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April 1943

# Fourth International

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## John L. Lewis and the Roosevelt Labor Policy

*By E. R. Frank*

## Europe and America

*America's Real Role in Europe After World War I*

*By Leon Trotsky*

- The Civil War in Yugoslavia . . . *by John G. Wright*  
Woodrow Wilson and Bolshevism . . . *by Terence Phelan*  
The Kremlin and the War . . . . . *by A. Roland*  
The Easter Rebellion . . . . . *by Oscar Williams*

### The Month in Review

The Anti-Soviet Offensive  
Giraud and the Jews

### International Notes

Letters from  
England and Ulster

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Twenty Cents

# Manager's Column

In order to encourage our friends and subscribers to send in their opinions or their agreement or disagreement with articles appearing in our magazine, we should like to convert this column into a Reader's Forum. If you have been mulling over some idea you think would improve the contents or circulation of the magazine, won't you write it up for the consideration of the editor and our readers?

Some of our friends and subscribers have been doing this already. We print below some of their welcome letters.

**Editor:**  
More regular articles, news items and editorials could well be devoted to the idea of many militant unions that "First we've got to win the war and then we can deal properly with the boss-and have to answer it about every day in one form or another. The magazine could help us a lot with a wide variety of convincing arguments. For example: While that policy is leading the union backwards, Negroes are actually making some progress only because they refuse to wait until after the war. Or: How can bosses, who want to do to us what fascism has done to Europe, be expected to win a war against fascism?

You need the best possible examples as proof—examples out of current events. What's Hitler got that the National Association of Manufacturers doesn't envy? If the workers want to win against fascism, they'll have to take over.

J.F., Flint, Michigan  
\* \* \*

**Editor:**  
I am sending you another contribution (\$10.00) which I am afraid will be my last on account of receiving my notice to report for induction. In case I am financially able after that time you can count on me.

P.K., California  
\* \* \*

**Editor:**  
The articles on the Soviet Union and on the German question also on prices, were especially interesting and instructive. However, I would like to see two analytical articles: One on the role of Lewis, Murray, Green and the bureaucrats showing the differences between them and their basic agreement on policies; and an article on women

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Editor: FELIX MORROW

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in industry, seniority, wages, Editor:  
hours, etc. I'm all steamed up about the  
J.A., Youngstown, Ohio Labor Party question. I think,  
\* \* \* now that Congress is certainly

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laying the basis for class battles in this country, that now is the time to agitate for labor party clubs in the unions.  
H.S., Kansas  
\* \* \*

**Manager:**  
Increase the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL bundle to 100. We have suffered by having cut it to 80. . . .

Agent, Los Angeles  
P.S. Everyone here thought highly of C. Charles' article, "Wallace's Post-War Utopia." (February issue.)  
\* \* \*

**Editor:**  
As you know, FOURTH INTERNATIONAL is sold on many newsstands in metropolitan New York, especially in the midtown section, 14th Street, 23rd Street, the garment area, and 42nd Street.

As one of those who cover these newsstands, I am in a position to watch the sales from month to month. It is very interesting to note that since the January issue sales have increased by one-third and each week when I take *The Militant* around to the stands, the dealers continually ask me to bring them additional copies of the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL.  
L.C.  
\* \* \*

The rigid limitations of space forced us to publish only the first half of Trotsky's 1926 speech, "Europe and America" in this issue. The second half is even more interesting in its detailed analysis of Washington's "peace-time" intervention in Europe. It will be published next month.

Terence Phelan's next article will show how the anti-Bolshevik preoccupation of the "democracies" directly fostered the establishment of reactionary regimes in Poland and Hungary, supported the most reactionary forces in Germany and Austria and the Balkans and, in short, laid the groundwork of World War II.

Last month we promised a second article to follow "The Class Meaning of the Soviet Victories" by Felix Morrow, but have had to delay it for a forthcoming issue. Meanwhile readers of the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL in the New York area are invited to attend Morrow's lectures on "The Soviet Union and the Capitalist World—1917-1943." Every Wednesday evening at 8 p.m. during April and May, at 116 University place, under the auspices of the New York School of Social Science.

# FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

VOLUME IV

APRIL 1943

NUMBER 4

## The Month in Review

### The Anti-Soviet Offensive in the "Democracies" — Churchill's Speech: the Post-War Crisis of British Economy—Giraud and the Jews: A Mirror of Capitalism—Soldiers' Poetry: A Sign of the Coming Storm—The Fight to Save "The Militant"

THE RED ARMY'S REVERSES IN THE SOUTH AND the bogging down of both sides in the spring thaw have also slowed down public expression of the anti-Soviet offensive in the "democracies." But that offensive, which we described in detail last month, still goes on. Eden's statements in Washington, repudiating the *Times* of London proposal to recognize Soviet frontier claims, appears to have solidified at least for the present the British-U.S. united front against the Soviet proposals. Earlier, the British censorship of March 5 "requested" English and foreign-language newspapers to "refrain from printing anything except official utterances" on the Polish-Soviet dispute—but this order came after "assurances from Britain" to the Sikorski government which were "like a breath of fresh air for the Polish cabinet" (*New York Times*, March 3). The assurances are not described in the dispatches, but apparently Britain promised to back the Poles in the post-war dispute over frontiers. The censorship, let us note, muzzled pro-Soviet utterances just after the pro-Polish arguments had had their innings in the British press. Likewise the *New York Times*, which on February 14 called for "a frank discussion of the problem" of Soviet frontiers and on that basis gave full vent to its anti-Soviet orientation, now (in a March 23 editorial) wants to cut off discussion, declaring that "Nothing has done more harm to the cause of the United Nations than the recent arguments about Russia's post-war frontiers." In short, the anti-Soviet offensive of the "democracies" merely marks time, waiting for developments at the front. As Raymond Daniell rather cynically describes the situation in a dispatch from London:

"Now that the Red armies have suffered reverses in the south, it is hard to realize that only a couple of weeks ago the 'Colonel Blimps' were worried about whether they would stop at the Rhine. . . . With the suddenness of a change of scene at a play, the emphasis has shifted from speculation as to where the Russian drive will end to a debate about whether Premier Stalin's forces will be able to withstand the Nazi counter-offensive which is surely coming." (*New York Times*, March 21.)

But new Soviet victories would revive, in ever more virulent form, the hostility to an all-out Soviet triumph over the Nazis. Of that we can be certain. For the issue is not, at bottom, a question of frontiers at all. The real issue is the fundamental antagonism between the system of private property and the nationalized economy of the Soviet Union, product of the October revolution.

Stalin's reactionary policies, depriving the Soviet Union in large part of its revolutionary attractive power for the great masses of Europe, temporarily dulled the fundamental antagonism between "democratic" capitalism and the Soviet Union. But the antagonism remains, likely to flare into open struggle at any moment. This is attested to not only by the statements of those openly hostile to Soviet interests, but also of the most

"friendly" capitalists. It was a matter of course for the most starry-eyed proponent of "cooperation," Vice President Wallace, in his March 9 speech, to say that a third world "war would be inevitable if Russia should again embrace the Trotskyist idea of fomenting world-wide revolution." Wallace knows well enough that world revolution was not only Trotsky's idea but also Lenin's and that its material foundations are ever-present in the nationalized economy of the Soviet Union. His statement shows that he correctly fears that Stalin and his contrary policy may not survive the war. As John G. Wright explains in "The Civil War in Yugoslavia" in this issue, Stalin himself is being driven to take steps which may well go beyond his control and in the end undermine the Kremlin bureaucracy and unleash the European revolution.

Wallace's statement also shows how hypocritical are the crocodile tears of the "democrats" about their "mistakes" after the last war. Post-war Europe after World War I was crystallized primarily on the basis of the war of world capitalism against the young Soviet republic. In telling us that war would be inevitable "if Russia should again embrace the Trotskyist idea of fomenting world-wide revolution," Wallace is also telling us how the "democracies" are going to act toward the revolutions which are certain to come in Europe. They will act precisely as the Big Four did toward the October revolution. Terence Phelan's "Woodrow Wilson and Bolshevism," which we publish in this issue, is not only a description of the past but also of the methods which the democracies are certain to attempt in the future. As for the myth that America "isolated itself" from Europe after World War I, Phelan's article shows how false it is; and where he leaves off the story is picked up by Trotsky's "Europe and America," which we begin publishing in this issue. Trotsky's document is dated 1926; but it has never been more meaningful than it is today, when it is indispensable for an understanding of America's role in Europe after this war.

THE KEY TO CHURCHILL'S SPEECH OF MARCH 21 discussing the post-war world is the following sentence: "It is absolutely certain that we shall have to grow a larger proportion of our food at home." Why will this be so, in the face of Churchill's boasts in the same speech about the 50 per cent increase in electrification of British industry and its adoption of mass production methods? Why can't England with its improved industry send manufactured goods abroad and receive in return all the necessary food—from Australia, South America and the United States, areas far better able to raise food and raise it more cheaply? Churchill's statement is a confession that post-war England will have a smaller foreign trade than before the war and will therefore not be able to purchase as much food abroad. Thus Britain, which practically abandoned raising its

own food during the period of its industrial supremacy after 1842, is playing the historical film backwards. This also means a post-war world of fierce competition in foreign trade among the capitalist victors—quite the opposite of the idyllic picture they are painting of world “cooperation.” The consequences for declining British imperialism were stated in an unusually frank outburst in the *Times* of London of December 1, 1942: “If British economic recovery is to be attempted by competitive power only, it will entail the most sensational fall in the standard of living in this country which has been seen anywhere since the Industrial Revolution.” But the grumbling *Times* has not, and cannot have, a fundamentally different program than that of Churchill. No return to higher standards of living is possible under capitalism. This fact poses point-blank the revolutionary task of the British working class. We are sure they will assume it. If the relatively small decline in British foreign trade after 1918 led to the British General Strike of 1925, the catastrophic decline begun during this war and worsening with peace will inevitably bring the class struggle to the road of revolution.

GIRAUD'S SPEECH OF MARCH 14 IS BEING PASSED off as the end of Darlanism in North Africa. But, as a Russian proverb says, a spoonful of tar can spoil a barrel of honey. In this case the spoonful is Giraud's abrogation of the French citizenship of the Algerian Jews. The foul taste of this could not be concealed despite all the press and radio talk about the “re-institution of democracy.”

There are 100,000 native Jews, something less than a million French, and over seven million Arabs in Algeria. Everybody admits that the Arabs want independence. As a dispatch to the March 22 *New York Times* says, “The extension of the franchise to the Arabs as well as to the Jews . . . would mean that the French would be voted out of office.” Therefore? Therefore—obviously!—disfranchise both the Jews and the Arabs. This is explained as a concession to the Arabs who, “an experienced French officer” told the *Times*, “do not accept preferential treatment for the Jews.” Of course they do not accept preferential treatment for the Jews—nor for the French. They want equality and independence. Instead of that, they are given the disfranchisement of the Jews. Let us underline the meaning of this fact. In place of equality the Arabs are given a *scapegoat*. Is there any difference in *method* between this and Hitler's use of the Jew as a scapegoat? The people are discontented? A blow against the Jews will fix that!

Jews in America and elsewhere are being urged to accept Giraud's action because, says the *Times*, “the ultimate alternative to the abrogation of the Cremieux law . . . would mean that the French would be voted out of office, the Arabs would be installed and the present Jewish difficulties would be multiplied a hundred-fold.” That is, the Jews should support continued enslavement of the Arabs because if the Arabs became the government they would do more than disfranchise the Jews. What more would they do? This question is important for the Jews not only in Algeria and the similar situation in Palestine, but in the whole post-war world. There is friction between the Jews and the Arabs, but it has nothing to do with race or religious questions. The Algerian Arabs are predominantly peasants. In the hill villages the shopkeepers are usually Jews, in the cities they are mostly retailers and jobbers. Inevitably these Jews appear as exploiters to the peasants. Of course the lion's share of the exploitation goes to the imperialist regime and to the French big capitalists. Nevertheless, the peasant comes directly in contact with the Jewish agent—involuntary, a product of existing society but nevertheless an agent—of French imperialism. Hence the antagonism of the Arab peasants toward these Jews. It is

certainly true that Arab self-government on a capitalist basis would begin a process whereby the Jews would be pushed out of many of their present economic positions by the Arabs who will be striving to create an economy independent of French imperialism and its agents. But the alternative offered by the “democracies”—support Giraud and his anti-Jewish measures against the Arabs and similarly support the British in Palestine—means to deepen the conflict between Jew and Arab throughout the Middle East.

Decaying capitalism, if it is not overturned by the proletarian revolution, will pose the same problem to the Jewish survivors after the war. Devastated Europe is certain to be far worse than the pre-war conditions of Europe even if Washington does send some food to the counter-revolution. Yet the pre-war condition was sufficiently bad to produce anti-Semitism not only in Germany but also in Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria, etc. Those who held to a perspective of the continuation of capitalism could find a “solution” only in driving out the Jews so that the declining number of jobs and shops could go further in maintaining the non-Jews. If Europe is re-established on a capitalist basis, this process will repeat itself—and not only in the countries in which it was previously most malignant. Already in England, pleas to admit the 70,000 Jews whom the Rumanian government has offered to release to the “United Nations,” has been refused by Home Minister Morrison because it would cause anti-Semitism. Let us denounce Morrison for the scoundrel that he is, pretending to be fighting fascism but refusing to save its victims. But let us also recognize the reality behind his words: the average pro-capitalist Britisher, knowing that mass unemployment and shopkeeper bankruptcies will follow the war, would resent the competition of immigrants, whether Jews or otherwise.

The same course is already observable in the United States. Washington, like London, has refused to lift a finger for the Rumanian Jews. As for the political tendency in Washington, the November 20 *Congress Weekly*, organ of the American Jewish Congress, had this to say on the November elections:

“Congress is more reactionary than ever. Whatever small prospect we may once have had to get legislation enacted against anti-Semitism and similar bigotries is now more remote than ever. We must face the fact that we now have fewer friends and more enemies . . . in Washington than we had prior to November.”

Everywhere decaying capitalism inevitably gives rise to anti-Semitism. This undeniable fact is beginning to penetrate even conservative Jewish quarters. Thus the February 1943 *Contemporary Jewish Record* publishes an article by Waldo Frank which says:

“In medieval and Renaissance Europe, the bourgeoisie was the progressive class, the revolutionary class, the creative class. The loyalty of the Jews to the bourgeoisie in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, therefore, determined their position of harmony with social justice, with progress and with creative life. This harmony brought them strong allies among the Gentiles during their darkest hours within hostile Europe. This alliance with other progressive elements of Europe in large part explains their survival.

“Today the situation is far different. The bourgeois class has deteriorated; it has now passed from the period of evolution to a stage of dangerous devolution. Fascism is a symptom of its disease. An important part of the Jews, in their implicit loyalty to the middle class, is in the paradoxical position of being loyal to the very social forces which seek the Jews' destruction.”

But Waldo Frank draws no decisive conclusion from this correct analysis. He merely concludes that the Jews must undergo “a radical change in social outlook”—vague words which may mean everything and anything.

By contrast with the Nazis, the treatment of the Jews by the "democracies" may be deemed better; but that is the argument of slaves. Giraud's blows at the Jews and the refusal of Washington and London to open the doors to the 70,000 Rumanian Jews are indicative of the future. The best elements of Jewry must begin to draw the necessary conclusion. Just as the bourgeoisie in earlier centuries made possible the survival of the Jews because the bourgeoisie was a rising class, so today the proletariat rising toward socialism will be the "strong allies among the Gentiles" without whom the Jews are doomed. Many Jews in America begin to understand this but—a minority seeking immediate strong allies—are turning to the Stalinists. To realize what Stalinism is, however, they need only examine the reactionary record of the Kremlin toward the Jewish refugees, whom it refused to admit into the Soviet Union. We Trotskyists may not appear to be strong allies today. But, like Lenin and Trotsky in 1916, we have the program and the cadres for the immediate tomorrow. The only hope of Jewry is in the success of that program—the socialist revolution.

THE GATHERING STORM FIRST SHAKES THE TOP-most branches of the trees; so, too, poets and intellectuals in general are very sensitive barometers of coming social convulsions. Intellectuals never lead the masses—not if they remain merely intellectuals—but they are harbingers of social movements. In Czarist Russia and other countries the Marxist movement learned to pay close attention to the mood of the students, for student protests and strikes were invariably the forerunner of revival of the workers' movement after a period of reaction. The truth worked both ways: the onslaught of reaction produced degeneration of the intellectuals, as was seen in Europe since 1848 after the defeat of every revolution. Likewise in America, the turn of the intellectuals to the left during 1929-34 was reversed as the war drew near and they jumped on the bandwagon.

What is happening now to the intellectuals as the war drags on? Having embraced the war, endowing it of course with the most idealistic aims—as if they had anything to say about it!—the intellectuals were prostrated by the realities indicated in the very first American offensive action—the Darlan deal in North Africa. But the generation of intellectuals—typified by Eastman, Hook, Hemingway, Dos Passos and the *Nation* and *New Republic* groups—is no longer of serious interest; they have lied too much to retrieve themselves and they will have no moral credit with the young generation as the program of the "democracies" unfolds its full implications.

The generation of intellectuals which interests us now is that of the young men and women in their early twenties, who are first entering the arena. What are they thinking? It is not easy to discover, for most of these young men, and many of the young women, are in the armed forces. As yet, little of their writing has appeared in print (nobody considers the soldiers' camp papers, published under close officer supervision, as indicative of their thoughts). There is little time for writing in the army. Furthermore, it is unlikely that they will publish much prose during the war; prose is too explicit and the critical-minded will scarcely expose themselves.

But the medium of poetry, enabling broad social moods to be phrased in the language of feeling, offers a relatively safe avenue of expression. We have been on the lookout, therefore, for representative bodies of poetry written by soldiers. A group of soldiers' poems published by the *New Republic*, an anthology of soldier verse, and a volume by a soldier—these three together may perhaps justly be considered indicative of the trend today. Even better than our own comments on them would be is the dismayed survey of them by a pro-war intellectual of

the older generation, Stanley Edgar Hyman, in the March 15 *New Republic*. His perturbed statement is worth quoting at length:

"The best available body [of American soldier verse of this war] seems to be the *New Republic's* soldier poetry, obtained through a contest. The serious poems in the group, including some on a very high level of competence, reflect almost unanimously a single mood: one of hopelessness, confusion, resentment, inability to be stirred by the slogans of the war, and sense of personal doom. Only the doggerel speaks of 'fighting' and 'winning,' echoes slogans like 'don't be a slacker.'

"If the *New Republic's* poetry seems atypical, with the possibility that the *New Republic* may just have hit a handful of depressed poets, the English experience is instructive. Two books of verse by British soldiers have appeared in America recently, one an anthology of war poems by younger poets [*Poems of This War by Younger Poets*, edited by Ledward and Strang, Macmillan Co.], the other a book of poems by a young Welsh soldier named Alun Lewis [*Raider's Dawn*, Macmillan Co.]. Reading the anthology, a large percentage of it written by soldiers, is a frightening experience, not so much for what the poetry says as for what it omits. Out of some hundred-odd war poems, there is not one that speaks out against the enemy, any enemy; there is not one that makes any political statement whatsoever about the war, or even names Germany or Nazism; there is not one that speaks in terms of a just cause, or meaningful killing, or even some possible hope in the future. The imagery is the imagery of chaos and confusion; of pointless, dreamlike acts; of love or beauty or some fragment kept alive through all the turbulence; of lonely life and lonely death. Alun Lewis' war poetry is similar, with the same death-obsession, the same hopelessness and confusion, the same utter inability to find any meaning in being a soldier."

Hyman wailingly concludes that all this poetry "is not true to the realities of this peoples war as distinguished from the last rather dubious one"—a complaint which is sufficient disproof of his previous assertion that not one of the poems "makes any political statement whatsoever about the war." For soldier-poets to be silent about whether this is a "people's war" is in itself an extraordinarily eloquent political statement.

But they are more than silent; they are saying in terms of personal moods that they do not believe the official propaganda of the "democracies." And, let us understand to the full, these are not poets writing in Greenwich Village or in an ivy-covered building on a campus, whose contact with the masses consists in rubbing shoulders with them in the subways or on the streets. No, these are a new kind of poet, immersed among the masses in the greatest mass organization of our time—the armed forces. Sensitive barometers, they are undoubtedly expressing the moods of the best elements around them. The topmost branches, they are being shaken by the first gusts of the coming storm.

THE FIGHT OF *THE MILITANT* TO WIN BACK ITS SECOND-class mailing rights got off to a good start with a rousing mass meeting at Manhattan Center on March 26. Spokesmen of various labor and liberal organizations were on the platform to express their solidarity with *The Militant* and the Civil Rights Defense Committee, which is challenging in the federal courts Postmaster General (and Democratic Party National Chairman) Walker's ukase of March 7. Among those who spoke at the meeting were John Finerty, veteran labor defense attorney, for the Workers Defense League; Clifford Foerster, for the American Civil Liberties Union; Layle Lane, of the National Executive Board of the Negro March-on-Washington Committee; and Emanuel Garrett of *Labor Action*. Among the newspapers and magazines which have protested the government's action are the Social Democratic *New Leader*; LaFollette's

*Progressive*; the *Nation*; the *New Republic*; the *Weekly People*; the *Socialist Call*. Only the Stalinist press has endorsed the Postoffice censorship, the Stalinist *Freiheit* asserting that this action against the "Trotskyist-fascists" shows how justified was Stalin's execution of Erlich and Alter as pro-fascists! This, too, in the face of Attorney General Biddle's letter to the Postmaster-General requesting abrogation of *The Militant's* mailing rights on the ground, among others, that the Trotskyist newspaper was making "charges of Fascist collaboration by the United States." During the Minneapolis "sedition" trial the Stalinists complained because the government was characterizing the Trotskyist defendants as revolutionists. Now, especially in their press abroad, the Stalinists are pretending that the Trotskyists were convicted of being fascists and that *The Militant*

has been suppressed because of its fascist line. Despite the desires and activities of the Stalinists, however, *The Militant* is still being published and sent to its subscribers by U.S. mails—more expensive than the regular newspaper rates of which it has been deprived. A considerable sum must be raised to finance the appeal to the federal courts against the Postmaster-General's order. Whoever believes in a free press is in duty bound to aid this fight. Funds should be sent to James T. Farrell, Chairman, Civil Rights Defense Committee, 160 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

As our subscribers are made aware each month, the *Fourth International* is still held up for examination for weeks at the postoffice.

# John L. Lewis and Roosevelt's Labor Policy

By E. R. FRANK

The current negotiations between the United Mine Workers and the coal operators have served to lay bare the mechanics as well as the purpose of the Roosevelt labor policy. The events have demonstrated again the impossibility of the Roosevelt war government conducting its affairs without the unqualified support of the official leadership of the trade union movement.

Analyze the facts: John L. Lewis, ONE leader of ONE independent union, albeit a large and important one, denounces the government's labor policy and threatens that the coal miners will strike unless they receive wage increases of \$2 a day. And what happens? The whole seemingly imposing edifice of the Rooseveltian labor structure begins to tremble and totter and large cracks appear all over its surface.

The leadership of the AFL and CIO, so uncritically committed to support of Roosevelt the day before, suddenly begin to complain and balk and by their actions threaten to blow up the War Labor Board, the main labor agency of the Roosevelt administration. Even the all-out offensive against the labor movement is halted for one brief moment, while the Congressional jackals and time-servers of the million-dollar corporations apprehensively scan the fast darkening horizon. And this full blown crisis is precipitated without the firing of a shot. One important union leader has simply issued a denunciation and a warning. No more. It would seem that super-wealthy American capitalism is not as all-powerful in its internal structure as some of its idolators imagine.

The coal controversy is the most significant single event that has taken place in the American labor movement since Pearl Harbor, because, in truly merciless style, it has ripped the veil of hypocrisy off the Rooseveltian labor policy and exposed to the pitiless glare of working class public opinion the sham and fraud of its "Equality of Sacrifice." The "Steel formula" has been dragged out of the province of statisticians' charts and graphs and exposed as nothing but the freezing of wages under conditions of soaring war inflation. The War Labor Board has been revealed as an agency designed to throttle the labor movement and keep it subservient to the war machine. "A court packed against labor." Its chairman will be known henceforth as a "rapacious, predatory Park Avenue lawyer on the loose in Washington against the American worker." For the first time the labor members of the War Labor Board, the

"labor zombies," are understood to be simply hostages of that corporation-dominated body. "Price control" is being recognized as a fraud to dupe the people with the idea that everything possible is being done to keep down the cost of living, while in reality prices are skyrocketing and the black market is beginning to flourish.

Of course, these conclusions have been stated and restated many times on the pages of the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL. But that is the difference between propaganda and the experience of life. Propaganda instructs dozens and hundreds of individuals. The experience of life teaches thousands and hundreds of thousands and later will teach millions. When theory unites with the mass, it becomes a power, said Karl Marx.

Capitalism today can conduct its war in no other manner but by turning over the public treasury to a small and increasingly smaller clique of millionaire bankers and industrialists—the true owners, the true rulers of modern society; by ruining the lower middle classes and by imposing the major burden of the war on the working class.

The conduct of the Second World War on the part of the Roosevelt government is no exception to this rule.

When the workers, like beasts of burden, docilely accept the "sacrifices" of war and sweat and bleed for the greater glory of their capitalist "masters," we have what is called "national unity" and the capitalist system is able to maintain some semblance of stability. When the working class balks and tries to rid itself of the slave burden, we have "disunity" as the columnists call it, or the "class struggle" as Marxists define it. When the fires of this class struggle begin to rage, especially in the midst of modern war, no government can escape a full blown crisis of the system itself.

As the Second World War continues, with no end in sight, and devours more and more every day, constantly greater demands are made on the economy of the country and upon its human material. The structure of American economy is basically the same as that of Nazi Germany. That is why Roosevelt can discover no new schemes, can contrive no new devices in the running of the Second World War other than the schemes and devices employed by Hitler and his Nazi regime. A study of the German measures for financing the war, the doling out of war contracts, the organization of war production, would

astonish many by their striking similarity to Roosevelt's methods and decrees in the organization of America's participation in the war.

But in spite of these considerable similarities, there is one profound difference. Hitler and the German imperialists embarked upon their adventure to dominate the world only after they had successfully concluded a preventive civil war, only after the Nazi praetorian guard had crushed the labor movement with fire and sword and extirpated all of its organizations. Hitler has not, of course, and could not eliminate the class struggle from Germany, but he did succeed, for a decade at least, in reducing the German labor movement to impotency.

Roosevelt, on the contrary has had to thrust the United States into the Second World War in the face of a strong, well organized, superbly self-confident and militant labor movement. This labor movement had suffered no serious defeats. It had gone through eight years of unprecedented growth, achieved in militant class struggle. It is right now, in the midst of war, reaching out for a greater place in American public life.

### Roosevelt's Coalition Government

Hence for Roosevelt, as for Churchill in England, there was no other way of achieving the necessary "national unity" in the conduct of the war and maintaining a political equilibrium except by the establishment of a coalition government. And that is exactly what we have in the United States today. Of course, it is a strange kind of coalition. It is not formally legalized or recognized. It has none of the formal features of the pre-war European coalition governments or the present one in Britain. We do not have a *de jure* coalition. But we do have, nevertheless, all the essentials of a *de facto* coalition government.

In England, the political relationship is relatively simple and clear. Everyone understands and admits that Churchill and the Tories rule by virtue of a coalition with the English labor movement and, were the British Labor Party tomorrow to withdraw from the government, a great crisis would be immediately precipitated and the Churchill government would unquestionably fall. In the United States the relationship is more obscure, less formally established, less well understood even by many of its direct participants.

For one thing, the American labor bureaucracy is not recognized by the capitalist masters as an equal in matters of government. The American labor bureaucracy has no cabinet posts and no important governmental jobs. The American labor bureaucracy has still not learned to enter the White House except by way of the kitchen entrance. This giant of a labor movement, thirteen million strong, as a matter of fact, does not even possess its own political party, but remains an appendage of Roosevelt's Democratic Party.

All this attests, of course, to the backwardness of the American labor movement and, from another vantage point, demonstrates the stiff-necked, outright tory character of the American ruling class. But despite all the backwardness, bewilderment and timidity on the one side and all the tory arrogance on the other, the fact remains that this mighty giant lives, breathes and cannot be conjured away. He remains a dominant factor in the whole sphere of internal politics, if for no other reason, by the sheer weight of mass alone. And while the labor movement remains on the scene, retaining its present stature, it is impossible for any government to rule except by agreement with its official leadership. Only on the theory of a *de facto* coalition is it possible to understand the internal policy of the Roosevelt war government and to analyze the role, function, purpose and place of the myriad governmental bureaus, agencies, rulings and decrees.

Examined in this light, the Rooseveltian labor policy takes on new meaning. The War Labor Board, the main administrative agency of labor policy, has the function, as we all know, of housebreaking the labor movement and destroying its wage standards; for capitalism today will and can conduct its affairs on no other terms. As the class struggle enters a new phase, the more outspoken reactionaries have ceased pretending otherwise. Senator George frankly declared to the U.S. Senate, in denouncing the \$25,000 salary limitation, that when a government ceases to protect the rights of the privileged oligarchy, "it degenerates into a mob."

Hence the introduction of the "Little Steel" formula, that clever little device that was to keep wages frozen under conditions of war inflation. Such a policy, however, designed to "fatten industry and starve labor" can be engineered in the United States today only with the consent and support of the trade union officialdom. That is the function of the four places on the War Labor Board allocated to the representatives of labor.

But a labor leadership is a leadership only by virtue of the existence of a strong labor movement. It can betray and sell out its membership only if it is not dependent on them, only if it is sure of its privileges and position. The Roosevelt war government needs a labor bureaucracy that stands above its membership and is disdainful of its interests. It is therefore obligatory for Roosevelt to create such a hardened caste, a bureaucracy that can hold the ranks in check and keep them safely tied in the strait-jacket of the war machine. Roosevelt could do so only by assuring the union leaders that there will be no attempts to destroy their unions; that, in return for their cooperation, the war government would guarantee them continued recognition as the national labor leadership. Out of this need of Roosevelt developed the WLB policy of granting "maintenance of membership" to unions, a bastard form of the closed shop. This guarantee to the labor officialdom of its careers, its privileges, its prestige, represents not so much a concession to labor as a necessary, nay indispensable, feature of the Rooseveltian labor policy.

Even during Roosevelt's second term, however, it took plenty of maneuvers, compromises, small concessions, etc., to preserve the coalition government. But throughout that whole period, labor was registering impressive gains. The coalition with Roosevelt took credit for the beneficial social legislation, modest in character though it was. And through gigantic strike victories, the unions raised wages in all the important industries. This twofold achievement provided a certain realistic basis for the stabilization of the coalition. The success of the coalition during that period, however, was not crowned with the formation of a stable bureaucracy with assured domination of the trade unions—one of Roosevelt's main aims. His peacetime reign as president was too short a period in which to foist such a hardened caste on the great unions in the mass-production industries. And even those eight honeymoon years were characterized by mass unemployment and the threat of insecurity—conditions unfavorable for the creation of a stable bureaucracy. But this becomes a far more difficult task in the period when furious assaults are in progress against all wage standards and even against the pitiful social legislation that was secured in the previous period.

And now Roosevelt's difficulty is beginning to assume the proportions of an impasse when we consider that a large and possibly major section of the American capitalist class has committed itself to all-out headlong opposition to the policy of coalition and is daily seeking to upset it.

The American capitalist class is unregenerate. In savagery and arrogance, it is, the world over, second to none. From the

days of the American "Liberty League" and the "Grass Roots" conventions of the Middle West to the present alliance of poll-tax congressmen, the "Farm Bloc" and the Republican Party, it simply refuses to reconcile itself to the existence of a powerful labor movement. This opposition is intent upon crucifying Roosevelt, the one man in American public life who has become an expert in how to maneuver with the labor movement, how to cheat it, deceive it and throttle it under pretense of friendship. The American capitalists do not want to maneuver with a strong labor movement. They want to crush it and reestablish the old relationship of masters and slaves.

Now grown fat again on "cost-plus" war contracts, the American capitalists are power drunk. Insulated by their ignorance and self confident again to the point of rashness, they are currently engaged in a virulent anti-labor campaign in Congress and a shrieking rampage in all the legislatures of the states.

But it is a far cry from desires to accomplishment. For the time being, the industrialists and their Congressional lackeys must content themselves with their field day of unrestrained labor baiting in the halls of Congress and with organizing national tours for the Rickenbackers. For the time being, they have no alternative program of action to the Rooseveltian coalition policy. This labor movement, this 13 million-man giant may be without adequate program and leadership, he may be in retreat, but nevertheless he is still a giant. And it will take more than the screaming and the diatribes of vicious Congressmen or Rickenbacker tours to lay him low.

The campaign of the anti-Roosevelt opposition has one positive accomplishment to its credit. It rendered impossible any stabilization of the already highly unstable Roosevelt coalition government. The administration now can only live by moving from crisis to crisis. By their imprecations, by their brutality, the opposition has scared the whole labor officialdom out of its wits and aroused its fears for its very life. How can the labor officials disdain their own members, when they are in a constant terror that their unions may be wiped out and with it their official careers? The labor officialdom in the United States is not allowed to enjoy any feeling of stability and security in its situation. Thus the anti-Rooseveltians have hurled the labor officials back into communion with their own rank and file membership and thus the Roosevelt policy of building up a hardened bureaucracy on the British model has been thoroughly and effectively torpedoed out of existence.

Summing up, we have analyzed the Roosevelt war government as a coalition government, but a coalition government of a doubly peculiar character. The government rests on a labor movement so backward in character that it does not possess its own political party. The government does not acknowledge that it is a coalition government and refuses to grant the labor leadership legal recognition in the form of cabinet posts and important governmental positions. And finally, a great section of the capitalist class is opposed to the coalition and is daily attempting to destroy it. Is it any wonder, then, that the Roosevelt war government is characterized by the greatest instability in its internal structure and affairs? The government obviously represents no more than a transition phase of American politics.

Roosevelt's inability to establish a stable coalition is further illumined by a comparison of his administration with the Churchill cabinet. The Churchill coalition enjoys full support of the British capitalist class. Roosevelt, even in his halcyon days, was forced to impose his program on a skeptical and sullen capitalist class. Today that class has vengefully turned on him and his entire domestic program.

Secondly, Churchill is able to lean on a case-hardened labor bureaucracy built over a long period of time, when super-

wealthy British imperialism was still able to grant concessions and material privileges to a select labor aristocracy. Roosevelt, on the contrary, must lean on a labor bureaucracy whose decisive section comes from new mass production unions and who remain far more dependent upon their membership and more sensitive to its pressure.

## The Case of John L. Lewis

The Administration's inability to establish a stable coalition government is highlighted most graphically by the defection of John L. Lewis and the United Mine Workers. Why was Roosevelt unable to hold the loyalty of Lewis? For the same general reasons which made it impossible for him to create a hardened labor bureaucracy.

Who is Lewis and what does he want? He is not a principled or consistent opponent of the government. Lewis is no socialist or near socialist. He is no opponent of the capitalist system. Even in his famous 1937 Labor Day speech, where for the first time he lashed out at Roosevelt, he made it clear that he based himself on the capitalist system. "Unionization, opposed to communism," he said, "presupposes the relation of employment; it is based upon the wage system and it recognizes fully and unreservedly the institution of private property and the right to investment profit."

Even in his sarcastic and bitter address to the Joint Conference in New York at the current coal negotiations, he was at pains to emphasize, while describing the exorbitant profits of the railroads and other industries: "We don't envy them their prosperity. We think the investors in that road are entitled to a return." And again: "It is good for the stockholders of the Southern Railroad. We think it is good for the country. . . ."

Neither is Lewis some enthusiastic rank and filer, just emerged from the shops, eager to tilt his lance with the powers that be. On the contrary, for years Lewis was a wheel-horse of Gompers' AFL machine of pure-and-simple unionism. After the death of John Mitchell, he emerged as the czar of the miners union and for a decade ruled it in the complete spirit of the old-line AFL unionism. Even today the miners union does not possess the democracy that is enjoyed in such a union as the United Automobile Workers.

The philosophy of Lewis, therefore, insofar as he has one, is thoroughly capitalist. That is why he is no opponent of the basic idea of a coalition government—the subservience of the labor movement to the capitalist class and its aims. As a matter of fact, Lewis was not even opposed to labor representatives accepting posts on the various war boards and agencies. Thomas Kennedy, secretary-treasurer of the miners, joined the War Labor Board at the time of its formation and remains a member of that body. Lewis himself was a member of the conference of labor leaders that unanimously voted to give up the right to strike. As far as basic philosophy of government goes, it is quite clear that Lewis has no fundamental quarrels with Murray, Thomas, Reuther, or for that matter, even Hillman and Dubinsky. He does differ very sharply, however with the whole CIO and AFL officialdom on the tactical orientation of the labor movement today.

Personally, Lewis, is built on a different scale than the grey nonentities and mediocrities that go to make up the national officialdom of the AFL and CIO. He is imperious, egotistic, proud, ambitious on a bigger scale and far bolder, far more able, far more colorful, and far more imaginative than any one or dozen top labor officials. In 1935, it was he above all other established union officials who had the vision and qualifications to become the leader of the industrial union movement. After the CIO had established itself in the key industries and

had, in savage battles, brought the leading financial and industrial giants to their knees, Lewis became keenly aware of the inexhaustible power that reposed in this movement. In the 1936 elections he saw how completely the mighty Roosevelt was dependent on labor's support. It then became clear to him that Roosevelt could not maintain political stability without the support of the labor movement and that the government rested on a *de facto* coalition. He was quite prepared to help maintain the political stability of capitalist America and to enter its coalition government. But if it was worth doing, it was worth doing on an ample scale.

Apparently Lewis thought that the whole problem was little more complicated than the purchasing of a voting bloc in a corporation. Lewis was certainly eager to become a stockholder. After pouring one-quarter million dollars out of the miners' treasury into the Democratic Party campaign trough, Lewis expected results. He appears to have believed that he and the miners were now full-fledged stockholders in the concern.

Lewis thereupon demanded a price for labor's support which he considered commensurate with the importance of the services rendered. If there is a coalition, why an unofficial backdoor coalition? Lewis wanted the relationship made formal and official. And an official coalition presupposes the entrance of labor representatives into the cabinet and representation in other government posts. Why not? Was the price too high? In a word, he demanded for the American labor bureaucracy the same honors and position enjoyed by the British trade union and labor party bureaucracy.

But as everyone knows, the British trade union movement possesses a large political party which at different times has commanded the largest bloc of seats in Parliament. Hence the British capitalists cannot rule in Parliamentary fashion especially in time of war except through the agency of a full-dress coalition. The American capitalists did not believe they were under any such necessity. The American capitalists were by no means reconciled even to Roosevelt's backdoor coalition. So Roosevelt had no alternative but to reject Lewis' grandiose demands. Probably Roosevelt was anxious to rid himself of this too-impudent and too ambitious ally. In any case, the American capitalist class, being what it is and American political relations being what they are, Roosevelt was in no position to accede to the Lewis demands. In the words of an old popular song, he "couldn't if he would."

The first important payment Lewis received on his quarter million dollar investment was the smashing of the steel strike during the summer of 1937—a body blow to the CIO. Every governor that sent out the National Guard on strike-breaking duty was a pro-Roosevelt Democrat, and in all cases had been elected to office with the active support of Labor's Non-Partisan League and the CIO. The Memorial Day massacre in Chicago was under the direction of Roosevelt's mid-western lieutenant, Democratic Mayor Kelly, also elected to office with full labor support. When the CIO officialdom, bewildered and stunned, called upon their "election partner," President Roosevelt, to halt the employers' lawlessness and violence and the strike-breaking activities of his fellow governors, the Great White Father proceeded to rub salt into the CIO wounds, declaring: "A plague on both your houses."

Lewis, believing himself betrayed by his business partner, went on the air on Labor Day 1937 to deliver his first public challenge to Roosevelt. Labor would not continue to support Roosevelt unless he sharply changed his course and lived up to his campaign pledges. "It ill behoves one," he said, "who has supped at labor's table and who has been sheltered in labor's house to curse with equal fervor and fine impartiality

both labor and its adversaries when they become locked in deadly embrace."

But Roosevelt was about to embark on the policy of "quarantining the aggressors" and his gaze was turned more and more on Europe and the coming struggle for world hegemony. As the second term of Roosevelt drew to a close, Lewis drank the cup of humiliation to its very dregs. He felt himself completely cheated and tricked. He was convinced that under the existing line-up and relationships, labor could expect no further concessions from Roosevelt and the Democratic Party.

## The Defeat of Lewis

In January 1940, he mounted the rostrum of the "Cross Roads of Destiny" Golden Jubilee convention of the United Mine Workers, thundered his denunciation of Roosevelt and all his works and openly announced his public break with the Administration. Reviewing the history of the previous four years, Lewis stated:

"In 1936, a coalition was effected between the Democratic Party and organized labor. The resources of both interests were pooled, the objective being the return of the party to power in the election of the same year. Organized labor furnished money, speakers, party workers in every political subdivision, and many millions of votes.

"Psychologically and politically, organized labor created the atmosphere of success that returned the Democratic Party to power with an ample margin of safety. . . .

"A political coalition, at least, presupposes a post election good faith between the coalescent interests. The Democratic Party and its leadership have not preserved this faith. In the last three years, labor has not been given representation in the Cabinet, nor in the administration or policy-making agencies of government. . . .

"The current Administration has not sought nor seriously entertained the advice or views of labor upon the question of national unemployment or lesser questions affecting domestic economy, internal taxation, foreign trade, military and naval expansion, relations with foreign nations or the issues of war or peace. . . .

"Labor today has no point of contact with the Democratic Administration in power, except for casual and occasional interviews which are granted its individual leaders. In the Congress, the unrestrained baiting and defaming of labor by the Democratic majority has become a pastime, never subject to rebuke by the titular or actual leaders of the Party. . . .

"It is true that at the present time the states of Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New York are trending toward the Republican column in the campaign year of 1940. This trend can be corrected, and the Republican Party prevented from winning, only by an accord between the Democratic Party and organized labor, and the adoption of an intelligent and rational program to be written into the platform of the Democratic Party and placed before the American people as the issues of the election. Even then, guarantees of good faith and fulfillment of party promises would have to be made to labor and the people by responsible Democratic leaders. . . ."

It is history that neither Roosevelt nor the Democratic Party offered such an accord to Lewis.

In truth, it was not Lewis but Roosevelt who was the first leader of the American trade union movement and it was Lewis and his associates who had made him so.

It was Lewis who issued the declaration of war but in the battle that ensued it was Roosevelt who emerged victorious. The day after Lewis issued his ultimatum, Hillman, Rieve and other CIO leaders rushed forward declaring for the third term without any conditions, or demands. The rubber convention came out for the third term. His own miners' machine split in half on the issue. And William Green, heading a delegation

of confectionary workers, rushed to the White House to present Roosevelt with a birthday cake. Thus Lewis, to his chagrin was taught that bluff, bluster and even arrogance are no substitute for an independent working class policy and for an independent party of labor. Even so, not until Roosevelt forced Lewis out of the CIO leadership, isolated the miners from the rest of the labor movement and threatened to wreck his labor career, did Lewis acknowledge, as it were, his mistaken policy. With the outbreak of the war Lewis played his cards far more skilfully.

### Lewis Since Pearl Harbor

To the average trade unionist, Lewis has conveyed the impression that he remains aloof and in opposition to the various agencies and boards of the war government. And today, as the AFL and CIO officialdom is becoming compromised and smeared with its support of these agencies, they are losing moral leadership to Lewis. His progressive, militant stand in the current coal negotiations, his resourcefulness and talent in manipulating the coal operators and the government labor officials, is contrasted by all workers to the pitiful exhibition of treachery and ineptitude of the AFL and CIO representatives on the War

Labor Board. Today Lewis commands the national spotlight once again and workers from coast to coast are eagerly watching the developments in the coal negotiations, and looking to him for leadership.

Every day that this mad war continues, it reveals ever more glaringly the chasm between the masters of society and its industrial slaves. Every new crisis, and there will be many of them, remorselessly tears away the government's pretense to impartiality. Widespread sympathy greeted Lewis' ferocious attack on the War Labor Board; the AFL and CIO officials had to rush to associate themselves with opposition to the WLB's "Steel Formula." These are lightning flashes that give grim warning that, regardless of all preconceived notions or ingrained prejudices of the labor officialdom, this American working class will never content itself with the role of handmaiden to the industrialists and bankers. The drunken anti-labor orgy of Congress and its threat to choke the labor movement by repressive legislation, far from frightening the American workers, is providing the necessary irritant to rouse the ranks of labor and is forcing its leadership, under penalty of destruction, toward the road of independent political action.

# Woodrow Wilson and Bolshevism

By TERENCE PHELAN

"If America had not turned her back upon the world . . ."

The Wilson Day speeches last December were built around this theme: that what "lost the peace" and started Europe on the path to fascism and the Second World War was the fact that America became "isolationist" and rejected Woodrow Wilson's League of Nations. The corollary theme is: this time a real world-wide organization of the United Nations will enforce democracy, outlaw war, and sprinkle benevolent pints of milk over a "better world."

Any attempt to make these post-war aims specific, or to include lesser powers in the discussion, is countered in Washington and London by the cry of: "First let us win the war; then, the peace." Much as, during the last war, Colonel House strongly advised Wilson against discussion of peace terms among *all* the Allies:

"If the Allies begin to discuss terms among themselves, they will soon hate one another worse than they do Germany and a situation will soon arise similar to that in the Balkan States after the Turkish War. It seems to me that the only thing to be considered at present is to beat Germany in the quickest way."\* If these words have a familiar ring today, it is because the basic situations are so closely parallel.

The twofold thesis of the apologists for Woodrow Wilson can be fairly condensed as follows:

1) One variant presents the League of Nations and the Versailles Treaty as quite different things, only the Treaty being vicious; another presents Wilson as not really liking the Treaty but believing the League would correct its inequities.

2) If America had accepted its international responsibilities by joining the League, the chaotic and sanguinary consequences of Versailles could have been avoided.

In reality, of course, the Treaty of Versailles and the Covenant of the League of Nations are inseparable. The League was, and was universally understood to be, the instrumentality for enforcing and administering the Treaty. This is inherent in the

fact that the Covenant is merely one of the Treaty's articles. Wilson, speaking in New York on March 4, 1919, just before returning to Paris to complete the Treaty, particularly insisted on their inextricable fusion, emphasizing that the Covenant was a part of the Treaty, and "not only in it, but so many threads of the treaty tied to the covenant that you cannot dissect the covenant from the treaty without destroying the whole vital structure."\*

Far from denying U.S. responsibility for the Treaty, Wilson, in a speech at Seattle, on September 15, 1919, claimed it:

"For the specifications of this treaty were American specifications, and we have got not only to be the architects, drawing up the specifications, but we have got to be the contractors, too." (Vol. II, p. 200.)

Later, he hails ". . . the Treaty of Versailles. I am proud to speak for it." (Vol. II, p. 385.) Again and again he calls Versailles "a people's peace." Dozens of other unequivocal Wilson statements give the lie to the efforts of Wilsonian apologists to separate Covenant from Treaty and whitewash Wilson of responsibility for the latter.

The "isolationist" rejection of the League of Nations by the U.S. people in the "solemn referendum" of the 1920 presidential elections is only a muddy myth. Both candidates, Democratic Cox and Republican Harding, weasled with mealy-mouthed generalities, the former apologetically for the League, the latter for "an association of nations." Furthermore Harding accepted the Lodge bloc's position, which was not, as is often ignorantly alleged, against the League, but *for* the League with certain reservations. Just as much as to any alleged popular "isolationist" sentiment against a league of nations, the Democratic defeat is attributable to: the electorate's rejection of Wilson's party for his plunge into the war immediately after winning his second election on the promise to stay out of it; his domestic anti-labor policies during the war; his intervention

\*Quoted by Samuel Flagg Bemis: *A Diplomatic History of the United States*, New York, 1936, p. 611.

\*Published Papers of Woodrow Wilson: *War and Peace*, vol. I, p. 451. Unless otherwise noted, all subsequent quotations from Wilson's speeches and documents are taken from this work.

against the Soviet Union; and the vicious territorial provisions of the Treaty (quite apart from its League aspect) which wounded or enraged millions of foreign-born in the U.S.—German, Ukrainian, Austrian, Hungarian, Balkan, etc., etc. Indeed, a rereading of Wilson's late 1919 speeches in favor of the Treaty reveals that he devoted a very large proportion of his arguments to denying that "reparations" were "indemnities," that the punishment of the German people was too severe, and defending the sell-out of China to Japan in the malodorous Shantung provisions.

But, more significantly, the entire question whether the U.S. "turned its back on the world" is so much nonsense. The basic fact is that, by the time the U.S. electorate had a chance to express any opinion, Wilson, first through Colonel House and the Allied Supreme War Council, then through his own actuation at the Peace Conference, had so completely settled the world's hash that the consequences were inevitable. The main preoccupations of Wilson, as of the rest of the "Big Four," were, not so much to "write the peace" as to

- 1) crush the Soviet Union;
- 2) head off a socialist revolution in defeated Germany;
- 3) strangle Soviet Hungary;
- 4) smash revolution and aid counter-revolution elsewhere;
- 5) redivide the world according to the demands of the three most powerful imperialisms.

Wilson, as we shall see, often and seriously differed with the others on tactics and methods, but never on these basic aims. Let us take a careful look at what Wilson really did at Versailles.

## Wilson as a Naive Idealist

But first it is essential to dissipate another secondary argument: that Wilson was an innocent idealist bamboozled by the wicked European diplomatikers—a myth sedulously fostered especially by Maynard Keynes. Wilson's own evaluation, made in a speech at Des Moines on September 6, 1919, is first-hand evidence:

"Do not let me leave the impression on your minds that the representatives of America in Paris had to insist and force their principles upon the rest. That is not true. Those principles were accepted before we got over there, and the men I dealt with carried them out in absolute good faith; but they were our own principles. . . ." (Vol. II, p. 22.)

The myth of "idealist" Wilson and the wicked diplomatikers is postulated upon the contention that the Peace Conference was a battle of good and evil, a struggle between Wilson's Fourteen Points and those secret treaties unsuspected by him whereby the European powers had prepared to recarve the world. Wilsonian apologists cite his August 19, 1919, testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to the effect that he learned about the secret treaties "as a whole" only when he reached Paris. But Wilson was here employing a characteristically hypocritical quibble turning on the weasel words "on the whole." It is now notorious that Arthur Balfour had often discussed the secret treaties with House, who had told Wilson; that in April 1917 Balfour, on a mission to discuss the terms of U.S. entry into the war, conferred with House and Wilson, not only explaining the secret treaties in detail, but carefully going over with the President a map of Europe showing the resultant new frontiers. Those bourgeois apologists who admit Wilson's guilty knowledge try to explain that there was no essential difference between Wilson's concept of self-determination of nationalities and the secret treaties. When we see more of Wilson's "idealism," we shall find the statement quite true, but in a sinister and cynical sense. The elevated moral tone of these Wilson-Balfour conversations is indicated by the fact

that, since a militarily weak democratic regime had in the February revolution replaced militaristic Czarism, neither Balfour nor Wilson saw any further reason to honor on behalf of Russian democracy the treaty commitments made with Czarism. This fact is the more ironic when it is remembered that it was precisely in the attempt to honor Czarist commitments (in the spring offensive, etc.) that the Kerensky regime risked (and lost) its head.

Furthermore, in view of his demagogic opposition to "annexations and indemnities," it is revealing that Wilson not only accepted the essence of the territorial grabs in the secret treaties, but specifically agreed in advance to the Allied demand for indemnities, rebaptized "reparations."\*

Wilson preached the war as a crusade against "Kaiserism," "militarism," "Junkerdom," etc. This is held by some to indicate his naivete. In reality it indicates his hypocrisy. Just before Wilson had his famous breakdown, his raw and jangling nerves made him blurt some tactless truths. For example, in the St. Louis Coliseum on September 5, 1919, just twenty days before he was carried back to Washington in his private car, his irritation caused him to make a startlingly frank outburst:

"Why, my fellow citizens, is there any man here or any woman, let me say is there any child here, who does not know that the seed of war in the modern world is industrial and commercial rivalry? The real reason that the war we have just finished took place was that Germany was afraid her commercial rivals were going to get the better of her, and the reason why some nations went into the war against Germany was that they thought Germany would get the advantage of them." (Vol. I, p. 637.)

The Fourteen Points themselves, issued on January 8, 1918, on examination prove to have been, not a spontaneous "idealistic" invention, but an imperialist imitation of the propaganda the Soviets were pouring into the warring countries during the Brest-Litovsk peace negotiations: Wilson wrote them when Edgar G. Sisson, Petrograd agent of the notorious Creel's propaganda department, worried by Bolshevism's progress, cabled begging that Wilson "restate anti-imperialist war aims and democratic peace requisites of America. . . ." And when the reeling German government seized on them at the beginning of October 1918 as basis for an armistice, the "humanitarian" Wilson disingenuously delayed transmission of the German appeal to the Allies until the German front appeared sufficiently crumbled. Events inside Germany, however, jarred Wilson into precipitate action. Says Bemis:

"A frantic constitutional reformation of the German Government did not prevent the proclamation of a socialist republic in Berlin, but it induced President Wilson at least to transmit to the triumphing Allies the German request for an armistice. . . ." (*Op. cit.*, p. 622.)

This, then, was the naive humanitarian who sailed for the Paris Peace Conference. In his stateroom on the *George Washington*, he made a statement of aims which nicely summarizes both his main preoccupation and his special method. As Dr. Isaiah Bowman, a member of the peace mission, cited Wilson in his notes, the President explained that

\*See Wilson's note, "Further Armistice Terms," vol. I, pp. 291-2. A not uninteresting sidelight on his true attitude to indemnities is cast on pp. 492 *et seq.* of vol. II where we find that Wilson years later vetoed a Congressional Resolution declaring the war with Germany at an end, precisely because the Resolution did not exact indemnities. And, lest it be supposed that Congress was a less greedy representative of U.S. capitalism than the President, note that in the final settlement Congress "reserved to the U.S. all rights which would have accrued to it by benefit of the Treaty of Versailles, or by the European treaties of peace with the remnants of the Austro-Hungarian Empire." The U.S. of course demanded, and got, "occupation costs."

"The poison of Bolshevism was accepted because 'it is a protest against the way in which the world has worked.' It was to be our purpose at the Peace conference to fight for 'a new order.' . . ."

A "new order." Even in this, his most famous phrase, history proves the wretched Hitler a plagiarist.

## The Peace Conference

The October revolution ended World War I—not in a flash, but brought it to a grinding stop. The news of October produced mutinies and unrest in every army, strikes and demonstrations in every rear. The Allies—working through the Supreme War Council—by armed intervention and subsidization of White armies showed their conviction that they must at any cost destroy the force which threatened to snatch their victory from them by engulfing victors and vanquished alike in socialist revolution. The whole Treaty negotiations took place under the long shadow cast across Europe by the new workers' state: fear lest it stabilize itself haunted the "peace-makers"; to crush it became their key problem.

The very choice of Paris reflects the fact. Colonel House later admitted:

"Wilson and I agreed that Switzerland was the best place for the Conference. But after reaching Paris, I found that Switzerland was threatened with Bolshevism, and it was decided that it was inadvisable to hold the Conference there."

Only directly behind the massed bayonets of their own armies did these gentry feel even comparatively secure.

There is plenty of testimony to this fact. Said Ray Stannard Baker:

"The effect of the Russian problem on the Paris Conference was profound: Paris cannot be understood without Moscow. Without ever being represented in Paris at all, the Bolsheviks and Bolshevism were powerful elements at every turn. Russia played a more vital part at Paris than Prussia."\*

Colonel House bears constant witness to the same fear. He speeded up the process of the Treaty "before, as he termed it, 'the whole world was to drop into the abyss of Bolshevism.'\*\*" And in his diary he wrote on March 22:

"Bolshevism is gaining ground everywhere. Hungary has just succumbed. We are sitting on an open powder magazine and some day a spark may ignite it." (*Ibid.*)

Herbert Hoover, in the thick of things with his anti-Bolshevik food missions, confirms these judgments. Calmly summarizing U.S. actions two years later, he categorically wrote that

"the whole of American policies during the liquidation of the armistice was to contribute everything it could to prevent Europe from going Bolshevik. . . .\*\*\*"

And on this fundamental point, as we shall observe, the British and French saw eye-to-eye with the Americans.

The Peace Conference opened on January 12, 1919, with plenipotentiaries of 27 nations. But to keep all but the most powerful from influencing decisions, there was immediately set up a Council of Ten. For the really serious skulduggery, even this was too public: the chief imperialisms set up a Council of Four, which won the nickname of the "Big Four"—Wilson, Lloyd George, Clemenceau, and Italy's Vittorio Orlando. Japan made it a "Big Five" when her interests were immediately concerned. After Orlando left in a huff over Fiume, it became the "Big Three." Meeting confidentially, with only one secretary,

\*Woodrow Wilson and World Settlement: Written from his Unpublished and Personal Material, New York, vol. II, p. 64.

\*\*Rose M. Stein: *M-Day*, New York, 1936, p. 128.

\*\*\*Louis Fischer: *The Soviets in World Affairs—a History of Relations between the Soviet Union and the Rest of the World*, 1930, p. 174. All subsequent references to Fischer are to this two-volume work.

these representatives of the world's greatest remaining imperialisms secretly\* prepared the "peace" and ruled the very uneasy world.

Although the Bolsheviks, the day after they took power, had called for a conference to make a universal peace without annexations and indemnities, Soviet representatives were of course excluded from the Peace Conference, while Paris was crawling with White Russians. Kerenskiian Ambassador to the U.S. Boris Bakhmetiev set up Paris headquarters for them, drawing on the \$325,500,000 credits the U.S. had extended Russia under Kerenskiy. Point VI of Wilson's Fourteen Points had been:

"The evacuation of all Russian territory and such a settlement of all questions affecting Russia as will secure the best and freest co-operation of the other nations of the world in obtaining for her an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her own political development and assure her of a sincere welcome into the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing; and, more than a welcome, assistance also of every kind that she may need and may herself desire. The treatment accorded Russia by her sister nations in the months to come will be the acid test of their good will, of their comprehension of her needs as distinguished from their own interests, and of their intelligent and unselfish sympathy."

Within six months Wilson had implemented this homily by sending U.S. troops to invade the Soviet Union. As the Radek-Chicherin note pointed out to Wilson, quoting his hypocritical assurance of "assistance":

". . . in reality this assistance expressed itself in the fact that the Czecho-Slovak troops and soon afterwards your own troops and those of your Allies attempted at Archangel, at Murmansk, in the Far East, to force upon the Russian people the government of the oppressors. . . ." (Fischer, pp. 147-8.)

The Soviet note went unanswered, unless the answer could be considered the 29th point in the armistice terms, which ordered that "all Russian War vessels of all descriptions seized by Germany are to be handed over to the Allies and the U.S.A."

At the time the Allied statesmen closeted themselves as the Big Four, they had already taken far-reaching actions against the USSR. Their pre-Armistice measures they had disguised as efforts to reestablish the Eastern Front against Germany, to prevent German seizure of Allied war material in Russian territory, to put down bands of armed German prisoners, to aid the Czechoslovak regiments in Russia to make their way round the world to the Western Front, etc. Hence the armistice and the end of the "German peril" should have meant the end of intervention. Instead, intervention and help to White armies was enormously stepped up. As early as December 12, 1917, the British had armed an anti-Soviet Esthonian army. By December 23, the imperialists were ready (they thought) to slice the South Russian cake according to the following secret British-French document revealed by the Soviet government:

"1. The activity directed by France is to be developed north of the Black sea (against the enemy).

"The activity directed by England is to be developed south-east of the Black Sea (against the Turks).\*\*"

"2. Whereas General Alexeev at Novo-Cherkask has proposed the execution of a program envisaging the organization of an army intended to operate against the enemy, and where-

\*Wilson's real opinions on "open covenants, openly arrived at"—one of his main slogans—was indicated by a most irritated cable he sent on June 7, 1919 to Senator G. M. Hitchcock urging investigation of "possession of text of treaty by unauthorized persons." See *Published Papers*, etc., vol. I, p. 508.

\*\*Note the terminology. On this date, France and England were formally at war with Turkey, whereas with Russia they were at least at peace, if not allies. Yet the Turks are called by name to distinguish them from the "enemy," who are—the Russians!

as France has adopted that programme and allocated a credit of one hundred millions for this purpose and made provision for the organization of Inter-Allied control, the execution of the program shall be continued until new arrangements are made in concert with England.

"3. With this reservation, the zones of influence assigned to each government shall be as follows:

"The English zone: the Cossack territories, the territory of the Caucasus, Armenia, Georgia, Kurdistan.

"The French zone: Bessarabia, the Ukraine, the Crimea.

"4. The expenses shall be pooled and regulated by a centralizing Inter-Allied organ." (Fischer, *op. cit.*, p. 836.)

A strictly business deal—and the Allies meant business. A strangling blockade, ever since the Bolsheviks took power, had been starving the Soviet masses, while food and arms poured in generous torrents to all the White armies. By mid-summer 1918, Wilson had allotted \$5,000,000 for winter supplies to civilians in Allied-held Russian territory. He sent \$5,000,000 (later increased to \$8,000,000) to the counter-revolutionary Czechoslovak armies in central Siberia; and saw that they also received a further \$5,000,000 from the War Trade Board. By mid-June 1918 the British and French had landed at Murmansk, followed by Americans, and advanced 150 miles toward Leningrad. On August 2, an Allied landing at Archangel overthrew the Soviet, established a bourgeois government, and also pushed south and west. In September 1918 arrived 4,700 U.S. reinforcements. In Siberia, beginning in August 1918, by agreement among the U.S., Britain, France, Italy and Japan to throw in 7,000 men each, they seized Vladivostok and the railways for thousands of miles inward. (The Japanese, double-crossing their allies, slapped in 73,400 men, supporting Ataman Semenov while the others supported Admiral Kolchak.) The French landed at Odessa on December 17, 1918, having ordered the Germans to stay till just before their arrival, in an attempt to avoid a Bolshevik interregnum. Even earlier, on November 16, the joint British-White Russian (Denikin) fleet had taken Baku, with its flagship flying the U.S., British, French, and Czarist Russian ensigns. Britain, which finally had some 184,000 troops involved in North Russia alone, maintained crack staffs with most White leaders and poured out munitions without stint; its admitted total costs were over \$460,893,000. Japan expended between \$291,600,000 and \$340,000,000. It must not be forgotten that decisions for these interventions, even those not involving U.S. troops, were made by the Allied Supreme War Council, on which sat Wilson's alter ego, Colonel House.

## "Big" vs. "Little" Interventionists

The purpose, especially after the armistice, was nothing less than the total destruction of the young workers' state. Wilson in public pronouncements at this point kept up a mealy-mouthed hypocrisy; but Clemenceau, more forthright, wrote in early December to General Franchet d'Esperey whose troops were invading the Ukraine:

"I hereby enclose a letter which presents a general plan for the economic isolation of Bolshevism in Russia with a view to provoking its fall."

On December 21, he restated by telegram:

"The plan of action of the Allies is to realize simultaneously the economic encirclement of the Bolsheviks and the reorganization of order by Russian elements."

The use of the word "economic" to describe armies conquering by fire and sword must be attributed to the celebrated French quality of delicacy. Franchet d'Esperey was under no misapprehensions as to what Clemenceau meant.

Thus it was quite apparent that the Big Four, as they sat down in Paris, were quite in earnest about smashing the Soviet

Union. The only differences of opinion concerned: the methods, and the heirs.

They began with a measure everyone could agree on: tightening the starvation blockade.\* Under Allied pressure, the Scandinavian nations were forced to cut off even the tiny trickle of food they were letting filter into the USSR. The U.S. government, unable formally to share in the blockade, which infringed international juridical rights for which the U.S. had supposedly gone to war with Germany, took the effective parallel measure of refusing export licenses or clearance papers to ships leaving for Soviet-held ports. Allied warships pursued and drove back Dutch, Danish, Swedish, and other neutral vessels heading for Soviet harbors. Meanwhile the quantity of food being poured from the U.S. through the Red Cross and Hoover to all White armies and the territories they had occupied was stepped up.\*\* Then the Big Four settled down to business.

Dirty business, and difficult business. Fischer (pp. 162 *et seq.*), unearthing from an obscure U.S. Senate document the minutes of the first major discussion in the office of French Foreign Minister Pichon on January 16, 1919 among Wilson, Clemenceau and Pichon, Lloyd George and Balfour, and Sonnino, reveals these gentry's main preoccupation:

"If they proposed to kill Bolshevism by the sword, answered Lloyd George, 'the armies would mutiny. . . . The mere idea of crushing Bolshevism by a military force is pure madness. Even admitting that it is done, who is to occupy Russia?'"

"'Kolchak and Denikin,' was the ready reply of his opponents. Churchill, Noulens, Foch, and the French and British military still put their trust in the anti-Bolshevik elements of Russia. But Lloyd George, with an instinct that explains much of his political success, already sensed the inferior quality of the Russian White leaders. . . ."

"'If a military enterprise were started against the Bolsheviks,' he declared, 'that would make England Bolshevik, and there would be a Soviet in London.' At the same meeting:

"'President Wilson stated that he would not be surprised to find that the reason why British and United States troops would not be ready to enter Russia [sic: they had been there six months] to fight the Bolsheviks was explained by the fact that the troops were not at all sure that if they put down Bolshevism they would not be bringing about a re-establishment of the ancient order.'"

"The soldiers were thinking, and they were tired."

To Paris from every quarter came news of "self-demobilizations" of armies, civilian rioting, spreading strikes. In every country workers were rising to protest Allied intervention against the Soviet Union:

"'The Bolshevik danger is very great at the present moment,' said Clemenceau, according to the official summary of the Council of Ten's deliberations at Paris on January 21, 1919.

"'Bolshevism was spreading. It had invaded the Baltic Provinces and Poland, and that very moment they received very bad news regarding its spread to Budapest and Vienna. Italy, also, was in danger. The danger was probably greater there than in France. If Bolshevism, after spreading in Germany, were to traverse Austria and Hungary and so reach Italy, Europe would be faced with a great danger. Therefore, something must be done against Bolshevism.'"

But what, and how?

\*We regret that we cannot, on the subject of the blockade, give our readers the benefit of the really definitive work. In preparation by the famous Hoover War Library for many years, and announced for publication last winter, this work was suddenly found to have become stuck in the bindery, and the publishers, Stanford University, are unable to inform us when it can be persuaded to become unstuck.

\*\*For a thoroughgoing exposition of the role of food as a weapon during this entire period, see *The Imperialist Strategy of Food*, by C. Charles, in our January 1943 issue.

The Allies were impeded, almost before they started, by the fact that, before they had dispossessed the Soviet people, they were wrangling about the division of the loot. The question of who was going to exploit reconquered Russia was just as important as that of who was going to control Europe. Wilson had long resisted the joint occupation of Vladivostok and the Pacific Maritime Provinces, not certainly through lack of anti-Sovietism, but through excess of anti-Japanese imperialism: he foresaw that the Oriental rivals of U.S. imperialism would not soon or easily be got out again. Despite their accord cited above, the British and French were already at loggerheads over the South Russia booty. The Japanese hindered Kolchak because he was a tool of the other Allies. The French supported Petlura against the predominantly British Denikin. And the mere mention of Russian petroleum was enough to set all the Allies at one another's throats.

Nor could they get together on the degree and form of intervention. "As Baron Sonnino has implied," said Wilson at this same meeting, "they were all repelled by Bolshevism and for that reason they had placed armed men in opposition to them." But—But—they needed only a mere 150,000 sure men to crush the hard-beset Bolsheviks. They had nominal control over armies of millions. But nowhere could they find those 150,000 men.

And with this we come to the real, not the fairy-tale, difference between Wilson and certain of the others. The "big" interventionists, led by the hysterically anti-Soviet Winston Churchill, who substituted for Lloyd George (who had worriedly rushed to England to try to head off a general strike), backed by Noulens and the Allied General Staffs, were for pouring men and munitions and money into the anti-Soviet struggle regardless of cost, even at the risk of European revolution—their theory being that the only way to stop Bolshevism's spread was to wipe it out instantly at the fountain-head at Moscow. Clemenceau was for as much direct intervention as was not suicidal, plus plenty of aid to the White armies, and the isolation of the "infection" by the creation of a *cordon sanitaire* of anti-Soviet states around Soviet Russia—Poland and the corridor, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Finland, and anything in the way of Caucasian, Armenian, Ukrainian, and Far Eastern puppet-states they could pick up or set up. House and Wilson and (now he realized the gravity of the situation) Lloyd George were opposed to "big" intervention. Why? Because, says House,

"... any invasion of Russian territory would only strengthen the Bolsheviks. . . . A nation invariably rises to the defense of its government against a foreign invader."

They were, of course, more than ready to decimate the entire Russian nation, if they could. But meanwhile, said Lloyd George in effect, we would be hanging from the lampposts in London and Paris.

## Wilson's Individual Policy

Wilson had seen this long before. He was already terrified for Europe and by the time he returned from the Peace Conference he was terrified for America. In a speech at Billings, Montana, on September 11, 1919, he cried:

"I speak of Russia. Have you seen no symptoms of the spread of that sort of chaotic spirit into other countries? If you had been across the sea with me you would know that the dread of every thoughtful man in Europe is that that distemper will spread to their countries. . . . Have you heard nothing of the propaganda of that sort of belief in the United States? That poison is running through all the veins of the world, and we have made the methods of communication throughout the world such that all the veins of the world are open and the poison can circulate. The wireless throws it out upon the air. The

cable whispers it underneath the sea. Men talk about it in little groups, men talk about it openly in great groups. There are apostles of Lenin in our own midst." (Vol. II, pp. 108-9.)

Wilson was haunted: day after day, in Kansas City, St. Paul, Bismarck, Coeur d'Alene, Minneapolis and Columbus, he hammered on the subject like a man possessed, pleading for the entry of the U.S. into the League precisely to stop Bolshevism. But, more keenly attuned to popular sentiment, he feared that frontal attacks alone on the growing revolution would bring the whole tottering capitalist edifice crashing in ruins. When, on the Conference's opening day, Generalissimo Foch had insisted that peace with Germany be made instantly so the Allies might embark on a gigantic anti-Bolshevik crusade, Wilson had demurred. Admitting that Bolshevism was a grave "social and political danger," he averred that "there was great doubt in his mind whether Bolshevism could be checked by arms." Study of Wilson's actions demonstrates conclusively that, from the time of the Fourteen Points on, he had a consistent policy: blockade, military intervention, help to White armies and their regions, on the one hand, balanced, on the other, by demagogic liberalism and hypocritical offers of peaceful coexistence with the workers' state. Wilson never believed his own fairy tale that it was merely "agitators" who produced Bolshevism. Occasionally, as in a Minneapolis speech on September 9, 1919, he stated categorically:

"Blood has been spilled in rivers, the flower of the European nations has been destroyed, and at last the voiceless multitudes of men are awake, and they have made up their minds that rather than have this happen again, if the Governments cannot get together, they will destroy the Governments." (Vol. II, p. 69.)

And, five days earlier at Columbus, he described revolutions as the product of "a hot anger that could not be suppressed. . . . Revolutions have come, because men know that they have rights and that they are disregarded." Wilson's idea was: with one hand to strike every possible blow at the spreading revolution; with the other, to try to seduce the suffering peoples from revolution by the demagogic promises of a genuine solution of their problems within the framework of capitalism. In this he was more a realist than the "realists" like Churchill: his humanitarian liberal front was a surer weapon than tanks (whose simultaneous use he of course did not disdain). But he dialectically complemented precisely those mad-dog interventionists of the Churchill breed in a skillful division of labor: it was the old game of "hard cop, soft cop."

The Soviet Foreign Commissariat had been indefatigably bombarding, first the Allied governments (and Wilson in particular), then the Allied Supreme War Council, and finally the Peace Conference, with pleas for peace, aiming less at those eminent gentlemen than at their suffering peoples. Wilson, sensitive to popular opinion, and worried by the obvious effects of the Soviet notes, seized on Litvinov's Peace Appeal of Christmas Eve 1918 to suggest to the other powers that a truce be declared in Russia and all Russian factions send special delegates to the Peace Conference. The French blew up. Bolsheviks in Paris?—why, they would convert France and England to Bolshevism! (Baker, vol. I, p. 166.)

But by January 21, 1919, it was becoming obvious even to some of the die-hards that frontal attack alone was insufficient. On the 12th Chicherin had again asked the U.S. to "kindly name a place and time for opening of peace negotiations with our representatives." So Wilson was commissioned to plan a meeting of all Russian factions, but at a good safe distance from Paris—say an Aegean island, or Prinkipo. Though it was voted to invite Soviet delegates, the invitation was "somehow" never transmitted. Yet of all the "Russian

factions," it was only the Soviet, hearing indirectly of the "invitation," who rushed to accept it;\* the Whites refused or ignored it. This did not prevent Wilson later from stating in an official communication to White general Admiral Kolchak that the Prinkipo proposal had "broken down through the refusal of the Soviet Government." The basic idea of Balfour and Wilson had been that the Soviets would refuse, and that they could then cast the onus on the Bolsheviks. Wilson said the proposal would "bring about a marked reaction against Bolshevism." When the Soviet proposals arrived, couched, not in windy diplomatic generalities, but in concrete and unhypocritical terms indicating that they knew just what the Allies were after, Lloyd George and Wilson took this frankness as an "insult."

Wilson tried another device: on February 22nd (taking only Lloyd George into his confidence) he sent to Russia a secret mission under William C. Bullitt. The net idea was the freezing of all territorial divisions among the "Russian factions" as they stood, and the disarming of the Soviet troops, in return for food from the Allies. At the time Wilson sent Bullitt, it looked as though the Red Army was immovable. But by the time he returned, the Whites under Kolchak were driving victoriously to the Volga and ultimately toward Moscow. Whereupon Wilson dropped Bullitt and Lloyd George disowned him.

Kolchak had become the Allies' White hope. To his armies the U.S. poured immense quantities of Red Cross supplies, railway equipment, and war stores. U.S. Shipping Board ships transported 260,000 rifles to him via Vladivostok. An Anglo-American syndicate (Baring Bros. of London; Kidder, Peabody and Company of Boston; the Guarantee Trust Company and National City Bank of New York) hastened to lend him \$38,000,000. But he met the fate of all White hopes: he was soon hurled back, retreating from Trotsky's Red Army toward the Urals through a "rear" of infuriated peasants.

Even then the Allies did not wholly lose hope. The statesmen at Paris ordered all consuls at Helsingfors, including the U.S., to support the Finnish government if it assisted Kolchak by a simultaneous attack on Petrograd. At another time, they put heavy pressure on Finland to assist a Yudenich attack on the same city. Under pretense that it was necessary to reinforce their expeditionary force in order to evacuate it safely (though the Reds offered them an armistice for the purpose), the British increased their strength at Murmansk; then, far from evacuating, they made a major drive to effect a junction

\*The Soviet acceptance offered to recognize the debts of previous regimes, plus interest in the form of raw materials, to grant mining, lumbering and other concessions, and to discuss annexations of Russian territory by Entente powers. See Fischer, pp. 167-168. Implicit in this acceptance was *de facto* recognition of anti-Soviet Russian regimes. That is how far Lenin and Trotsky were prepared to go to gain a breathing spell.

with Kolchak. From Siberia, forces were not withdrawn till April 1920, a year and a half after the armistice, and even then the Japanese stayed on. As tools, the Allies disdained no one, employing not only the commonest bandits like Petlura, but their "enemies": the Armistice (arranged by House) and the Treaty (Wilson) had authorized the Germans to keep their armies in the Baltic Provinces of Russia, not to be withdrawn till ". . . the governments of the principal allied and associated Powers shall think suitable, having regard to the internal situation of those territories." Says Fischer:

"The Ebert Cabinet in Berlin gladly served the Allies in this matter, and though it withdrew part of its tired [read: "infected"?] regular forces, it financed the irregular, volunteer battalions of von der Goltz."

The memory of world imperialism's desperate and all-sided efforts to destroy the first workers' state is still fresh. Yet the bourgeoisie today tries to explain away, or simply to wipe out, this ineradicable memory. It is hard to find words to characterize the brassy cynicism of, for example, the editorial writer of the *New York Times* "Topics of the Times" column for March 25, who has the gall to declare, among other falsifications:

"But when in our past relations with Soviet Russia have the people or government of the United States, or for that matter of the Allies, double-crossed the U.S.S.R. or tried to do so?"

". . . in a desperate move to reopen an eastern front against Germany, the Allies sent troops to Archangel and Murmansk. A second object was to prevent large stocks of war materials in those ports from falling into German hands. But very soon after, in July, 1918, the tide of war in the West turned in favor of the Allies. Final victory came in November, and the *United States and Britain lost all interest in the Russian business. . . .*

"Nothing can be more grotesque than the common notion that in 1918 the Allies intervened in Russia in a wanton attempt to strangle the infant U.S.S.R. . . ." (Our italics.)

It requires more than such airy falsifications of established fact to remove from Woodrow Wilson and his colleagues the historical responsibility for the shambles they made of Europe. The policy they showed toward the young Soviet Union they applied equally, as we shall show in a second article, to the rest of Europe. The measures they were logically compelled to take by their fundamental aim—the repression of the socialist revolution everywhere—dictated the mad map of post-war Europe, fertilized the soil for Mussolini and Hitler, and led undeviatingly to the second world war in a generation. Once they had done their work at the "peace" conference, no league of capitalist nations or U.S. entry into that league, no series of pacts, no "collective security," no miracle, could have saved Europe. The only salvation for that shattered and tragic continent was and remains the Socialist United States of Europe. And it was precisely against that solution that the efforts of Wilson and his colleagues were indefatigably directed.

(This is the first of two articles by Terence Phelan; the second will appear in a subsequent number.)

## The Civil War in Yugoslavia

By JOHN G. WRIGHT

Civil war has issued out of the resistance to the Axis armies in Yugoslavia. We take sides in that civil war. Let us explain why.

The corruption, treachery and bankruptcy of the native ruling class had plunged the country into chaos in the period prior to the German occupation. The dominant section of Yugoslav landlords and capitalists pressed for a capitulation to Hitler. But the mass of the population was anti-Fascist and

seething with revolt. Reports of peasant uprisings in Central Serbia, Montenegro and elsewhere came almost simultaneously with the signing on March 25, 1941 of a protocol of adherence to the Tripartite pact of the Axis.

It is as yet impossible to establish to what extent these uprisings were spontaneous and to what extent they were engineered by those elements in the army and in the population under the sway of Anglo-American or Stalinist diplomacy and

their agencies. The likelihood is that the maneuvers at the top were supplemented by spontaneous action from below. In any case, the then reigning Cvetkovich cabinet and Regent were overthrown two days after they had joined the Axis. General Dusan Simovich was installed as Premier and Peter II, a boy of 17, proclaimed as ruler. This new government was immediately recognized by London and Washington. The Kremlin—with Molotov as Premier—signed a “non-aggression pact” with Simovich on April 5, 1941, that is, on the very eve of Hitler’s formal declaration of war against Yugoslavia. This recognition was hardly given than it was withdrawn—with Stalin as Premier—on May 9, 1941. Shortly after the USSR was invaded Stalin reaffirmed the recognition he had withdrawn. Since that time this position has again been reversed *de facto*.

The newly-formed Simovich government proved impotent to organize effective resistance to the German armies. The army had scarcely been equipped to fight by the previous regime. Now, in addition, resistance was sabotaged and betrayed by Yugoslavia’s own army tops, her landlords, capitalists and their agents. With this help, Hitler overran the country in a few days and was able to consolidate his Balkan base for the attack on the USSR, which came within two months. This fact proves the guerrilla resistance during this time in Yugoslavia was poorly organized, sporadic and on a scale too restricted to interfere seriously with the plans of the German High Command.

Hitler’s occupation of Yugoslavia in April 1941 was an indispensable part of the German plan—which materialized in June—to invade the USSR.

A glance at the map suffices to show the strategic importance of this country which borders upon Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Greece and Albania, let alone Italy and Germany (Austria). Without establishing control of Yugoslavia it is impossible to assure control of the Balkans. Hitler needed this control both for offensive and defensive reasons, as would any other power or combination of powers seeking to attack the Soviet Union. Without the Balkan base such an attack cannot be launched with any hope of success. Lacking this base, the attacking armies, especially those of Germany, would find their own flank exposed.

Conversely, many of the key problems of Soviet defense also hinge on the Balkans, Yugoslavia in particular, for whoever dominates this territory disposes of a powerful base flanking the USSR.

What supplied the impetus for the guerrilla movement in Yugoslavia? According to inspired dispatches from London, the credit belongs to Drazha Mikhailovich and his “Chetniks.” The Kremlin in its domestic publications as well as in its agencies abroad, especially the *Daily Worker* in this country, helped build up this legend of Mikhailovich which they are now working so hard to dispel. For example, as late as June 2, 1942, the *Daily Worker* featured Mikhailovich’s picture on its front page alongside of a report of a broadcast from “Free Yugoslavia,” the short wave radio station of the Partisan High Command. Even after this station had made public the news of major military clashes between the Partisans and Mikhailovich, the *Daily Worker*—on orders from Moscow—continued its line of building up Mikhailovich for almost two more months after June 2, 1942.

The artificial portrayal of Mikhailovich, “Chief of the Chetniks,” as organizer of real resistance to the fascist invaders, is part of an elaborate hoax. Whatever else may be obscure about the inter-relations between Mikhailovich and the Partisans, it is now admitted even by London that Mikhailovich’s role has been to restrain resistance in Yugoslavia rather than to promote it.

It is equally undeniable that a close connection exists between the resistance in Yugoslavia and the heroic resistance of the Red Army and the Soviet masses. The struggle and successes of the Red Army have acted from the beginning as a spur to the growing resistance in Yugoslavia and elsewhere in Hitler’s rear. The force of this resistance has fed upon and runs parallel to the course of the struggle of the USSR.

## The Scope of the Partisan Movement

It was only after Hitler launched the assault upon the USSR that his serious trouble in Yugoslavia began. What amounts to an official Stalinist account of the development of guerrilla struggle is now available. It is given in the October 25, 1942, issue of *Ogonek*, a weekly published in Moscow:

“By autumn of 1941, the Partisan army, which then consisted of isolated detachments still functioning separately, already numbered from 80,000 to 100,000 fighters. . . . By the end of the year they had cleared of occupationist troops two-thirds of the territory of Serbia, more than half of Montenegro, a large section of Dalmatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina; and the organization of Partisan forces was begun in Croatia, Slovenia and Slavonia.”

The winter successes of the Red Army in 1941 were accompanied, not only by the spread of resistance in Yugoslavia, but also by its coordination and centralization:

“The leadership of the Partisan movement widely utilized the winter months for reorganizing and replenishing the ranks of the people’s armed forces. Detachments were transformed into Partisan shock brigades and battalions. The High Command of the Partisan and Volunteer Armies was created; connections were established with the Partisan detachments operating in Albania and Greece.”

By the summer of 1942, the report continues, “the Partisans were operating with comparatively large military formations (shock brigades, battalions) equipped with artillery. . . . By this time, the Partisans also disposed of planes.”

There is ample evidence that the Red Army provided the impetus from outside and that the Kremlin actively intervened in organizing, supplying and seizing control of the Partisan movement in Yugoslavia.

If the impetus from without was provided by the Red Army, what, however, has invested the resistance within Yugoslavia with its undeniable power, whatever we may think of the details of the claims in the Stalinist press?

The nationalist element, “the rising of patriots against the invader,” has been the propaganda keynote coming not only from London but also from Moscow. Nationalism has doubtless played and will continue to play an important part in the development of Yugoslavia’s struggle. Unquestionably considerable sections of Yugoslavia’s 15 millions were initially impelled by their desire and need to throw off the invader’s yoke. It is no less obvious that the subjugated conditions of the country aided powerfully in a resurgence of nationalism. But this hardly touches the main problem. Under the existing conditions what were the actual channels into which the struggle against the invader could flow and through which it could unfold?

Generally speaking, all movements in society and all the key problems including those of “national liberation” are governed by and solved through the mechanism of classes and the dynamics of the class struggle. In occupied Europe the national question is fused intimately with the social. In the case of Yugoslavia the struggle against the occupying armies could not unfold without entering immediately into a head-on collision with the Axis collaborationists headed by the native landlords and capitalists and their central and local bureaucracy.

The Stalinists inside and outside the USSR have sought to hide the inspiring fact that, while ostensibly operating within

the framework of "national liberation," the guerrilla movement no sooner acquired a mass character than it inexorably proceeded to assume class struggle forms. This incontestable fact can be established from details in the reports in the capitalist and Stalinist press. For example, a Stockholm dispatch characteristic of the earliest stages of the struggle tells that: "approximately 40 Serbian guerrillas attacked an estate in western Croatia near Lokve Lika killing the landlord and the German soldiers there" (*Daily Worker*, September 7, 1941). In the course of such raids, the guerrillas burned all the grain and other supplies that they were unable to carry away or distribute among the population.

The same report also states that "coal mines in Lesljanah were systematically attacked by big detachments numbering up to 400 guerrillas who possessed field guns. The Croatian authorities were compelled to send out regular troops." The genuine voice of the ruling class is heard in the very wording of the dispatch: The Croatian authorities, that is, the representatives of the native landowners, coal mine owners, etc., "were compelled" to defend their interests and even their lives by armed force.

That this was not an isolated incident is borne out by the official Moscow press:

"Partisan detachments attacked the occupationist garrisons, annihilated them, destroyed bridges, blew up important industrial enterprises, burned the grain requisitioned from the population whenever the occasion did not permit its distribution among the starving peasants." (*Ogonek*, October 25, 1942.)

## The Partisans vs. the "Democracies"

The prerequisites for avoiding such clashes and checking the spread of class warfare is a rigid restriction of guerrilla activity, a policy of passivity. Such a policy of rejecting mass resistance is precisely the one followed by Mikhailovich, and supported by the Yugoslav Government-in-Exile. As C. L. Sulzberger cabled from London: "This accords with British theories of political and military warfare" (*N. Y. Times*, January 31, 1943). Needless to say, Washington subscribes to the same theory. Their common aim is to defeat Hitler only on the basis of preserving capitalist property forms and relations. Whoever violates the latter in any shape or manner becomes the main enemy in place of Hitler.

Washington, London and their Yugoslavian satellites all oppose expanded guerrilla activity in Yugoslavia because it is necessarily accompanied by the extension and intensification of class warfare. Expanded guerrilla activity, which the Kremlin does require, has meant the continuation of the policy of confiscating food supplies which, when not destroyed, are distributed among the local population:

"Food from army stores captured by the guerrillas . . . was distributed to the needy population." (*Daily Worker*, July 26, 1942.)

"Flour . . . was distributed to starving population." (*Idem.*)

On October 7, 1942, the *Daily Worker* reported that the guerrillas in Croatia had seized supplies of "requisitioned wheat" and had distributed "several carloads" among the peasants. "500 carloads of wheat . . . were distributed among the population" (*Daily Worker*, November 21, 1942). This distribution of food, the largest yet reported, came on the eve of the creation of the central government of the Partisans in Bihac—The Anti-Fascist Soviet (Vece) of People's Liberation in Yugoslavia.

Peasants in the localities controlled by the guerrillas have received "timber for building and for personal use without charge" (*Daily Worker*, July 26, 1942). Similar reports can be adduced to any number.

Naturally, the Yugoslav landlords and merchants who own

these food supplies and timber lands are opposed to such measures. The formation of "White Guards" to combat the guerrillas was reported in the summer of 1941. Moscow has since then contended that Mikhailovich himself has organized these special "White Guard" detachments. Such a development is indicated by the logic of the situation itself.

The opposition of the capitalists is all the more bitter because the policy of the guerrillas even under Stalinist domination has gone far beyond partial seizures. "In Slovenia the 'Liberation Front' has recently confiscated the property of Italian spies and traitors to the people and has distributed it among the peasant victims of the fascist terror. . . ." (*Daily Worker*, July 28, 1942).

It should be borne in mind that this policy of confiscation hits not only all Yugoslav landlords and capitalists who directly collaborate with the Axis, but also those who may support Mikhailovich and the Government-in-Exile. They too fall in the category of "traitors to the people."

The wording of the Stalinist dispatch is a euphemistic way of describing agrarian revolution. The Yugoslav peasantry, land hungry for centuries, have seized the opportunity to divide the landlord's estates. This irrepressible class conflict is fed by the survivals of feudal conditions in the country, especially in Bosnia and Herzegovina where reforms "abolishing" serfdom were introduced only in 1929. It is a fact that the Stalinist-controlled leadership of the Partisans has tried, if not to foster, then at least to supply a legal cover, for some of these land seizures.

No less drastic measures have been applied in other spheres of the country's economic life. Expanded guerrilla activity has necessarily involved, as was stated, the destruction of bridges, railways and systems of communications; of plants and mines and, in some cases, the removal of machinery and equipment to the rear. It has entailed the confiscation of plants by the guerrillas. According to an eye-witness report, by the end of August 1941 "Uzice was in our hands and here we [i.e., the guerrillas] had factories in which we ourselves produced different kinds of goods" (*Slobodna Rech*, March 2, 1943.)

Velimir Vlahovich, whose various roles include that of accredited foreign correspondent of the Partisans in Moscow, has been permitted to cable from there that the Partisans have confiscated "banks and their funds in liberated towns." He says:

"In Uzice [the first capital of the central government set up by the Partisans], they confiscated more than 10 million dinars. In large towns such as Chachack and Kraljevo, similar large sums were taken over. Large sums were also obtained by attacking Axis military and passenger trains." (*Daily Worker*, February 2, 1943.)

The banks of course are owned by Yugoslav bankers, financiers and industrialists, who likewise must be the owners of the "large sums" seized on passenger trains.

## Why the Kremlin Backs the Partisans

It is hardly necessary to dwell on the military necessity that drives the Kremlin to expand to the maximum guerrilla activity in Hitler's rear, all the more so in the strategic Balkans. Immediate military needs are reinforced by long-term strategic requirements of Soviet defense. The Kremlin must secure the southern Balkan flank not only against Hitler but against its present allies just as, in the period of the Stalin-Hitler pact, it was driven to protect the northern flank in Finland against its then "ally."

Just as Leon Trotsky used the Polish experience of 1939 as the key to the Finnish events that followed, so can we use the Finnish experience as the key to the current situation in Yugoslavia. During its adventure of 1939-40 the Kremlin sought to

promote a civil war within Finland in preparation for its sovietization. It set up the "Workers' and Peasants' Government" of Kuusinen. But the Finnish Communist Party had little or no following among the masses. The civil war could not develop under Mannerheim's bayonets. It was nipped in the bud.

Leon Trotsky explained at the time:

"The military victory of Stalin over Finland would unquestionably have made possible an overthrow of property relations with more or less assistance from the Finnish workers and small farmers. Why then didn't Stalin carry out this plan? Because a colossal mobilization of bourgeois public opinion began against the USSR. Because England and France seriously posed the question of military intervention. Finally—last but not least in importance—because Hitler could wait no longer. The appearance of English and French troops in Finland would have meant a direct threat to Hitler's Scandinavian plans which were based on conspiracy and surprise. Caught in the vise of a two-fold danger—on one side from the Allies and from the other Hitler—Stalin renounced sovietizing Finland, limiting himself to the seizure of isolated strategical positions." (*In Defense of Marxism*, pp. 174-175.)

The conditions confronting Stalin in Yugoslavia are quite different and far more favorable than those which confronted him in Finland. The Kremlin is seeking to exploit the civil war in Yugoslavia—where the Communist Party still retains a mass following—through the establishment of a central government with a program which virtually duplicates that of Kuusinen's puppet government.

While the Kuusinen Government was set up from on top and remained a paper creation of the Kremlin, the Partisan regime established in Yugoslavia has a mass base and represents a real power. The essence of the state consists in its apparatus of coercion. The shattering of the old state apparatus by the Yugoslav partisans signifies the attempt through civil warfare to install a new state. This process is delineated as follows in an official document of the Yugoslav partisans:

"In order to rally all of the population to carry on this difficult struggle against the occupationists, it is necessary to create such public organs which would best answer the demands of the situation, which will be nearest to the people and which would take upon themselves all of the responsibility in the name of the people.

"The former gendarme, police and county apparatus cannot and do not answer the needs, because this apparatus is infested with elements of the enemy, because this apparatus up to now has been in the service of the occupationists, and the enemy still has influence on this apparatus through its agents. Aside from this, this apparatus does not enjoy the confidence of the people and is not suitable for the present critical days. We consider that the national liberation committees, which the people themselves are establishing, are at the present time the most suitable organs on which we can rely. (*The Truth About Yugoslavia. A Documentary Record*. Published in January 1943 in Pittsburgh, Pa., under the auspices of Louis Adamic, Zarko Bunich and other "Americans of Yugoslav Birth." P. 5.)

Under the Partisans the former authorities have been replaced by local committees, elected under a democratic procedure unprecedented in the Balkans. Based on these committees, the first central government was set up in August 1941 with its capital at Uzice, from which it was driven out by the combined forces of the occupationists and native fascists. A second existed for a short time in Kocevje, Slovenia. The third was established last November in Bihac, Bosnia, from which, according to the *Daily Worker* of February 16, it was driven out by "more than 100,000 German, Italian, Croatian fascists and Mikhailovich's chetniks."

This government, whose figurehead is one Dr. Ivan Ribar, still functions, arrogating to itself in the territories controlled

by the Partisans all executive, legislative, juridical, police and military powers.

Mikhailovich and the pro-Allied Yugoslav clique in exile are of course irreconcilably opposed to this government. So are London and Washington. Stalin, while still recognizing *de jure* the Yugoslav Government-in-Exile, supports *de facto* the Ribar government. The class conflict in Yugoslavia, economic in its essence, thus asserts itself also in the international diplomatic and political spheres.

Every success of the Red Army adds new explosive power to the irrepressible conflict in Yugoslavia and spreads it beyond the boundaries. C. L. Sulzberger has just been permitted by the London censors to cable:

"Already beneath the conqueror's rule explosions are creeping to the surface all over Eastern Europe. In Yugoslavia Left-Wing Partisan is combatting Right-Wing Chetnik with the same savagery each has displayed against the Axis, and vice versa. In Poland much the same phenomenon goes on." (*New York Times Magazine*, March 21, p. 6.)

This is the first open confirmation of a civil war in Poland which is proceeding under the same Stalinist auspices as the one in Yugoslavia.

It requires a clear conception of the class nature of the Soviet Union and the parasitic role of the Stalinist bureaucracy to analyze correctly this seemingly unprecedented situation. The contradictory position of the Kremlin in Soviet society compels it today under the given conditions as yesterday in Poland, the Baltic countries and Bessarabia, to sponsor and support such revolutionary measures as the creation of a new state power in Yugoslavia; the confiscation of stocks of food, timber, landlords' estates; the removal of machinery to the rear, the confiscation of factories, banks, etc.

In the period of the Stalin-Hitler pact, the Kremlin sovietized Eastern Poland, Bessarabia and the Baltic states. The Stalinist bureaucracy was compelled in the interests of self-preservation to extend the base of the first workers' state. Thereby, as Leon Trotsky pointed out, the October revolution, whose remaining basic conquests are today being defended so heroically by the Soviet soldiers, workers, peasants and the youth, served notice to the world that it still lives.

Conditions in the present period of Stalin's alliance with "democratic" imperialism differ from those in the days of the Stalin-Hitler pact. But the same fundamental forces arising out of the irreconcilable clash between Soviet economy and world imperialism are driving the bureaucratic caste to measures which are revolutionary in their objective consequences. The Stalinist bureaucracy depends for its own existence upon the maintenance of the workers' state created by the October revolution. In desperation and as a last resort this bureaucracy has proved itself capable of so acting in self-defense as to stimulate revolutionary developments.

## Why We Support the Partisans

How must revolutionary internationalists conduct themselves under these conditions? In accordance with the directives given by Trotsky to the Bolsheviks in eastern Poland:

"Together with the workers and peasants, and in the forefront, you must conduct a struggle against the landlords and capitalists; do not tear yourself away from the masses, despite all their illusions, just as the Russian revolutionists did not tear themselves away from the masses who had not yet freed themselves from their hopes in the Czar (Bloody Sunday, January 22, 1905); educate the masses in the course of the struggle, warn them against naive hopes in Moscow, but do not tear yourself away from them, fight in their camp, try to extend and deepen their struggle, and to give it the greatest possible independence." (*In Defense of Marxism*, p. 88.)

The record of Stalinism warns that the Kremlin clique at a later stage will try to restrain within its bureaucratic strait-jacket and to suppress the self-action of the revolutionary workers and peasants. With a new abrupt turn of events in the war and a radical shift in the relation of forces, Stalin is easily capable of making his peace with the Mikhailoviches just as he tried to do in the summer and autumn of 1941.

But given continued successes of the Red Army and a favorable relationship of forces *vis-a-vis* London and Washington, the sovietization of Yugoslavia along with sections of Poland and Eastern Europe is, even under Stalin, by no means excluded.

Preparatory steps in this direction have already been taken. In Moscow on August 11 and 12, 1941, there was organized "The All-Slav Rally." This organization is far more elaborate than Kuusinen's puppet regime intended for the sovietization of Finland. Its auxiliaries, "The Women's Anti-Fascist Congress and "The Anti-Fascist Youth Congress," which were organized almost simultaneously, already have a considerable mass base not only in Eastern Europe and other occupied areas but among Slavic emigrants throughout the world.

The "democratic" chancelleries are alarmed. A vast behind-the-scenes diplomatic struggle has been taking place since last autumn when, to combat Stalin's new "Slav International," London and Washington tried to set up a *Catholic Slav bloc*. Forty per cent of Yugoslavia's population is Catholic. About the same proportion prevails in the Balkans while in Poland Catholics

predominate. The Washington-London-Vatican plan is to establish this bloc in the Balkans through the reconstitution of the Habsburg monarchy. That is the meaning of the envisaged plans to invade Europe through the "soft under belly" of the Balkans. That is the meaning of the negotiations with the Vatican, the trip of Archbishop Spellman, the formation of the Habsburg Brigade in the United States, etc.

The revolutionary ferment which has manifested itself in Yugoslavia since the midsummer of 1941 is only in its initial stages. It has already brought to the fore all the fundamental problems of the European revolution. In its further development this workers' and peasants' movement can sweep over the heads not only of the Mikhailoviches and their allies but also of the Kremlin clique. The resistance of the guerrillas is reinforced by the struggle of the Red Army and in turn reinforces the latter. With the growth of self-confidence among the Soviet and European masses, with the terrible suffering and accelerated pace of the war, with the growing realization of the blind alley of imperialist policies, the masses are being impelled toward the socialist solution of the world crisis.

It is becoming more and more clear to the people of Eastern Europe, as it will become on the morrow to western European peoples including Germany, that their sole salvation lies in making common cause with the masses of the USSR for the establishment of the Socialist United States of Europe.

## The Easter Rebellion

By OSCAR WILLIAMS

The Easter Rebellion of 1916 was drowned in blood by British imperialism. Defeated though it was, however, the Easter Rebellion remains of enduring interest. Its lessons were never more important than they are today, on the 27th anniversary.

The leaders of the Irish Free State—who maintain their hold largely because of their participation in the Easter Rebellion—have deliberately minimized and distorted the role of the outstanding figure in that struggle. A recent visitor to Dublin has informed me that in the museum of the Easter Rebellion, maintained in Dublin by the government, there is not a single reference to James Connolly—the greatest thinker and fighter of the national and social struggle in Ireland. Murdered 27 years ago, his revolutionary ideas are still so powerful that Irish capitalism—already senile, though young in years—finds it necessary to hide from the workers the true story of Jim Connolly.

No more than DeValera can the Stalinists tell the truth about Connolly. A quotation from the March issue of the British Trotskyist newspaper, *Workers International News*, gives fresh evidence of how the Stalinists, while paying lip-service to him, lie about Connolly's ideas:

"Mr. P. Musgrove, Editor of the *Irish Freedom*, who recently utilized Connolly's writings and published them in book form with a long preface, attempts to confuse the Irish and British workers over Connolly's socialist position, making out that it is necessary to support the present war as being a continuation of the revolutionary principle. This is one extra lie in the long list of Stalinist distortions. Connolly in the last war stood violently opposed to the gang of social democrats who betrayed the international movement and gave support to World War No. 1. In his many writings and in the model slogan—"NEITHER KING NOR KAISER"—Connolly advocated the complete independence of the working class movement and declared that it is the duty of the socialist movement to organize

the oppressed against the native and foreign capitalist forces who dominate Ireland entirely."

In 1912, when capitalism in all the advanced countries of the world had already reached its summit, Ireland remained one of the most backward countries of Europe. In Dublin, where social conditions were relatively higher than the rest of the country, the death rate among infants was the highest in Europe, higher even than Calcutta in Asia. The Medical Officer of Health for Dublin 1905 reported the startling contrast in child mortality of less than one per cent for children of professional classes and 27.7 per cent for children of laborers. According to another government report in 1914, nearly a third of the entire city lived in single rooms.

Conditions in the countryside were far worse, for the chronic agrarian crisis was both the most striking and the most fundamental problem of the oppressed nation.

It was Karl Marx who first described Ireland as "England's largest pasturage." The triumph of industrial capitalism in England ruined Ireland. Until then Ireland had provided the bulk of the grain consumed in Britain, protected from competition by tariffs which gave Ireland a virtual monopoly. But these corn laws were repealed in 1842 by the British industrialists, who wanted cheap food in order to pay low wages and therefore opened Britain to cheap grain from across the Atlantic.

The Irish landlords thus found themselves compelled to change over from tillage to pasturage. Widespread evictions began to take place: tenant farmers had no place in the new agrarian system of large unenclosed areas for pasturage. The raising of wool and meat now became the prime function of Irish agriculture. The merciless process of evictions was accompanied by the great famine of 1847. Mass emigration to

America and Australia between 1841 and 1866 reduced the population by 40 per cent. By 1926, the population had declined in 75 years from 251 to 135 per square mile.

Those driven from the land could not go to the cities. Thanks to British domination Ireland did not have any real industry except linen manufacture. It was not long before the powers of absorption of this industry were exhausted. There was little Irish capital to develop new industries and the British industrialists wanted Ireland to remain a pasturage for England producing nothing but wool and meat. Ireland was transformed from a nation of small farmers into a land of large, absentee landholders.

England not only succeeded in bringing Ireland to economic peonage, but by the middle of the 19th century appeared to have destroyed in the Irish people their feeling as a nationality. So far, indeed, had England weakened the Irish nation that Marx even came to the conclusion that the only way Ireland could obtain her independence would be through the English workers. All trace of the Gaelic language—the traditional language of Ireland—had been done away with; the 19th century Irish men and women regarded Gaelic as a foreign tongue.

### The Rise of the Nationalist Movement

The reawakening of the Irish national spirit toward the latter part of the nineteenth century was demonstrated first in the literary and cultural field. Prominent literary men began to bring back to popular attention the native cultural heritage of Ireland. An important force in this direction was the Gaelic League. It was not formally organized until 1893 by Douglas Hyde, later the first president of the Irish Free State. Its purpose was to spread the use of Gaelic and, although non-political in program and activity, it succeeded in arousing the national consciousness as nothing else had done previously. At the height of the struggle in 1916 the League had hundreds of branches and had been the source of recruiting many of the leaders in the battle for independence.

The theater, especially the Abbey Theater of Dublin, also played an important role. Choosing the subject matter of their plays from the daily life of the oppressed people, these playwrights and actors became an instrument in the fight for national independence. Far from an abstract art in an ivory tower, the plays of the Abbey Theater succeeded, through touring companies and hundreds of amateur groups, in reaching wide sections of the people in both the urban and rural areas.

Some of these artists and intellectuals took leading roles in the political and social struggle and were to pay with their lives for their devotion to the fight.

The peasantry entered the struggle through the Irish Land League, whose outstanding leader was Michael Davitt. Here the struggle was one against both British and Irish landlords. The Land League, initiated in 1879, organized tens of thousands of farmers throughout Ireland for the purpose of fighting against the vicious evictions system. Davitt, who had already spent seven years in a British prison for his struggle against English and Irish landlordism, gave to the organization both its program and its militant methods of struggle. Basing itself on the conviction that the land belonged to the people who tilled it, the League demanded the end of the landlord system.

Gathering in strength at every eviction proceeding, and using a method of mass intimidation which was later used by the Farm Holiday Association and the Farmers Union in America, the League saved thousands of farmers from eviction. A graphic indication of the response to the Land League was the great mass meeting called at the beginning of the anti-eviction campaign. Twenty thousand farmers gathered together in one spot—the greatest gathering ever held in Ireland.

The authorities soon declared the Land League illegal. Davitt then organized the Ladies Land League and carried on through it the work of the now illegal organization. The role of the women in this field is but one example of the extremely heroic and active role which the Irish proletarian and nationalist women carried on in all phases of the struggle, both legal and illegal.

The work of the Land League bore results in the Reform Bills, pushed through Parliament by the Liberal Party government. While not solving the land problem, these bills offered partial remedies, such as Land Courts to fix more reasonable rents, and provisions against arbitrary and sudden evictions. As a result of the work of the League, the small farmers of Ireland were brought into the struggle against national and social injustice—and from then on were always to remain an active factor in the fight.

In the early part of the 20th century, the Sinn Fein movement began to develop. It never existed as an organized party, but was simply a loose and undisciplined movement centering around Arthur Griffith and the various newspapers which he published. Sinn Fein was exclusively a bourgeois movement. Its program, as proposed by Griffith, who was the unquestioned leader, makes this amply clear. His principal demands were the following: "1. A protective system for Irish industries and commerce; 2. An Irish consular service; 3. A mercantile marine; 4. A national bank and stock exchange; 5. A national civil service; 6. Non-recognition of the British Parliament and establishment of a National Assembly; 7. Abolition of the poor-house system and employment of the able-bodied in reclamation work, reforestation, etc."

In spite of its program, which contained nothing of a social-revolutionary nature, and in spite of the fact that Sinn Fein did not have an organized party, Griffith was the subject of constant persecution by the British. His newspapers were suppressed so frequently that at one time he published a paper called *Scissors and Paste*, which consisted solely of extracts quoted from legal newspapers. The Sinn Fein ideology became the dominant program of the Irish bourgeoisie and its ideas were to become the official program of the Irish Free State.

### The Proletariat and James Connolly

In 1907, with the organization of the Irish Transport and General Workers Union, the independent role of the working class begins. Until then the working class in this non-industrial land had played a negligible role. Small craft unions, existing in a few cities, had exerted little influence.

By this time Connolly had developed himself as an internationalist and had clarified the attitude which the working class should take to the nationalist movement.

The conclusions to which he came were similar in basic respects to those of Lenin and Trotsky. Understanding that only socialism could bring about a real solution for the oppressed people of Ireland, nevertheless he pointed out the folly of ignoring the national question. His program called for collaboration of the workers with the nationalist movement and for putting forth at all times the independent program of the workers. His was the sharpest voice in criticism of those nationalists who thought they could achieve independence through deals with Liberal Party governments in England.

Furthermore, Connolly tirelessly explained, the winning of independence alone would solve nothing, but rather must be one part of the process of working toward the social liberation of Ireland through the socialist revolution.

His position is summarized in the conclusion of an article he wrote for his paper, the *Irish Worker*, in October 1914:

"The Irish working class, as a class, can only hope to rise with Ireland.

"Equally true is it that Ireland cannot rise to freedom except upon the shoulders of a working class knowing its rights and daring to take them."

Such, in a few words, was the revolutionary socialist program that Connolly began agitating for upon his return to Ireland in 1896 at the age of 26. As a child of ten he had been taken to Edinburgh by his parents and had only been in Ireland since for a short visit. Now he settled down for his life's work. Son of a worker and a worker himself, he had managed in Scotland to absorb by 26 an astonishingly rounded socialist education.

Shortly after arriving in Dublin he founded the Irish Socialist Republican Party. It remained a small party, but Connolly could justly claim that it brought the struggle for independence out of a conspiratorial atmosphere and made it an issue for public debate and discussion. In 1898 he founded his journal *The Workers' Republic*. One of his proudest victories for Ireland came in 1900 when delegates of his party were given credentials as representing a separate nation at the Paris International Socialist Congress.

Connolly's influence on the workers' and nationalist movement was primarily exerted, however, through the Transport and General Workers Union. Its founder and skilful organizer, Jim Larkin, recognized Connolly's theoretical stature and made room for him in the leadership. Connolly gave to the union a broad social outlook and what was, in effect, a revolutionary program. Through the most militant methods he and Larkin built an industrial union in the transport industry—and then extended their jurisdiction to such diverse groups as textile workers.

In 1913 the union conducted the great Dublin General Strike. The employers had determined to smash this ever-growing union by the yellow-dog contract—lockouts of those workers who would not resign their membership. The answer of the union was one of the great episodes in the class struggle of pre-war Europe. The struggle was participated in by forces beyond the Irish border. The Irish capitalists were backed by the British government and by direct aid from their class brothers in England. The workers received large sums and shiploads of food from British unions, sympathetic but unauthorized strikes broke out on the English railways, and money also came from Germany and France. Most of the Irish nationalist intellectuals supported the strikers against the capitalists. For eight months the workers of Dublin held out. In the end they were forced back to work. But the union was not stamped out and the yellow-dog contract was not enforced. Thanks to the magnificent fight they had put up, the workers did not suffer the demoralization and disintegration which the employers had sought. Instead, many of the workers involved learned that the fight had to be conducted on a larger plane than that of trade unionism. Primarily as a result of the lessons absorbed in this strike, the workers became the most serious factor later on when the national struggle reached its height.

The seeds of the famous Citizen Army were planted during the strike. It was first organized by the union as the "Union Defense Corps." Its original purpose was to defend the union band against the police. During demonstrations and parades the band was always at the head of the line of march. What particularly infuriated the union members was that the cops, in attacking the parades, always tried to smash the instruments in the band. These instruments had been bought with the members' hard-earned money, and they determined to protect them. Organize and protect them they did—and began the Citizen Army.

As the working class began to organize, so also did the re-

actionaries. In Ulster, that section of Ireland comprising the six northernmost counties, where English influence was strongest, Carson's Volunteers were organized to fight against the nationalist forces. Incited and backed by the English and supplied with arms by them, the Ulster Volunteers effectively used the religious issue to divide the Protestant masses of northern Ireland from the rest of the country.

The British sent great sums of money to be used for propaganda purposes in Ulster. The very slogans used—"Home Rule means Rome Rule" and "Ulster will fight and Ulster will be right" were authored by Lord Randolph Churchill, leading British Tory. The Ulster Volunteers openly stated that if the Home Rule Bill became law they would defy it. The Bill did not give the Irish real independence. Nevertheless, the Volunteers, speaking for the most reactionary section of the British ruling class, would not even accept this.

In March 1914 a large number of British army officers stationed in Ulster, led by General Sir Hubert Gough, announced they would refuse to obey orders from the British War Office to enforce the Home Rule Bill if it were enacted. The reaction of the War Office to the Curragh Mutiny was an official statement to the officers that they would not be used to coerce Ulster. It does not require much imagination to picture the reaction of the British War Office had the mutineers been English soldiers refusing to bayonet striking Irish workers.

It was in answer to the Ulster Volunteers that the Nationalists finally formed their own military organization—the Irish Volunteers. Connolly collaborated with the Volunteers from the beginning and the Citizen Army, of which he was the Commandant, participated in many joint maneuvers with them.

## War and Revolution

With the opening of the First World War, events began to move at a very fast pace. Those few Irish leaders who supported the war very quickly lost all support within Ireland. The great mass of the people manifested deep opposition to the war. In July 1915 the British attempted to smash the Irish Volunteers by arresting and deporting some of the leaders. The action only served to inflame the mass of the people.

Connolly had already by then come to the conclusion that it was necessary for the leaders of the Volunteers to make concrete plans for the insurrection. Connolly fought the idea held by some of the Volunteer leaders that the revolution would in some way develop by itself, that there was something "undemocratic" in making concrete plans and setting a date for an insurrection. Connolly was afraid, above all else, that the leaders would dally too long and allow the revolutionary situation to pass them by.

The specific organizational situation within which Connolly functioned must be borne in mind. The Irish Volunteers, the principal military organization, was formally under the control of the Irish Republican Brotherhood, which was the loose organization of the Nationalists. Connolly's influence in the Volunteers did not come primarily from his organized strength—since the Citizen's Army never had more than a few hundred members—but rather from the power of his ideas. In spite of this difficult situation, Connolly was able to win to his point of view on this question the best section of the Volunteer leadership, including Pádraic Pearse and Tom Clarke.

In spite of his collaboration with the Volunteers—representatives of another class—Connolly even at this moment explained to the workers the special role they had to play. Brian O'Neill, in his book *The Easter Rebellion*, quotes Connolly as addressing a meeting of the Citizen Army on Easter Monday with the following words: "Being the lesser party," he told them, "we join in this fight with our comrades of the Irish Volunteers.

But hold your arms. If we succeed, those who are our comrades today we may be compelled to fight tomorrow."

The insurrection was set for Easter Sunday. It was to be carried out under the cover of parades and demonstrations, to be held all over Ireland by the Volunteer groups in the different cities and rural areas. Just 12 hours before the scheduled Rising, a great blow was delivered to the Insurrectionists. This was the famous Countermanding Order, issued by Professor Eoin MacNeill, chairman of the Irish Republican Brotherhood and the titular head of the nationalist movement.

MacNeill, a pacifist who apparently had realized only at the last moment that the movement of which he was the formal leader actually meant to go through with an armed revolution, inserted an advertisement in Ireland's only Sunday paper, ordering all Volunteers to call off all demonstrations and parades on Sunday. The result was terrible confusion and the virtual isolation of the Rising to Dublin. The active leaders of the Volunteers in collaboration with Connolly postponed the Rising until Monday, but the damage was done.

On Monday, key buildings in Dublin were seized and Pearse read from the steps of the General Post Office the Proclamation of the Provisional Government of Ireland, signed by seven of the leaders, including Connolly.

Over 60,000 Imperial troops were sent into the field against the rebels. With heavy artillery and gunboats from the Royal Navy, the British set to work to raze to the ground entire blocks of buildings in order to give themselves a clear field for the play of artillery and field guns.

According to the most liberal estimates the insurrectionists never had more than twelve to thirteen hundred armed men in the fighting. Approximately 200 of them came from the Citizen Army. The nationalists failed to seize printing plants for revolutionary leaflets and other propaganda.

Above all, however, it was the isolation of the rebellion to Dublin that doomed the rebellion.

Fighting with the determination that comes only from the inspiration of great ideas, the rebels made the British pay dearly for every house and building. Aided especially in the workers' homes, the insurrectionists retreated step by step.

Connolly quickly became the undisputed military leader. Even the severe wounds which he received—one in the side and the other smashing his ankle—did not prevent him from directing all details of the struggle. Padraic Pearse, in a manifesto written on Friday of Easter Week, paid the following tribute to Connolly:

"I desire now, lest I may not have an opportunity later, to pay homage to the gallantry of the soldiers of Irish Freedom who have during the past four days been writing with fire and steel the most glorious chapter in the later history of Ireland. Justice can never be done to their heroism, to their discipline, to their gay and unconquerable spirit in the midst of peril and death.

"If I were to mention the names of individuals my list would be a long one.

"I will name only that of Commandant-General James Connolly, commanding the Dublin Division. He lies wounded, but is still the guiding brain of our resistance."

Early on Saturday morning it became apparent that to continue the hopeless struggle would mean the physical annihilation of all the participants in the Rising. The only choice the rebels had was unconditional surrender. The British, of course, immediately arrested all the participants in the Rising and declared martial law over the whole country.

The Irish people got a speedy lesson in traditional British "sportsmanship." The martial law was of the most brutal character. Within three days of the surrender, Pearse, MacDonagh

and Tom Clarke were executed. Less than a week later all the signers of the Revolutionary Proclamation, together with seven others, had been shot.

Connolly was the last of the leaders to be executed. So seriously wounded that he could not sit up, he was condemned by a secret court-martial at his bedside on May 9th. In the early morning of May 12, he was carried from his bed on a stretcher to an ambulance and driven to Kilmainham Jail. There the British carried him into the jailyard and propped him up in a chair and shot him.

And so ended the Easter Rebellion. Unlike many defeated revolutions however, it was not followed by apathy and discouragement. The Rising sounded the call for a new and fiercer struggle for independence, reaching its peak in the Anglo-Irish War of 1918-21, and forcing British imperialism to make the compromise that resulted in the formation of the Irish Free State. Without the Easter Rebellion it is very unlikely that the Free State would be in existence today.

## Lenin on the Easter Rebellion

It was Lenin who gave the rounded analysis of the Rising and its historical justification. Writing in answer to Karl Radek, who had called it a "putsch" and therefore unjustified, Lenin wrote in 1916 shortly after its defeat:

"The term 'putsch' in the scientific sense of the word, may be employed only when the attempt at insurrection has revealed nothing but a circle of conspirators, or stupid maniacs, and has roused no sympathy among the masses. . . . Whoever calls such an uprising [as the Easter Rebellion] a putsch is either a hardened reactionary, or a doctrinaire who is hopelessly incapable of picturing to himself a social revolution as a living phenomenon.

"To imagine that social revolution is conceivable without revolts by small nations in the colonies and in Europe, without the revolutionary outbursts of a section of the petty-bourgeoisie with all its prejudices, without the movement of non-class conscious proletarian and semi-proletarian masses against the oppression of the landlords, the church, the monarchy, the foreign nations, etc.—to imagine this means repudiating social revolution. Only those who imagine that in one place an army will line up and say 'we are for socialism' and in another place another army will say 'we are for imperialism' and that this will be the social revolution, only those who hold such a ridiculously pedantic opinion could vilify the Irish rebellion by calling it a 'putsch.'

"Whoever expects a 'pure' social revolution will never live to see it. Such a person pays lip service to revolution without understanding what revolution is. . . .

"The misfortune of the Irish is that they rose prematurely, when the European revolt of the proletariat had not yet matured. Capitalism is not so harmoniously built that the various springs of rebellion can immediately merge of their own accord, without reverses and defeats." (*Collected Works*, Vol. XIX, English edition, p. 299 ff.)

For the working class Connolly's death was a terrible blow. The trade union movement was taken over by class collaborationists and in the later events did not play the independent and weighty role that it did under Connolly's influence.

The nationalists kept moving further to the right until today such figures as DeValera, an active participant in the Rebellion, plays a completely reactionary role in Irish politics.

But Connolly and the militant spirit of the Easter Rebellion are not forgotten. The British and Irish Trotskyists, growing in influence with the masses, are his true heirs. Through them Connolly's ideas are once more being brought to the oppressed masses of Ireland.

# The Kremlin Bureaucracy and the War

By A. ROLAND

EDITOR'S NOTE: In our February 1943 issue we published an article by Olga Petrova, describing in detail the play, "The Front," which appeared last fall throughout the Soviet Union. The play was also—an unprecedented occurrence—published in full in Pravda. Its author, Andre Korneichuk, has now been appointed Vice-Commissar of

Foreign Affairs. The play depicted the dismissal of "old" Red Army leaders and their displacement by new and young cadres, and sought to show that Stalin had been right both in having the "old" leaders at the beginning of the war and in now replacing them. Olga Petrova's article after describing the play, concluded that the displacements

in the Red Army were Stalin's method of unloading the responsibility for his own mistakes and that those dismissed included those heroes of the civil war who had survived the 1936-38 purges of the Red Army. The following article offers a different interpretation of the reorganization of the Red Army.

The power of the Stalinist bureaucracy was unchallenged and unlimited at the start of the present war. Stalin had dealt ruthlessly with all his real or potential foes. The Old Bolsheviks, those who had played the foremost role during the Civil War and were thus its heroes, had been cold-bloodedly murdered with the judicial aid of the mock trials. Nobody remained of the original Leninist Political Committee that had guided the October Revolution except Cain-Stalin himself. He had gathered around him those elements who were completely at his beck and call, completely "loyal" to himself personally. This dictatorial bureaucracy, interested first of all in its own swollen powers and privileges, faced its major test in the war.

All the facts are not known as to what occurred inside the USSR as a result of the impact of the war on the rule of the bureaucratic clique. But enough is known to indicate that the frauds perpetrated by the Thermidoreans in their crude attempts to falsify history became increasingly evident. War is too much a matter of life and death to permit bluff and bluster and fake records to cover up ineptitude and ignorance in the leadership at the front or in the factories. The early defeats suffered by the Red Army are clearly attributable to two causes. The first is a political cause due to Stalin's complete lack of belief that Hitler would attack the Soviet Union without placing demands before the Kremlin and thus permit Stalin to negotiate. The success of Hitler's surprise must therefore be laid directly at the door of Stalin himself. But the second cause is the confusion created in the ranks of the inept bureaucracy.

If we had no other evidence of this fact, we have that of Stalin himself. It is given in the play bureaucratically cut to order, "The Front." (The author, Korneichuk, has been promoted to political spokesman for the Soviet Union in the controversy over borders with Poland.) But it must be said at once that whoever accepts the Stalinist version of events fall directly into a trap set for the unwary. The play deals with the changes in Red Army leadership made in the course of the present war, particularly those made in the high command. The removal of figures like Voroshilov and Budenny represents but one aspect of the small crack that already appears in what was apparently a solid, unbreakable front. Will that crack widen and bring about a crumbling of the edifice of the bureaucracy—or can it be cemented together again? The play is one of the many efforts to apply a healing cement, to hold off the inevitable effects of the war on the Soviet Union.

It is evident that Stalin feels the need to explain away what has happened already. Only a vague reference is made in the play to the Red Generals (Tukhachevsky, Gamarnik, etc.) whose bloody purge so weakened the Red Army before the war. The early defeats suffered by the Soviet Union cannot help but have reminded the Russian workers and peasants of those leaders. There must have been keen dissatisfaction with the unnecessary losses in men and material suffered solely because of a political leadership that knew nothing of modern strategy and

tactics. The proof of this lies in the play, "The Front," in which the attempt is made to take over the criticism and make it appear as if this comes directly from Stalin.

The war forced the Stalinists to take measures in the direction of reform of the Red Army leadership. Better to lose a part, even if a section of the ruling clique, than to lose all by defeat. Not one of the top clique that surrounded Stalin has made much of a reputation as a military leader. Those who have forged to the front are comparative unknowns coming from the rear ranks of the Stalinists, or from outside the bureaucracy entirely. This was in laughable contradiction to the utter myth that Stalin had been trying to foist on Russia and the world for a generation. Was it not Voroshilov, that paragon of military men, the close companion of Stalin, who had been the hero (under Stalin's guidance, of course!) of the defense of Tsaritsin (now Stalingrad) during the Civil War? Doesn't the motion picture of that event (with its nauseating flattery of the Dictator) prove this beyond any doubt?

The picture that Stalinist propaganda has tried to impose on history, by violence, by fraud, by outright forgeries, is of the great genius Stalin, choosing his worthy followers by recognition of their great merit. The deflation of the puffed-up Voroshilov at the very first touch of harsh reality tends very decidedly to cast reflection on the Dictator in the Kremlin. (And Voroshilov here represents but one figure among many.) It tends to raise questions concerning the wisdom of those purges which replaced men of known worth, like Tukhachevsky, by such non-entities as those now removed from command. Stalin tries to explain all this in the propaganda-play. The play's the thing!

The outbreak of the war has imprinted a greater force than that of the GPU on the Soviet Union; namely, that of the war itself. The urgencies of war no longer permit the succession of bloody purges based on frame-ups. Such attempts now, particularly on the scale of the past purges, would completely disrupt defense and would lead to the downfall of the Soviet Union, the bureaucracy included. The whole situation calls for something quite different. Stalin accepts the fact of complete unanimity in the struggle against fascist invasion. All are brothers together in this struggle. The trouble was, according to Stalin, that the really "beloved" leaders of the Red Army, those chosen because of their great services and their heroism during the Civil War, have failed to keep up to date. They failed to study intensively and acquaint themselves fully with modern weapons and strategy. Thus they must be replaced by the more advanced elements who can give proper leadership.

Stalin himself, it goes without saying, has "kept up" with everything. The play actually shows him knowing more about a certain sector of the front than the commander immediately in charge. He knows not only what is happening everywhere, but also he can judge from Moscow which plans are best to set in operation. More than that, he knows which commanders are really proving their fitness, and which ones have fallen out of

step. It is not the impact of events that forces the hand of Stalin to remove the deadwood of his bureaucracy. It is still that same old genius which recognizes merit impartially and rewards it, and at the same time punishes stupidity.

The Stalinist version has its political purpose. The older elements who must be removed to save the army are still left with their completely false halo supposedly deriving from the Civil War. They are not "purged," but simply "retired." The newer elements, with real initiative and leadership, have not been molded to Stalinist stature and are therefore an uncertain and perhaps even a dangerous quantity for the future of the bureaucracy. Stalin wants therefore to try to cement them to himself and to the bureaucracy by attributing their advancement to himself. He wants also to indicate to the masses that Stalinism stands solely for the good of the entire country. It places only the best in the posts of leadership. The new elements are merely the younger brothers of the ones retired. They are inheriting the mantle worn so well—but in times past—by their elders.

"The Front" represents in reality a belated effort on Stalin's part to make a compromise with the youth of the Soviet Union. It is an effort obviously forced on him by the desperate situation created by the invasion. The political sycophants surrounding the Great Marshall have had to yield place to those who could really carry on. But Stalin himself? He will yield nothing. He aims to consolidate his power once again at the first opportunity. He cannot act in his erstwhile arbitrary fashion during the war. But he plans to clamp down at the proper moment, with the aid of the new, younger leaders if he can attract them to his side, against them if necessary. The war, just as we ex-

pected, has shifted the weight somewhat against Stalin and his henchmen.

The writer does not agree with the analysis made by Olga Petrova in a previous issue. Her analysis accepts completely and precisely the view that the Stalinists wish to give. Actually, the heroes of the Civil War were removed from the scene long ago by the Stalinist reaction. Those who were promoted in the Red Army and out just before the war were Stalin's pliable henchmen. Far from being the heroes of the Civil War, they were its gravediggers. The removal of such mediocrities and deadwood as Voroshilov and Budenny obviously brought about a change for the better in the defense of the Soviet Union. The likelihood is that Stalin, fearing the influx of new, virile men not completely under his thumb, has not gone half far enough in removing the rotten elements that infest the Red Army. He would undoubtedly want to maintain a completely reliable base for himself.

"The Front" is Stalinist propaganda in the interests of Marshal Stalin and his bureaucracy. But it contains nonetheless a contradictory admission that the situation is changing under the impact of the war. The Dictator is no longer merely laying down ukases, but is actually making a subtle appeal for understanding of the beneficial role of the old leaders, that is, of the bureaucracy. That means that this role is not appreciated in the manner Stalin would like to see. It means that new elements devoted to the interests of the Soviet Union rather than to those of the Kremlin clique have forced their way to the front. If history means anything, then the rift that has appeared in the bureaucratic front will not be cemented together but will widen still further. The war has released new forces.

## From the Arsenal of Marxism

### *Europe and America*

By LEON TROTSKY

**EDITOR'S NOTE:** The myth that America "isolated" itself from Europe after the Versailles Treaty, and that this "isolation" made possible the present war, is today a central doctrine of Washington's mythology. America's real role in Europe after World War I is described in the following document of that period. Nor is this document merely an archive; it throws a clear light on America's role in the coming postwar period.

By the beginning of 1924 the defeat of the German revolution posed point-blank the question of America's new role in Europe and the consequences flowing from the altered relations between Europe and America. The theoretical analysis of this all-important development and the programmatic position on it had to be elaborated by the Bolsheviks while Lenin was on his death-bed and, in fact, after Lenin's death. This task was fulfilled by Leon Trotsky.

Two documents comprise Trotsky's main work in this field in the period prior to his expulsion from the Communist International and exile to Alma-Ata. The first is a speech

he delivered July 28, 1924 and later published (*Izvestia*, August 5, 1924) under the title "The Premises for the Proletarian Revolution." The second, a speech delivered February 15, 1926, was issued, together with the first, by the State Soviet Publishers as a pamphlet, "Europe and America."

Trotsky's introduction (February 25, 1926) follows:

"This pamphlet contains two speeches made two years apart. What joins these speeches together is unity of subject: both are devoted to a characterization of the economic and political world situation. The speeches are also bound together by unity of the basic idea: both proceed from the relation of the USA to Europe as the basis for evaluating the world situation.

"Needless to say, the essential character of the world situation is by no means exhausted in these reports. The question of the colonies, of the national-revolutionary struggle of the Eastern peoples is touched upon in them only to the extent that this was necessary in order to clar-

ify the fundamental proposition: the hegemony of the United States in the capitalist world and the consequences flowing therefrom. The question of the position and perspectives of the East under the radically altered interrelations between America and Europe is a subject that demands a special and independent analysis. Such an analysis, however, cannot change the basic formulation of the question in this pamphlet. Without submitting the Eastern problem to a detailed analysis, this problem, in its gigantic historical scope, is throughout taken into account in these speeches.

"The staggering material preponderance of the United States automatically excludes the possibility of economic upswing and regeneration for capitalist Europe. If in the past it was European capitalism that revolutionized the backward sections of the world, then today it is American capitalism that revolutionizes over-mature Europe. She has no avenue of escape from the economic blind alley other than the

proletarian revolution, the destruction of the tariff and state barriers, the creation of the Soviet United States of Europe and the federative unification with the USSR and the free peoples of Asia. The inevitable development of this gigantic struggle will unfailingly inaugurate as well the revolutionary epoch for the present capitalist overlord, the United States of America."

The basic ideas here outlined by Trotsky represented at one time the official position of the Communist International. But shortly after the publication of Trotsky's pamphlet, these ideas were rejected by the Stalin-Bukharin leadership. America's role *vis-a-vis* Europe, the impasse of European economy, and even the slogan of the Socialist United States of Europe were among the central issues in the struggle of the Russian Left Op-

position against the Stalinist revisionists.

In the 17-19 years that have elapsed since these views were first elaborated by Trotsky, the form of presentation has of course become dated, but not the basic ideas, nor the method whereby these ideas were arrived at.

We begin the publication of "Europe and America" with the February 1926 speech. This translation by John G. Wright is from the Russian original.

### The Two Poles of the Labor Movement—The Most Perfected Type of Conciliationism

Comrades: The contemporary world labor movement is polarized: two poles determine, with unprecedented clarity, the two basic tendencies within the world working class. One of them, the revolutionary pole, is in our country, the Soviet Union; the other, the conciliationist pole, is in the United States. Never before have there been such perfected forms and methods of reformism, that is, politics of compromise with the bourgeoisie, as are to be found in the American labor movement for the last two or three years.

Politics of class compromise has been observed in the past; we have observed it through the eyes of history and with our own eyes. We estimated—and this was correct so far as the past is concerned—that opportunism in its most perfected form was furnished in the pre-war epoch by England where the perfected type of conservative trade unionism was produced. But today it is necessary to say that English trade unionism of the classic era, that is, of the latter half of the nineteenth century, bears the same relation to existing American opportunism as handicraft production does to an American factory. In the United States there is now a vast movement of the so-called company unions, that is, organizations which, in contrast to the trade unions, consist not only of workers but also of the bosses, or rather representatives of both. In other words, the phenomenon that occurred at the time of the guild organization of production, and which disappeared after feudalism, has now assumed unprecedented and entirely new forms in the most powerful capitalist country. If I am not mistaken, Rockefeller was the initiator of this movement before the war. But this movement spread to the most powerful concerns of North America only recently, beginning with 1923. The American Federation of Labor, the official trade union organization of the labor aristocracy, has adhered with certain reservations to this movement which signifies the complete and absolute recognition of the identity of interests between labor and capital, and consequently the rejection of the need for independent class organizations of the proletariat, even in the fight for immediate objectives.

Along with this, we find at this very time in the United States the development of labor savings banks and insurance societies where representatives of labor and capital sit side by side. Needless to say, the widespread notion that American wage levels assure a very high standard of living is extremely exaggerated; nevertheless, this wage level does permit the upper layer of the workers to make certain "savings." Capital siphons off these savings through the medium of labor banks and puts them at the disposal of enterprises in that branch of industry where the workers are able to save from their wages. In this way the bosses increase their circulating capital and, above all, reinforce the interests of workers in the development of industry.

The AFL has recognized the need of introducing the sliding scale of wages on the basis of a complete solidarity between labor's interests and those of capital: Wages should vary in

correspondence with the productivity of labor and profits. The theory of the solidarity of the interests of labor and capital is thus sealed in actual practice and we get a seeming "equality" of benefits from the national income. Such are the main economic forms of this new movement which must be carefully examined in order to be understood.

The AFL (whose leader was Gompers) has lost during these past few years a large part of its membership. It now has no more than 2,800,000 members, which represent an insignificant fraction of the American proletariat when we take into consideration the fact that industry, commerce and agriculture in the United States employ at least 25,000,000 wage earners. But the AFL has no need of a larger membership. Its own official doctrine is that problems are not settled by mass struggle but by conciliation between labor and capital. To the extent that this idea has found its highest expression in the company unions, the trade unions can and must limit themselves to the organization of the aristocratic summits of the working class, who act in the name of the entire class.

Nor is collaboration limited to the industrial and financial fields (banks, insurance societies). It is transplanted lock, stock and barrel into the sphere of domestic and world politics. The AFL together with the new company unions, to which it is closely linked and on which it leans directly or indirectly, carry on an energetic fight against socialism, and generally against European revolutionary doctrines, among which it includes those of the Second International and of the Amsterdam International.\* The AFL adapts the Monroe Doctrine, "America for Americans," in a new way by interpreting it as follows: "The European rabble can and will be instructed by us but they must keep their noses out of our affairs." In this the AFL only echoes the bourgeoisie. Whereas formerly the latter declared: "America for Americans, Europe for Europeans"; today the Monroe Doctrine signifies a prohibition to others not to meddle with America's affairs but in no wise prohibits America from interfering in the affairs of the rest of the world. America for Americans, and Europe too!

The AFL has recently created a pan-American Federation, that is, an organization extending to South America and preparing the way for North American imperialism in Latin America. Wall Street could not find a better political instrument. But at the same time this means that the struggle of the South American peoples against US imperialism that is crushing them will also be a struggle against the degenerating influence of the pan-American Federation.

The organization created by Gompers remains, as you know, outside the Amsterdam International. In the eyes of the AFL the latter is an organization of decadent Europe, an organization too much poisoned by revolutionary prejudices. The AFL remains outside Amsterdam just like American capitalism remains outside the League of Nations. But that does not prevent American capital from manipulating the strings of the League of Nations; nor the AFL from drawing behind it the reactionary bureaucracy of the Amsterdam International. Here too a perfect

\*The International Federation of Trade Unions.—Ed.

parallelism is to be observed between the operations of Coolidge and those of Gompers' heirs. The AFL supported the Dawes Plan when American capital installed it. In all parts of the world it fights for the rights and pretensions of American imperialism and, consequently, first and foremost against the Soviet Republic.

This new conciliationism is of a much higher type than any seen before; it is conciliationism drawn to its ultimate logical conclusion, organically sealed by "inter-class" institutions like company unions, coalition banks and insurance societies; and this conciliationism has attained at one stroke American proportions. Large capitalist enterprises have been created which organize by contract factory committees on equal footing with the bosses, or along the lines of Lower and Upper Houses, etc. Conciliationism is standardized, mechanized and produced by large capitalist concerns. This is a purely American phenomenon—a sort of social conveyor line for the mass production of conciliationism by means of which the subjugation of the working class is automatically strengthened.

### **The Economic Power of the USA as The Basis of Conciliationism**

One might ask why capital has need of this. The answer is obvious if one takes into account the actual power of American capital and the plans that it is capable of projecting. For American capital, the USA is no longer a shut-in field of action but a drill-ground for new operations on a gigantic scale. The American bourgeoisie must insure its security in this drill-ground by means of conciliationism in its most complete and perfected form, in order to be able to expand more securely abroad.

Another question arises: How is it possible to realize now in the second quarter of the twentieth century this standardized conciliationism in practice, after the imperialist slaughter in which the USA participated, and after the great experiences of the workers of all countries? The answer to this question is to be found in the power of American capital, to which nothing in the past can compare.

No few experiments have been made by the capitalist system in different countries of Europe and in different parts of the world. The whole history of mankind can be viewed as a tangled chain of attempts to create, remodel, improve, raise the social organization of labor: from patriarchy, through slavery to serfdom and, finally, capitalism. It is with capitalism that history has carried out the greatest number of experiments, first of all and in the most varied manner in Europe. But the most colossal and "successful" attempt appears on the North American continent. Just think of it: America was discovered near the close of the 15th century, after Europe had already passed through a rich history. During the 16th, 17th and even 18th centuries, and in large part throughout the 19th, the United States was a distant self-sufficient world, an immense, god-forsaken backwoods area nourished with the crumbs of European civilization. In this interim, a country of "unlimited possibilities" was taking shape and developing, for here nature had created all the conditions for a mighty economic expansion. Europe cast across the ocean wave upon wave of the most awakened and most tempered elements from among its population, elements best qualified for developing productive forces. All the European movements of religious-revolutionary as well as political-revolutionary character—what did all these signify? They signified the struggle of the most progressive elements, first of the petty bourgeoisie and then of the working class, against feudal and clerical rubbish which impeded the development of the productive forces. Everything that Europe cast out crossed the ocean. The flower of European nations, her most active elements, all

those who wished to make their own way at any cost fell into an environment where this historic rubbish did not exist but where virgin nature with its inexhaustible abundance reigned. Such is the basis of America's development, America's technology, America's wealth.

What inexhaustible nature lacked was—man. Dearest of all in the USA was labor power. Hence, the mechanization of labor. The principle of production by means of the conveyor line is not an accidental principle. It is an expression of the tendency to replace man by machines, multiplying labor power, bringing and carrying away, lowering and lifting by automatic means. All this must be accomplished by a conveyor line and not by human backs. This is the principle of the conveyor system of production. Where was the elevator invented? In America, in order to dispense with a man bearing a sack of wheat on his back. And pipe lines? They were invented in the United States which has 100,000 kilometers of pipe lines, that is, conveyors for liquids. Finally, the conveyor line, which furnishes the transport within the factory and whose supreme model is the Ford organization, is known to the whole world.

America knows very little about apprenticeship; time is not wasted there on training apprentices because labor power is dear; apprenticeship is replaced through a subdivision of the labor process into infinitely small parts that require little or no training. And who brings together all the parts of the labor process? It is the endless belt, the conveyor line. And it also serves as the instructor. In a very short time a young peasant from southern Europe, the Balkans or the Ukraine is transformed into an industrial worker.

Serial production as well as standardization is bound to American technology: that is mass production. Goods and articles intended for the upper layers, adapted to individual tastes, etc., are manufactured much better in Europe. Fine cloth is furnished by England. Jewelry, gloves, cosmetics, etc., come from France. But when it is a question of mass production intended for a vast market, America is far superior to Europe. That is precisely why European socialism will learn technique at the American school.

Hoover, the most competent statesman in the economic field, is carrying on an intensive campaign for the standardization of manufactured goods. He has already concluded several score contracts with the biggest trusts for the production of standardized articles, among them the baby carriage and the casket. It turns out that an American is born standardized and dies standardized. I do not know how convenient this is, but it is at least 40 per cent cheaper.

The American population, thanks to immigration, numbers many more elements (45 per cent) fitted for work than the European population. First of all, the relation between the age groups is different. The whole nation is thereby rendered more productive. This higher coefficient of productivity is further multiplied by the greater output per worker. Because of mechanization and the more rational organization of the labor process, a miner in America extracts two and a half times more coal and ore than in Germany. The farmer produces twice that of Europe. We see what the results are.

It was said of the ancient Athenians that they were free men because there were four slaves to each Athenian. Every inhabitant of the USA has fifty slaves, but mechanical ones. By calculating the available machine power\* and translating horse power into man power one will obtain this figure that every American citizen, including suckling babes, possesses fifty mechanical slaves. Obviously, this does not prevent American economy from resting on living slaves, that is, hired workers.

\*According to 1926 figures.—*Ed.*

The annual national income of the USA amounts to 60 billion dollars. Annual savings, that is, the sum remaining after all obligations are paid, total between six and seven billion dollars. I speak only of the United States, i.e., the area so labelled in old textbooks. Actually, the USA is greater and richer. Canada, without offense to the British Crown, is an integral part of the United States. If you consult the Annual Report of the US Department of Commerce, you will discover that trade with Canada is entered under internal trade; and that Canada is politely and somewhat evasively referred to as the northern prolongation of the United States, without the blessing of the League of Nations. Besides, the latter was not even consulted, and for good reason: there was no need here for this *Zags* [Soviet registry of civil acts of state, especially marriages]. The economic forces of attraction and repulsion are already operating almost automatically; English capital holds hardly 10 per cent of Canadian industry; American capital holds more than a third of it; and this proportion is steadily growing. English imports into Canada are valued at 160 millions while those of the USA are almost 600 million dollars. Twenty-five years ago English imports were five times those of the United States. Most Canadians consider themselves Americans, with the exception, ironically enough, of the French section of the population which considers itself profoundly English.

Australia is passing through the same process as Canada but at a slower tempo. Australia will take her stand alongside of the country whose navy will defend her against Japan and will perform this service most cheaply. In this competition victory is assured to the United States in the near future. At all events, should a war break out between the US and Great Britain, Canada, "the British Dominion," would serve as one of the reservoirs of man power and food supplies for the US against England.

Such, in its main features, is the material power of the United States. It is this power that permits the American capitalists to follow the old practice of the British bourgeoisie: *fatten the labor aristocracy in order to keep the proletariat shackled*. They have entered into this practice to such a degree of perfection as the British bourgeoisie would never even have dared to consider.

### The New Roles of America and Europe

These last years, the economic axis of the world has been radically displaced. The relations between the USA and Europe have become drastically altered. It is the result of the war. Naturally, this change was prepared long since: there were symptomatic indications of it, but it has become an accomplished fact only recently, and we are now trying to account for this gigantic shift that has taken place in mankind's economic life and, consequently, in human culture. A German writer has recalled in this connection Goethe's words describing the extraordinary impression made on contemporaries by the Copernican theory according to which not the sun revolves about the earth but, on the contrary, it is the earth, a modest and middle-sized planet, that revolves around the sun. There were many who refused to believe it. Their geocentric patriotism was outraged. The same is true now in regard to America. The European bourgeois does not want to believe that he has been shoved to the background, that it is the USA that rules the capitalist world.

I have already pointed out the natural and historic causes that have prepared this gigantic world shift of economic forces. But it required the war in order at a single blow to raise America, lower Europe and lay bare the abrupt shift of the world axis. The war, as an enterprise for the ruination and decadence of Europe, cost America around 25 billion dollars. If we recall that American banks now hold 60 billion dollars,

that sum of 25 billion is relatively small. Furthermore, 10 billions went as a loan to Europe. With the unpaid interest these 10 billions have now become 12, and Europe is beginning to pay America for its own ruination.

Such is the mechanism whereby the United States was able to rise at one stroke above the whole world as the master of its destinies. This country with a population of 115 million\* has Europe entirely at her command, with the sole exception, of course, of the USSR. Our turn has not yet come and we know that it will not come. But leaving our country out of it, there still remain 345 million Europeans, that is, a population three times as large as that of the USA.

The new relation of roles of nations is determined by the new relation between their respective wealths. The estimates of the national wealth of the various countries are not very exact, but approximate figures will suffice. Let us take Europe and the USA as they were fifty years ago, at the time of the Franco-German war. The wealth of the United States was then estimated at 30 billion dollars, that of England at 40 billions, that of France at 33 billions, that of Germany at 38 billions. As is apparent, the difference between the respective levels of these countries was not great. Each possessed from 30 to 40 billions. and of these four richest countries in the world it was the US that was the least rich. This was in 1872. But what is the situation now, half a century later? Today, Germany is poorer than in 1872 (36 billions); France is approximately twice as rich (68 billions); likewise England (89 billions); but the wealth of the US is estimated at 320 billion dollars. Thus, of the European countries which I cited, one has regressed to its former level, two others have doubled their wealth, and the United States has become 11 times wealthier. That is why in expending 15 billions for the ruin of Europe, the United States has completely achieved its purpose.

Before the war America was Europe's debtor. The latter served as the principal factory and the principal depot for world commodities. Moreover Europe, above all England, was the central banker of the world. All these three leading roles now belong to the United States. Europe has been relegated to the background. The US is the principal factory, the principal depot and the central bank of the world.

Gold, we know, plays a certain role in capitalist society. Lenin wrote that under the regime of socialism gold would be used as building material for certain public places. But this will be under socialism. Under capitalism there is nothing more important than a bank vault filled with gold. How do matters stand on this score in America? Before the war, the American gold reserve, if I am not mistaken, amounted to .9 billions; on January 1, 1925 it rose to 4½ billions, which represents one-half of the total world reserve; today this proportion is not less than 60 per cent.

Now, what was happening to Europe while America was concentrating in her hands 60 per cent of the world's gold? Europe was declining. It had been plunged into war because European capitalism was suffocating within the narrow framework of the national states. Capitalism tried to extend these limits, to create for itself a larger arena and in this the wildest pressure was exerted by the more progressive German capitalism which set the "organization of Europe" as its aim. But what was the outcome of the war? The Treaty of Versailles has created in Europe about 17 additional, independent new states and territories. Europe has added 7,000 kilometers of new frontiers, customs barriers and, on each side of these new customs barriers, a corresponding number of fortifications and armies.

\*Apparently an estimate for 1926. The 1930 census figure was 122 million.—*Ed.*

Europe now has one million more soldiers than before the war. To arrive at such achievements Europe destroyed an enormous mass of material values, devastated and impoverished herself.

But that is not all. In return for all her misfortunes, her economic ruin, her new and senseless customs barriers that disorganize commerce, her new frontiers and armies; for her dismemberment, ruination and decadence, for the war and the peace of Versailles, Europe must pay to the US the interest on her war debts.

Europe is impoverished. The quantity of raw materials that she works up is 10 per cent lower than it was before the war. The specific weight of Europe in world economy has diminished by many times. The sole stable thing in present-day Europe is—unemployment. And curiously enough, in their search for avenues of escape, bourgeois economists have exhumed from the archives the most reactionary theories from the epoch of primitive accumulation. They see remedies for unemployment in Malthusianism and emigration. During the period of its expansion, triumphant capitalism had no need for these theories. But now that it has reached decay, senility and arterio-sclerosis, it becomes childish in the realm of ideas and returns to the old witch-doctor remedies.

#### The Imperialistic Expansion of the United States

From the power of the United States and the weakening of Europe flows the inevitability of a new division of world forces, spheres of influence and world markets. America must expand while Europe is forced to contract. In precisely this consists the resultant of the basic economic processes that are taking place in the capitalist world. The US reaches out into all world channels and everywhere takes the offensive. She operates in a strictly "pacifist" manner, that is, without the use of armed force as yet, "without effusion of blood" as the Holy Inquisition said when burning heretics alive. She expands peaceably because her adversaries, grinding their teeth, are retreating step by step, before this new power, not daring to risk an open clash. That is the basis of the "pacifist" policy of the United States. Her principal weapon now is: finance capital backed by its billions of gold reserve. This is a terrible and overwhelming force in relation to all parts of the world and particularly in relation to devastated and impoverished Europe. To grant or to refuse loans to this or that European country is, in many cases, to decide the fate not only of the political party in power but of the bourgeois regime itself. Up to the present time, the US has invested 10 billion dollars in the economy of other countries. Of these 10 billions, two have been granted to Europe in addition to the ten billions formerly supplied for its devastation. Now, as we know, the loans are granted in order to "restore" Europe. Devastation, then restoration: these two aims complement each other, while the interest on the sums appropriated for both keep flowing into the same reservoir. The US has invested the most capital in Latin America which, from the economic standpoint, is becoming more and more a dominion of North America. After South America, Canada is the country which has obtained the most credits; then comes Europe. The other parts of the world have received much less.

Ten billions is a very small sum for so powerful a country as the United States, but this sum is rapidly increasing and to understand this process it is most important to take into account its tempo. During the seven years following the war, the US invested abroad around six billion dollars; nearly half of this sum has been supplied these last two years; in 1925 the investments have been much greater than in 1924.

On the eve of the war, the US still needed foreign capital, received this capital from Europe and placed it in industry.

The growth of American industrial power led at a certain stage to the rapid formation of finance capital. . . . Once begun, this process proceeds with ever greater acceleration. What two or three years ago was still in the field of conjecture is now taking place before our eyes. But this is only the beginning. The campaign of American finance capital for the conquest of the world will actually begin only tomorrow.

An extremely significant fact: in the course of the past year, American capital has more and more abandoned governmental loans in favor of industrial loans. The meaning of this is clear enough. "We have given you the opportunity of reestablishing the national currency in Germany and in England; we will consent to do it in France on such and such conditions, but for us this is only a means to an end. And our end is to lay our hands on your economy."

I have recently read in *Der Tag*, organ of German metallurgy, an article entitled, "Dawes or Dillon." Dillon is one of those new *condottieri* whom American finance sends for the conquest of Europe. England gave birth to Cecil Rhodes, its last colonial adventurer on the grand scale, who established a new country in South Africa. Such figures are now being born in America, not for South Africa but for Central Europe. Dillon's task is to buy up German metallurgy at a low price. He has collected only 50 million dollars for this purpose—Europe is not now selling herself dearly—and, with these 50 million dollars in his pocket, he is not deterred by such European barriers as the frontiers of Germany, France and Luxembourg. He must combine coal and metal; he wishes to create a centralized European trust; he does not bother with political geography—I even believe that he is ignorant of it. What does it matter? Fifty million dollars in present-day Europe is worth more than any kind of geography. His intention, as I said, is to group in a single trust the metallurgy of Central Europe, then to oppose it to the American steel trust, whose king is Gary. Europe's "defending herself" against the American steel trust comes down in action to this, that two American octopuses fight each other in order to unite at a given moment for a more planful exploitation of Europe. That is precisely why the organ of German metallurgy weighs the alternative: "Dawes or Dillon." The choice is limited, there is no third. Dawes is a creditor armed from tip to toe. With him there is little else to do than to submit. But Dillon is in some ways an old lady's companion. To be sure, of a very special type, but, who knows, perhaps he will not strangle us. . . . The article ends with this remarkable sentence: "Dillon or Dawes, that is the most important question for Germany in 1926."

The Americans have already secured, by purchasing stock, control of the so-called "D banks," the four most important banks of Germany. The German oil industry is obviously hanging on the tails of American Standard Oil. The zinc mines, formerly the property of a German firm, have passed into Harriman's hands who obtained thereby the monopoly control of crude zinc on the world market.

American capital does business wholesale and retail. In Poland, the American-Swedish match trust is taking its first preparatory measures. In Italy they go further. The contracts which American firms sign with Italy are very interesting. Italy is given charge, so to speak, of managing the Near East market. The US will supply semi-finished articles to Italy in order that the latter may adapt them to the taste of the Oriental consumer. America hasn't the time to bother with details. She furnishes standardized products. And the omnipotent trans-Atlantic business man comes to the artisan of the Apennines and says to him: "Here is all that you need, but paint it up and polish it up to the taste of the Asiatics."

France has not yet come to this. She is still obstinate and resists. But she will give in. She will have to stabilize her currency, that is, put her head in the American noose. Each State awaits its turn at Uncle Sam's counter.

How much have the Americans spent to secure such a situation? A very small sum. Investments abroad, without counting the war debts, come to 10 billions. Europe has received all in all 2½ billions, and America is already beginning to treat her as a conquered country. American investments in European economy represents only a hundredth, and even less, of the total wealth of Europe. When a scale is swinging, only a slight tap of the finger is necessary to tip it to one side. The Americans have given this tap of the little finger, and they are already masters. Europe lacks the necessary capital for the work of restoration and the necessary circulating capital for the part of her economy already restored. She has buildings and equipment worth hundreds of millions but lacks ten millions to set the machine going. The American arrives, gives the ten millions and lays down his conditions. He is the master, he issues the orders.

I have received an extremely interesting article on one of those new Cecil Rhodes that America is now giving birth to and whose names we are obliged to learn. It is not very pleasant, but it can't be helped. We have learned quite well the name of Dawes. Dawes is not worth a pin's head, but all Europe can do nothing against him. Tomorrow, we will learn the name of Dillon or that of Max Winkler, vice-president of the "Financial Service Company." Gobbling up everything within reach on the globe, that is called financial service. Max Winkler speaks of financial service in poetical language, even biblical poetry:

"We occupy ourselves," he says, "with financing governments, local and municipal authorities, and private corporations. American money permitted the restoration of Japan, after the earthquake; American funds permitted the defeat of Germany and Austria-Hungary and have played a very important role in the raising up of those countries."

First you destroy, then you restore. And for both operations you collect an honest fee. Only the earthquake in Japan manifestly took place without the intervention of American capital. But listen to the following:

"We grant loans to Dutch colonies and to Australia, to the government and cities of Argentina, to South African mining industries, to the nitrate producers of Chile, to the coffee planters of Brazil, to the producers of tobacco and cotton in Columbia. We give money to Peru for the realization of sanitary projects; we give some to the Danish banks, to the Swedish manufacturers, to the hydro-electric stations of Norway, to the Finnish banks, to the factories of mechanical construction of Czechoslovakia, to the railroads of Yugoslavia, to the public utilities of Italy, to the Spanish telephone companies."

You may like it or not, but this has a genuine ring. This rings with the sound of those 60 billion dollars that are now in American banks. We will have to hear this symphony again in the approaching historic period.

Shortly after the war, when the League of Nations was in the process of establishing itself, and pacifists of all European countries were lying each in his own tongue, an English economist George Paish, presumably a man of the best intentions, proposed the floating of a loan to the League of Nations for the pacification and reconstruction of all mankind. He estimated that 35 billion dollars were needed for this worthy enterprise and proposed that the US subscribe 15 billions, England five billions, and other countries the remaining 15 billions. According to this splendid plan, the US had to provide nearly half of this great loan, and as the remaining shares would be divided among a great number of states, the US would obtain the controlling share. This all-saving loan did not materialize, but what

is happening at the present time is by and large a more effective realization of this same plan. The US progressively gobbles up the shares which will give her control of the human race. Assuredly, a great undertaking. But a risky one. The Americans will not be long in convincing themselves of it.

### Pacifism and Muddleheads

Before continuing, I must dispel a certain confusion. The world processes under study are developing with such rapidity and on such a scale that our minds can only with great difficulty grasp, comprehend and assimilate them. It is not surprising that there has recently appeared a lively discussion on this subject in the international press, proletarian and bourgeois. In Germany various volumes have been published, devoted especially to the role of the US *vis-a-vis* Balkanized Europe. In the international controversy that has arisen over this question, reference was made to a report delivered by me from this platform two years ago. I have in my hand an American labor review that I recently opened at precisely the page devoted to the relations between America and Europe, and my eyes fell by chance on a reference to "rations." Naturally, that interested me; I read the article, and here, comrades, is what, to my great astonishment, I learned:

"Trotsky is of the opinion that we have entered into the period of *pacific Anglo-American relations*; the influence of Anglo-American relations (according to Trotsky) will contribute more to the consolidation than to the decomposition of world capitalism."

Not bad, is it? MacDonald could hardly improve on it. And further:

"The old theory of Trotsky of Europe being put on rations [Why old? It is hardly two years old.—L.T.] and made a Dominion of America was linked to this appreciation of Anglo-American relations." And so forth and so on. (J. Lovestone, *Workers' Monthly*, November 1925.)

On reading these lines, so great was my astonishment that for three minutes I rubbed my eyes. Where and when have I said that England and America maintained pacific relations and that, owing to this, they were going to regenerate European capitalism and not cause its decomposition? Generally speaking, if any communist past the Pioneer age said this or something similar, one would simply have to expel him from communist ranks. Naturally, after having read these absurdities attributed to me, I re-read what I had occasion to say on that subject from this platform. If I now refer back to the speech I made two years ago, it is not to explain to Lovestone and his like that if one wishes to write on any subject—whether in English or French, in Europe or in America—one must know what he is writing about and where he is leading the reader. No, I do so because the way in which the question was then posed by me still holds good today. That is why I must read you several excerpts from my speech:

"What does American capital want? What does it seek?" I asked two years ago. And I replied: "It seeks, we are told, stability. It wishes to re-establish the European market. It wishes to make Europe solvent. To what extent and how? Under its hegemony. What does that mean? That Europe will be permitted to rise again, but only within well-defined limits; that restricted sectors of the world market will be reserved for her. American capital now dominates; it commands the diplomats.

\*Lovestone, a follower of the Bukharin right wing of the Russian party, was then a leader of the American Communist Party. His deliberate falsification of Trotsky's ideas was part of the international Stalin-Bukharin pogrom against Trotsky. Lovestone is now a follower of the pro-war Union for Democratic Action.—Ed.

It is likewise preparing to give orders to the European banks and trusts, to the entire European bourgeoisie."

Two years ago I said, "It commands the diplomats (in Versailles, in Washington) and is *preparing* to give orders to the banks and trusts." Today I say: "It already gives orders to the banks and trusts of *various* European states and it is preparing to give orders to the banks and trusts of *the other* European states."

I continue the citation: "It will divide the market into sectors, it will regulate the activity of European financiers and manufacturers. If one wishes to answer clearly and succinctly the question what American capital wants, one would say: It wishes to *put capitalist Europe on rations*." I did not say that it has put Europe on rations or that it will put her on rations but that it wishes to do so. That is what I said two years ago.

Lovestone claims that I spoke of the "pacific collaboration" of England and America. Let us refer to the minutes where the speech is recorded. "It is not only a question of Germany and France; it is also a question of Great Britain. She too will have to prepare to submit to the same fate. . . . It is often said, to be sure, that America now walks along with England, that an Anglo-Saxon bloc has been formed; one speaks of Anglo-Saxon capital, of Anglo-Saxon politics. . . . But to speak in this way is to show one's lack of understanding of the situation. The main world antagonism proceeds along the line of the interests of the United States and Great Britain. That is what the future will show more and more clearly. . . . Why? Because England is still, after the United States, the richest and most powerful country. It is the principal rival, the main obstacle."

I developed this same idea somewhat more forcefully in the Manifesto of the Fifth World Congress of the Communist International, but I will not weary you with texts. Let me cite again from my speech that which pertains to the "pacific" relations established by America: "This American 'pacifist' pro-

gram of putting the whole world under her control is not at all a program of peace; on the contrary, it is pregnant with wars and with the greatest revolutionary convulsions. It is not very likely that the bourgeoisie of all countries will consent to be shoved into the background, to become vassals of America without at least trying to resist. The contradictions are too great, the appetites are too monstrous, the urge to preserve old rulership is too great, the habits of world domination are too powerful in England. Military conflicts are inevitable. The era of 'pacifist' Americanism that seems to be opening up at this time is only a preparation for new wars of unprecedented scope and unimaginable monstrosity."

That is what I said two years ago about "pacific" relations.

Finally, this is what I said from this platform concerning the cessation of European contradictions owing to America's influence:

"It is absolutely incontestable that those contradictions which prepared the imperialist war and turned it loose on Europe ten years ago, those contradictions aggravated by the war and diplomatically sealed by the Versailles Treaty, continue to exist like open wounds and have been intensified by the subsequent development of the class struggle in Europe. And the United States will run up against these contradictions in all their acuteness."

Two years have passed. Comrade Lovestone is perhaps a good critic, as good as those about whom the Russian proverb says that they point a finger at the sky and always hit the bull's eye. But time is a still better critic.

Let me conclude with the advice that Engels once offered to one Stibelling, also an American: "When one wishes to occupy oneself with scientific problems, it is necessary first of all to read books as the author wrote them, and especially not read into them what does not exist." These words of old man Engels are excellent and they are good not only for America but for the entire five continents.

*(The second half of this speech will appear next month.)*

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES

### *A Letter from Ulster*

Bob Armstrong, author of the following letter from Belfast (dated February 1943) although only thirty years old, has a record of over ten years' of valiant service in the British workers' movement. Twice wounded in the Spanish civil war as a soldier in the International Brigade, he was in Spain for nearly two years—from August 1936 until the middle of 1938. Shortly after his return he broke with the Communist Party of which he had been a member for six years and, with five others from the Islington (London) branch, joined the Trotskyist organization, the Workers International League.

Now living in Belfast, he was arrested January 6 under the Special Powers Act which he describes in his letter. At the time he was distributing leaflets protesting the arrest of his comrade, Patrick McKevitt, who after a week in jail without charge or trial was escorted to the border and deported into Eire. Protests by both British and Irish labor organizations, and by I.L.P. and left Labourite Members of Parliament finally forced the release of Armstrong.

There are approximately 600 prisoners in Crumlin Road jail about 300 of whom are serving sentence — probably two-thirds of these sentenced prisoners being Irish Republican Army men. The remaining 300 are interned, and there are more than 200 other internees in Derry Jail. It is estimated that tens of thousands have been detained since the war. All internments are made under a clause in the Special Powers Act stating that such and such a person has given grounds for reasonable suspicion that he or she has acted or *is about to act* in a manner prejudicial to the peace. This is the equivalent to the Japanese "dangerous thoughts" Act. Not a few of the internees assert that they have never belonged to a political organization in their lives.

#### The IRA

It was during my sojourn in Crumlin that the Chief of Staff of the Irish Republican Army and three of his associates staged their spectacular get-away from the most heavily guarded prison in the British Isles. The drama of this escape was heightened by a black-type advertisement in the press offering £3,000 reward to anyone supplying information leading to the arrest of any

one of these men. The greatest man-hunt in Ulster history is under way. The relentless, unending war between the British regime and the Irish Republican Army has provided all the highlights in Ulster politics during the past twenty years. The fearlessness of martyred republicans such as Tom Williams has almost legendary fame. The Irish Republican Army is almost 100 per cent proletarian in composition, its great reservoir of strength being the Belfast Falls Road area. The more petty bourgeois Eire section is but a feeble reflection of the Northern movement. Yet it advocates no social policy whatsoever, for it considers itself to be not in any sense a political party, but purely and simply an army. Its sole aim is to expel foreign imperialism from Ireland. In 1939 it declared war on Britain. When the world war began it welcomed Germany as an ally in the common struggle.

The prevailing cult of national-socialist ideology within the Irish Republican Army would vanish like a cloud of smoke at the first signs of a British-German concord. All nations and movements it judges in accordance with their attitude to Britain. Yet for all that not a single British soldier has suffered injury at the hands of the Irish Re-

publican Army since the war began. The reason is clear enough. Despite its pretentious claims the Irish Republican Army, being incapable of an appeal outside the nationalist areas, cannot rise beyond small-scale skirmishing tactics. To deal with this the Royal Ulster Constabulary, one of the most highly trained police forces in the world, is adequate. Even if, by a miracle, the Irish Republican Army succeeded in overcoming its immediate enemy, it is madness to believe that the I.R.A. could defeat the British army, and most certainly Britain would not passively surrender the right to garrison Ireland.

To refute this argument republicans cite the successful outcome for the South of the Black-and-Tan war. But this struggle succeeded only because the revolutionary ferment in the British working class prevented the Lloyd George government from embarking upon a large-scale regular war against Ireland. The great Russian revolution had kindled a flaming love of liberty throughout the world, and not least in Britain. Without this the heroism of the Irish people in 1921 would have proved unavailing. Only the revolutionary movement of the British and Irish working class can finally free Ireland from imperialist rule. But the I.R.A. as yet cannot understand this. Nor is this accidental. For the amazing virility of this historically outmoded form of struggle is due, not mainly to the dead weight of tradition, but to the shameless collaboration with imperialism of parties masquerading as socialist, the Stalinists and the Labourites, who compromise working class methods at every step and engender a contempt for socialism.

Discriminated against at every step, the Catholic working class youth are forced into the struggle. More than a third of the Six-County population belong to this so-called "minority." The government sits on a powder magazine. If it released its weight it would be blown sky-high. But the weight of the police is adequate; and kept under control the I.R.A. has great uses. For the Protestant workers, conscious though they be of their membership in the down-trodden class in the general capitalist set-up, are also keenly aware of their privileged caste position. They fear, and with good foundation, that a victory of the I.R.A. would place *them* in the position of a persecuted minority: for, no matter how much the I.R.A. disclaims sectarianism, the fact is that, basing itself on the degenerate capitalist system, it could not prevent the unleashing of anti-Protestant pogroms at the first signs of mass unemployment.

### Why We Are Under Fire

The Trotskyist movement has been singled out for attack not on account of its smallness, but because its program is feared. A movement threatening to disturb the caste rift, upon which the regime uneasily balances, is to be feared above everything else. The regime fears not an alliance between the I.R.A. and the Trotskyists, but the passing over of the glorious Falls Road pro-

letariat from I.R.A. utopianism to a revolutionary socialist program.

For that we will not require to pander to the illusions of the I.R.A. or any other organization which stands apart from and against the program of the revolutionary working class. We need no catspaws. We turn to the dauntless working class youth of the Falls Road and strive to win them, not by nursing outworn prejudices, but by proclaiming proletarian methods of struggle. The Irish Section of Workers' International League demands:

1. That the internees be released or brought to trial.
2. The repeal of the Special Powers Act.
3. A united front of all working class organizations against the arbitrary rule of the police.

Bob Armstrong

## A Letter from England

The following is from a letter from England dated December 25, 1942:

The activities of the Communist Party in this country are reaching a new low level, and in one sense—if one possesses a sufficiently strong sense of humour—amusing. They have, as you may know, "Shock Brigades" in the factories for the purpose of "increasing production," a Stalinist creation, and one can appreciate the story (true) of the unfortunate girl YCL'er who was expelled from the Party because she had the lowest record in her Brigade. There is now the famous story too, of the CP'er who was held guilty of "ultra-leftism" when he refused to sing "God Save the King at a C.P. meeting.

But their campaign against the Trotskyists in the trade unions and factories is certainly no joke. An indication of their attitude toward us is provided by a special meeting which was called by the Hampstead Young Communist League to discuss "the implications of Trotskyism." The meeting was packed. None of our comrades was there. But the quite honest questions which were asked, such as "Why not debate with them and expose them?" etc., was sufficient for the platform to accuse three or four YCL'ers of being Trotskyists, and to say that a big fraction of them were in the hall and that the meeting must be closed! The meeting closed in complete chaos. . . .

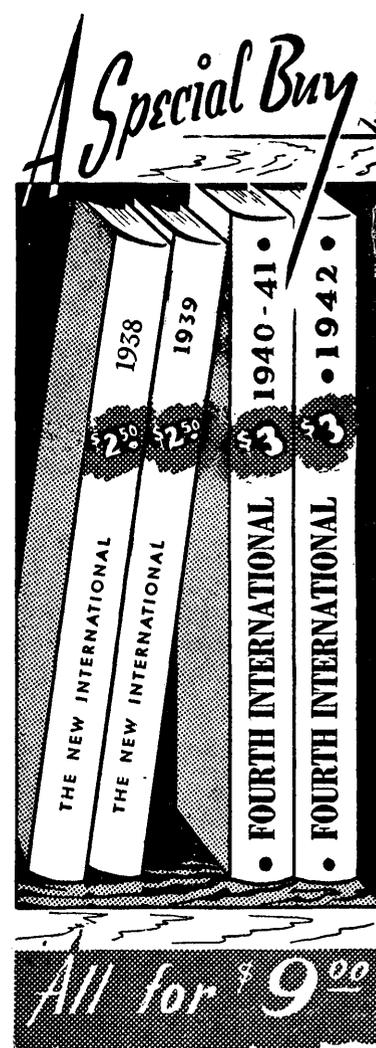
An attack on us appeared in a page and a quarter article in the Stalinist *World News and Views*. It was directed against our resolution, "Preparing for Power." Apart from the usual distortions, the Stalinist article claims that our resolution was written *with a view* to obtaining the backing of influential reactionaries. Really? I thought they said we already had the backing for years of German Imperialism itself?

Most certainly the growth of the Trotskyist tendency here is limited only by considerations of cash and personnel at the present time.

It is difficult for me to adequately express (and I almost sigh at this!) how much I would appreciate some of your pam-

phlets and books. Apart from my own unquenchable thirst for your material, there is an all-round shortage in Britain. You sent a bulletin relating to the dispute over the Russian question which I read with really great interest. It is a really splendid document, and was enlightening to us especially with regards to the situation existing inside the Socialist Workers Party at the time of the dispute in 1939-40. Any material which you can spare we would most certainly appreciate.

Finally I must thank Comrade James P. Cannon for his testimony at the Minneapolis trial. It made possible the pamphlet which we have printed twice, this time at sixpence per copy instead of a shilling, and it really is lapped up. It is ideal for newcomers into the movement, who can now, in one pamphlet, obtain an understanding of our policy and history.



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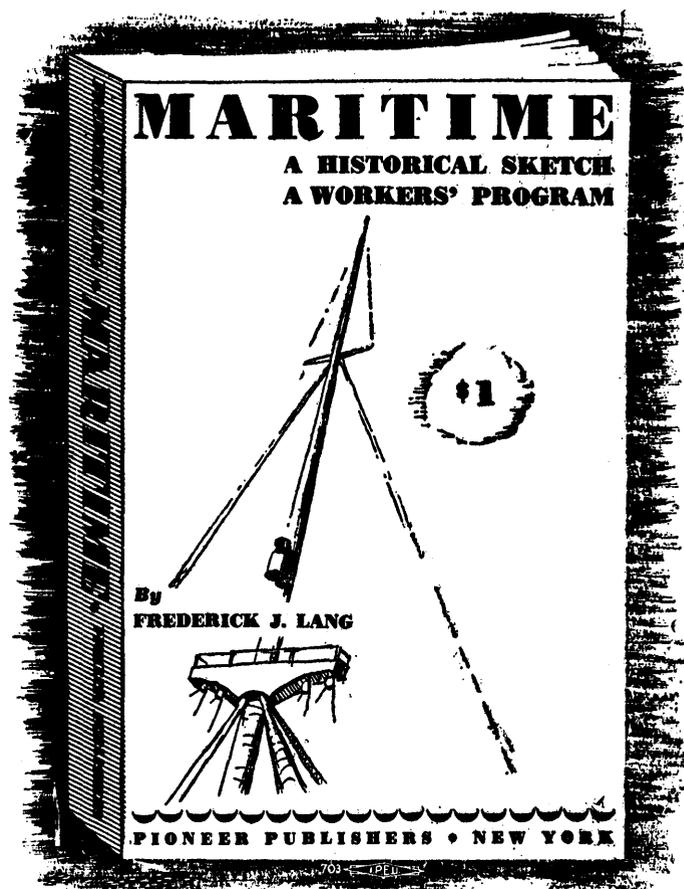
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