics and written many theses on problems such as (1) "The Native Question," (2) "The Labor Bar in Industry" based upon a high rate of skilled to unskilled wages (surpassed in Australia alone), which synchronizes with British "divide imperaque" policy which gives to the white labour aristocrat what it takes from the black "hewer of wood and drawer of water"; "The Poor White Problem," 600,000 starving sharecroppers, European this time, who are hounded from village to village when driven off the land by their debts and landlord obligations and from city to city seeking work, but not finding it. Hence they become "pauperised, not proletarianised." Steinbeck would find heartbreaking material in South Africa for a second "Grapes of Wrath."

(1), (2), and (3) are the main issues as they affect the Bantu, the non-European and the European sufferers respectively. All rear themselves upon the foundations of the modern system of wage-labour and capital.

We see two futures ahead. The one is fascism, dark, medieval and yet cruelly modern. The middle classes, the declassed rural worker (European only) and the Phalangists and Carlists of our colonial bourgeoisie, backed -- in the face of a labour revolt -- by the United Party Julian Marshes form the social mass basis for the South African fascist movement. Its financial economic basis is landlordism and big-farmer capital at present; later heavy industry, the banks and the monopoly merchants will aid it more openly than at the moment when worker's passivity leaves the colonial-imperial intra-bourgeois split unhealed.

The other future we envisage with hope and courage is international socialism where man will be equal and free; where Marx, Engels, Lenin, Luxemburg, Liebknecht and our beloved Leon Trotsky will be regarded as giants of thought and political engineering practice. To that future we look. To these masters we turn for guidance and help. We have truly delved deep into their stores of wisdom and knowledge. Their treasures of ideas, principles and methods we shall employ for the emancipation of labour from the crushing load of monopoly finance capital and its political insurance premium -- fascism.

Comrades, we are but few in number. But we are not afraid. We greet you in the name of our common heritage bequeathed us by the classical masters of socialist thought; we hold our hand out to you across the Atlantic. Not its cold waters, nor any natural or human power on earth can quell us. Upon our consciousness to conquer nature through the prior conquest of exploitative class-man depends the future.

From the Fourth International Group

Cape Town, South Africa.

PROBLEMS OF THE CUBAN REVOLUTION

We publish below part of the Declaration of Principles adopted by the Central Committee of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (Revolutionary Workers Party) of Cuba in October, 1940. The document is too long to be published in its entirety in the pages of the Bulletin. We omit the first part, "Decadence of Capitalism," which has a general character, and we reproduce the second part dealing with the specific problems of the Cuban revolution. The document has a third and a fourth part, on the questions of the proletarian party, and we envisage their publication in a future issue of the Bulletin.

CUBA WITHIN CENTRALIZED WORLD CAPITALISM

The productive forces of capitalist society have for some time outgrown all the national boundaries parallel to the development of a technique which is today infinitely more powerful than at the end of the first imperialist world war. At present all the problems relative to the economy of each country can reach no solution whatsoever except within the perspective of international economic relations. Cuba, with all its economic peculiarities in itself only represents "a combination of the fundamental features of world economy." Since the close of the past century, rural property in Cuba has suffered rapid concentration in the hands of North American finance capital, with the creation at the same time of an enormous mass of agricultural proletarians. To the degree that it has passed into the hands of the financial oligarchy, the basic industry of the island, sugar production, has been lifted to a hitherto unknown technique. The productive forces, in short, were transformed as rapidly as the imperialist penetration reached into all the spheres of the economic life of the country.

The present economic and political dependence of Cuba upon the United States is fast passing all bounds. From her economic dependence, Cuba is being converted in tremendous steps to nothing more nor less politically than a colony equal to Puerto Rico, the Philippines, etc. The Cuban State today exercises the role of a "Colonial Administration Committee" in the common interests of North American finance capital and the possessing native class. Cuba possesses its own government, but under the rule of the Yankee metropolis.

The property relations in Cuba existing at the middle and close of the past century have been radically transformed with the periodic exportation of North American capital into the country. Complete control of the economy, industry, commerce, agriculture, banking, etc. (\$1,500,000,000 in Yankee investments) is today in the hands of United States finance capital. Geography, economics, and politics have interlocked Cuba completely within the particular orbit of the most highly developed capitalism in the world, that of North America. Cuba, in this extreme phase, represents with all its resources and national peculiarities, one of the peculiar features of the capitalist economy of the United States. In the same measure, the domestic politics of Cuba have become a part of the domestic politics of the imperialist metropolis, based on the oppression, exploitation and enslavement of the working class and other urban toiling layers and of the colonies and semi-colonies, oppressed and dependent countries. Whereas the foreign politics of North America is a continuation of its domestic politics, the foreign politics of Cuba echoes nothing but its dependent relation to the United States financial capital. The present role of Cuba within centralized world capitalism, is expressed by its situation within the particular orbit of the most highly developed capitalism in the world, North America.

THE ROLE OF CUBA IN THE WORLD SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

The clearest evidence that the contradictions of a world, divided and parcelled out among the great powers, are sharpening, that the objective conditions for socialism are present and have matured on the world scale of the capitalist order, is provided by the periodic crises, wars and revolutions which led up to the present imperialist war. Cuba is not isolated either from the wars or the revolutions engendered by capitalism in its highest monopolistic development. Now as in the future, Cuba will remain part of the gears of world economy.

Depending on the total conditions created by the productive forces of capitalist society in the world amphitheater, Cuba like all the colonial, semi-colonial, dependent, and oppressed countries, identifies the objectives of its national and social transformation with the objectives of the socialist transformation in the international arena. In particular, the triumph of its socialist transformation is determined by the triumph of the socialist movement in the United States. This is an inevitable consequence of the same centralization of world capitalism and, partially, of North American capitalism in the Western Hemisphere.

Independently of the fact that objective conditions exist in Cuba for the triumph of the proletarian revolution on the basis of national liberation and fundamentally democratic aspirations carried to the end by the working class once it is established in power, the essential conditions for the triumph of its socialist transformation are only found within the total objective conditions created by imperialism in Latin America and the United States itself. In the first stage of its revolution, the Latin American proletariat must combine the fundamental democratic

tasks with the possible socialist ones. But in order to ensure the complete triumph of the movement for the socialist transformation of Latin America, the success of the socialist movement of the North American proletariat is necessary, and vice versa. Already in his thesis on national and colonial questions Lenin wrote that, "It is through the slavery of hundreds of millions of inhabitants of Asia and of Africa that English imperialism has been able to hold the British proletariat up to now under bourgeois domination. The surplus value obtained through the exploitation of the colonies is one of the props of modern capitalism. So long as this fount of profits is not cut off, it will be difficult for the working class to defeat capitalism. Thanks to the possibility of intensely exploiting the labor and the natural resources in raw materials of the colonies, the capitalist nations of Europe have sought, and not without success, to evade through these means their imminent bankruptcy. European imperialism has succeeded in its home countries, in making successively greater concessions to the worker aristocracy. Seeking from one side to keep the living conditions of the workers of the subjected countries at a very low level, it does not draw back from any sacrifice and acquiesces in sacrificing surplus value in the home country, so long as it retains that of the colonies. The suppression by the proletarian revolution of the colonial strength of Europe will overthrow European capitalism. The proletarian revolution and the revolution of the colonies must coincide in a certain measure for the victorious solution of the struggle."

Apart from the interdependence existing between the metropolis and colonies as the two opposite poles of capitalism, it is the exploitation, oppression and enslavement by capitalism of the proletariat of the imperialist country as well as the colonies which determines in the final analysis, the internationalism and collaboration of the proletariat, for example, of the United States and Latin-America, as well as the "victorious solution" with the triumph of socialism, of both proletariats' complete emancipation. On the other hand, neither in the United States independently, nor in Latin-America, is it possible to build a closed socialist society. Both have to consider themselves parts of a whole greater than the parts. From a qualitative point of view, Latin-America's relation of dependence with respect to the United States is, evidently, distinct from that of the United States with respect to Latin-America. Nevertheless, this distinction is, essentially, by the existing difference in the level of development of the respective productive forces and not by the degree in which they are economically self-sufficient. Latin-America is a vast colony, the United States an imperialist nation. But if the United States were blockaded today, it would perish before Latin-America. This is another proof of the reality of world economy determining the relations of dependence between all the countries of the planet. Cuban economy is an integrated, organic part of United States capitalist economy. The definite triumph of socialism in Cuba depends on the triumph of the workers in the United States.

THE CONQUEST OF POWER BY THE CUBAN PROLETARIAT

If one considers that the triumph of the proletarian revolution in Cuba is dependent upon the triumph of the socialist movement of the American working class or upon the triumph of the proletarian movement as such in the United States, the conclusion could be reached that the Cuban working class should wait for those events so that, automatically, the advance would take place with possibilities of success. But things presented in such a manner would signify no understanding of the algebra of the proletarian movement in Cuba or, in the worst of cases, a Stalinist attempt to deny the possibility of success due to the absence of "maturity" in Cuba for socialism, in exchange for its own theory of the "next stages" of national and social liberation under the "progressive platform" of the "Democratic Socialist Coalition." One would lamentably confound the question of the triumph of the socialist revolution as such with the coming to power by the Cuban proletariat. The question is better presented in another fashion. In the first place the coming to power by the Cuban proletariat would not mean the triumph of the socialist movement, but would signify its beginning. In the second place, the triumph of the socialist movement in Cuba has to be considered in the measure of its objectives (essentially national and social emancipation) based in the combination of the democratic and socialist tasks which can possibly be attained in the sphere independent of the national productive forces, are reached.

The present unknown factors of the socialist revolution in Cuba are found in the conditions and measure of success of the coming to power by the proletariat. But to ask for the precise conditions under which, and the moment when the Cuban proletariat can and must come to power, is to demand, to a certain degree, astronomical calculations which have nothing in common with Marxian estimates. This is a question which belongs to the fundamental subjective factors of the movement: parties and their programs, particularly the proletarian party with its political strategy and tactics (political and organizational form of collaboration of the proletariat and its vanguard with the remaining working class layers of the population before the objectives of the revolution, etc., degree of collaboration and support between the Cuban proletariat and the proletariat of the imperialist nation, etc., etc.) The question considered from this angle would demand a previous calculation as to when the contradictions of American

capitalism would enter into their explosive stage, and the degree to which the American proletariat would morally and materially support within the United States the revolutionary movement of the Cuban working class, questions whose favorable or unfavorable solution in practice would particularly determine whether or not imperialism would be able to intervene successfully to prevent the conquest of power by the Cuban proletariat or decapitate the proletarian movement at the start.

On the other hand, it is necessary to determine when the Cuban proletariat will be ready and if it has an experienced and capable vanguard, the party, which will have to lead it to government power and secondly -- the support and collaboration of its closest allies, the peasantry and impoverished petty-bourgeoisie, and thirdly, the general interest of the nation in the imperialist problem, etc. The conditions under which and the moment when the Cuban proletariat can and must come to power belong to the strategical calculations of the working class vanguard, the party of the socialist revolution. And to determine these before hand, signifies marking out with probability the successful coming to power, and solving the unknown factors of the socialist revolution in Cuba. But the strategy of a party founded on the solid principles of revolutionary Marxism such as the Revolutionary Workers Party, comes from the living dialectic of events during a definite moment and given certain conditions. The prognostications of astronomy and theosophy have nothing in common with Marxist strategy. Whether the coming to power by the proletariat can and must be successful is worth a reply, but, nevertheless, that is not the way to raise the problem of the revolution at the present time. The answer can only be given in algebraic terms. What is really under consideration is how to prepare for the coming to power. The Revolutionary Workers Party says the following to the Cuban proletariat:

Be prepared! The proletariat in Cuba can't renounce power until the proletariat of the United States emancipates itself. The Cuban proletariat should prepare itself for the coming to power and the inauguration of its revolution without waiting. Forging its own vanguard, the working class prepares itself. The general staff of the proletariat will determine in the final analysis when the hour for the coming to power has arrived.

The World Party of the Socialist Revolution, the Fourth International, points out clearly in its May manifesto, the conduct of the colonial proletariat in the revolution: "Guided by its own revolutionary leadership, the proletariat of the colonies and semi-colonies must obtain the unconquerable collaboration of the proletariat of the imperialist countries and of the world working class. This is the only kind of collaboration which can lead the oppressed peoples to complete and definite emancipation, by means of the overthrow of imperialism in the world. The victory of the international proletariat will save the colonial countries the slow process of capitalist development, giving them the possibility of arriving at socialism together with the proletariat of the advanced countries."

The perspective of the permanent revolution in no case means that backward countries should await the starting signal from the more developed ones, nor that colonial peoples should wait patiently for the proletariat of the imperialist centers to free them. He is helped who helps himself. The workers must struggle in a revolutionary fashion in all countries, wherever favorable conditions exist, thus giving an example to the workers of other countries. Initiative and activity, intrepidity and audacity are the only things which can materialize the slogan: "Workers of The World Unite!"

THE WORKERS' STATE AND THE TRIUMPH OF THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION IN CUBA

Considering the triumph of the proletarian revolution in Cuba in the sense of the establishment of the workers' state and the achievement of its fundamental objectives of national and social emancipation, resting upon the combined bases of the democratic and socialist tasks possible of being realized in the sphere independent of the purely national productive forces, the objective conditions in general have been ripe for sometime in Cuba as well as every other colonial country for the attainment of that end. Imperialism has sufficiently created these conditions. The latter have matured in the very United States as well so that the same end can be achieved under different conditions. The difference in the degree of development of the existing productive forces between the United States and Cuba, determines the essential objectives of the workers' state, political instrument for realizing socialism, and the only possible differences between both socialist revolutions. Under certain conditions, it is possible that the Cuban proletariat will come to power, establishing the Workers' State before the American proletariat, and attain with sufficient success the essential objectives of the national and social emancipation of Cuba under a democratic program which might contain in its greater part, bourgeois and petty bourgeois reforms, a program which in combination with the socialist tasks capable of being achieved in the country would be on the order of the day. But the successful, socialist transformation of Cuba under the workers' state (the only regime capable of guaranteeing any democratic program or the socialist tasks of the revolution) would in this case depend upon the triumph of the socialist movement in the United States. The socialist movement in the United States, given the gigantic proportions of the development of its productive forces, would be carried through from its initial stages upon purely socialist bases until victory is attained with the Socialist United States of America a step on the path towards definite socialist consolidation on a world-wide scale.

Confronted by the possible alternative that the Cuban workers might establish their own Workers' State, and that the American proletariat may follow its example later, the further destiny of the proletarian dictatorship, Workers' State and socialism in Cuba would depend, in the final analysis, not so much upon the national productive forces as upon the development of the proletarian government (socialist transformation) in the United States which would eliminate the different stages of capitalist development in Cuba so that the latter would reach socialism together with the most highly developed countries. "Thus, the masses of the backward countries led by the conscious proletariat of the developed capitalist countries, will arrive at communism without passing through the different stages of capitalist development." (Thesis on the national and colonial questions by Lenin.)

In proportion to the importance of its different objectives, the proletarian revolution in Cuba is destined to triumph and be crowned with success only with the socialist concurrence of the North American proletariat. The proletarian revolution in Cuba will enormously accelerate the triumph of the proletarian movement in the United States which in turn will consolidate the Workers' State in Cuba. The problem is to be prepared, to choose the conditions and moment in which the workers' state should be established. The present moment is one of preparation. The forging of the vanguard of the working class is in progress now. The party of proletarian revolution in Cuba is the Revolutionary Workers' Party.

NEWS FROM FRANCE

The last communication received from France informed us that our organization numbers now between 300 and 500 active members in Paris only, without counting the other groups in the Occupied Zone. Moreover, the organization is surrounded by a circle of sympathizers which amounts to about three times the number of active members.

In the last issue of the International Bulletin (no. 7) we spoke of a "tendency favoring the victory of England" in the Parisian organization. It seems that the information (from the Unoccupied Zone) upon which we wrote this were somewhat exaggerated. According to our present information, there is a great political fermentation in the Paris group: there were some rather dubious formulations on the defense of England, some discussion on the nature of fascism, on the national problem, etc. There is a majority and a minority separated by a line which moves quickly and often. We are not able to say much more for the present. The letter reproduced below comes from a living comrade whom we know well, extremely devoted to the organization. He was in Paris until last July and he writes that in Paris no tendency contrary to the principles of the Fourth International has ever been predominant and that no "reconciliations" have been necessary. He re-

ports that the group of the Unoccupied Zone is somewhat sectarian. We reproduce the letter without taking any responsibility for his appraisal and we will give to our readers any new information we may receive.

The following letter was written by a leading comrade of the French organization, who left Paris at the end of July, 1941, and is now in the Unoccupied Zone.

Somewhere in the Unoccupied Zone
October 8, 1941

Dear Comrade,

The first and second numbers of "La Verite" interested us very much by demonstrating the fundamental identity of our feelings in the midst of the painful and difficult conditions of the moment. In the way you expressed yourselves we could only find a certain generality, produced by your remoteness, whereas here we have to live in reality just as it is, and make our interests and

the welfare of our organization conform to it as well as possible. It is difficult to speak of all that in detail here; but I emphasize once again the identity of our feelings and all its heartening implications in the confusion and upset of the moment. I repeat that we are sorry at finding in your dispatches only a modicum of information on what you are doing, on the organization as a broad, its situation and the situation as a whole. In the chaos and confusion of the moment it is indispensable for us to know what you are doing, what you are thinking, and how you are reacting to the situation of our organization here. The times we are living in demand that we look arms and help each other by every possible means. I cannot tell you at length here about the whole organization. But I should like to emphasize that there has never been any occasion for a reconciliation between our comrades here (in the Unoccupied Zone) and myself, any more than between them and our comrades of the occupied zone. To be sure there have been a number of misunderstandings, chiefly because of the difficulty of communications, and their interruptions, and unfortunately there is in addition to the material difficulties an unfortunate nonchalance which still persists a hundred times too much.

There have never been any deep differences with our Paris comrades. Unfortunate tendencies have never prevailed. We were both strong and flexible enough to overcome the initial confusion among certain people, chiefly in favor of experience. And we consider this a great advantage. On this point there should be no ambiguity among us. But there is one other thing you ought to take into account. Besides the danger you're afraid of, there is one other that our Paris comrades consider no less to be feared. You know our organization is weak, with very little contact with the masses and without an assured position. This is no reason, though some have tended to make it one, for withdrawing into an ivory tower and eternally mulling the same ideas which lose all reality and become mechanical, and look down on all the immature people from above. Our ideas are nothing if they don't become principles of action for us, which allow us to work, to recruit and contribute to the welfare of our organization even in the difficult situation of the moment. And unfortunately this is what our comrades here (in the unoccupied zone) don't realize. They are honest people who live shut up in a bottle, without occupation and proud of the purity of their feelings. Even if the others, in Paris, made certain mistakes, which is what happens in daily work, and I repeat that that doesn't change anything in

their ideas, they made them in real work, and because of that were able, when it was necessary, to rectify their errors of evaluation through experience and strengthen their ideas. They are known up there, and it's remarkable, and if anything is said against them, it's their firmness. I cannot take up too much space. But you should not neglect this side of the question.

I shall add two remarks. The friends of Mol., who represent practically nothing, get off a lot of stupidities and keep on squabbling incessantly, intrigue a great deal and systematically distort what our Paris comrades say in an attempt to oppose it to what is said here. On the other hand, it must be observed that we haven't too much information of what's been going on since my departure more than two months ago. I think I'll be able to have some news towards the middle of October. That's enough about the above for today.

I note with satisfaction your promise to send us some information about the split in the United States. Tell us in a general way what the Socialist Workers Party is doing and thinking. This is all the more necessary since the friends of Mol. and of Pivert are attacking it violently, apparently being tied up with Shachtman, and in addition have lately attempted to spread confusion in their dispatches -- the war, they say among other things, has made Cannon lose his head (in respect to the "military policy" of the S.W.P.). On this last point the Paris comrades declare for Cannon, those here against him, but nobody has anything but very fragmentary news. In the same way it is necessary to give us exact information on what Pivert and Victor Serge are doing and thinking. Some months ago the former had a long document sent to us, in his purest customary style, showing lapses of memory as astonishing as they were impudent, and maliciously attacking our whole organization. We had made out a reply against him just about the time I left Paris. As for Pivert's organization it is difficult for me to give you any news about it, because it is completely unprotected. The majority of its members have completely fallen for Anglophilia, reproach our Paris comrades with fossilization and refuse to come to an agreement with them. The most serious ones amongst them agree with us, even when they don't consider themselves as a part of our organization. As for the right wing, they don't wake up except to grumble against us and try to prevent the left from coming to an agreement with us.

CANADA

All of the Stalinist organizations have been declared illegal. Not only the party, but also the Y.C.L. and various cultural groups. Their press is outlawed everywhere. However, a weekly publication exists, "The Canadian Tribune," which is obviously Stalinist in character. It has a wider distribution than even their old press since it is distributed by a news agency along with all other newspapers. It follows a generally pacifist line (before the German-Russian war) and centers its activity on civil liberties, unions and devotes a lot of space to the farm problem. There is one member of parliament who seems to follow a Stalinist line, a woman from one of the western provinces and there are one or two fellow-travellers in a couple of the provincial governments. All of these carry on a sort of a pacifist line.

As far as we know, there is not much effective illegal work being carried on by the Stalinists. The repressions are very bad. Up to the time of the defeat of France they functioned more or less legally, but after that the lid was clamped down. Literally hundreds were arrested and already in 1940, the minister of justice announced that there were more than 1,600 in concentration camps, outside of the enemy aliens!

We have some contact with them and are trying to get more, but it is very difficult. There were, as you know, a few C.P.ers who broke at the time of the Russo-German pact or a little later, including Hichin and Montague, but both of these turned out to be worthless, and perhaps even worse than that, although nothing too definite has been established as far as that is concerned.

Our people do recognize the necessity of carrying on work in this field and have made some headway in at least two different organizations. But as elsewhere it will be slow work and not productive of immediate results.

The restrictions on free speech and assemblage are very heavy. In the case of the unions, however, in spite of great government pressure and threats of prosecutions of strikers, an organizing drive in the basic industries is taking place, and strikes are occurring regularly, but of course not with the intensity or the militancy of the workers in the United States. They have compulsory arbitration in all defense industries, and some

of the decisions have stunk to high heaven, for instance in one recent case, the Peck Rolling Mills, which is indirectly controlled by U. S. Steel; the arbitration board decided that the base rate was to remain at 30.7 cents per hour. The workers are very much dissatisfied since taxation is taking a very great portion of their income. For instance, there is a 5% direct tax on wages taken by the employer out of the pay envelope besides steep income taxes on the lower brackets and God knows how many indirect taxes. The union leadership is very conservative, the most militant there roughly corresponds to the AFL bureaucrats in the United States!

When strikes do occur, they are carried on in the most haphazard fashion with no preparations made for even the simplest means of union defense, commissary or real publicity.

The Civil Liberties Union is practically non-existent, and is controlled by the most conservative and reactionary leadership imaginable. Over 70 union leaders have been interned including the leader of the Canadian Seamen's Union, Pat Sullivan, whose case is being handled by a "Pat Sullivan Defense Committee." This is the only committee carrying on any kind of work at all.

Taxes are extremely high and are very burdensome. A real discontent exists which has little or no outlet in action due to the repressive conditions. Wages are from 50 to 100% lower than similar work in the United States. Living costs since the war have risen at least 18%. The government has issued an "Order in council" freezing all wages at the 1926 level for the duration of the war and limits all increases to 5% of this scale which obviously is a real blow at the workers. The unions are growing, particularly in the basic industries. In spite of a very conservative leadership whose whole activity seems to be directed to get "more representation" in the government boards, the workers are becoming union conscious and have been encouraged greatly by the recent successes of their American brothers.

The Canadian Section of the Fourth International is carrying on its work and has its illegal publications, but the condition prevailing there prevents our giving any more details.

CHILE

Since the Unification Congress of last June, the Partido Obrero Revolucionario Section of the Fourth International is growing and recruiting; it is now forming new groups in the province.

The party is now publishing a paper, Frente Proletario, and also a theoretical bulletin.