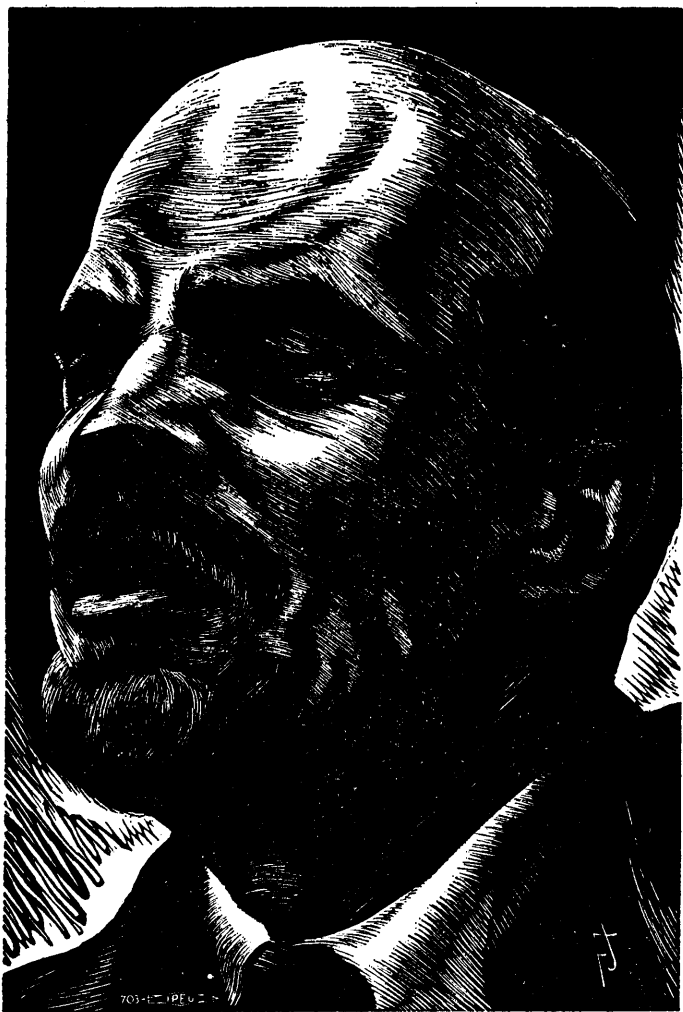


Fourth International

From Lenin to Stalin - - - *A Historical Review*



V. I. Lenin

Evolution of the
Communist International

Leninism vs. Stalinism
An Editorial

Two Answers to Vilifiers of the German
People—by Felix Morrow and J. G. Wright

3 Articles on India

Recent Strike Wave
An Editorial

The Arsenal of Marxism

July, 1945

VOL. VI, No. 7

25 Cents

Manager's Column

Philadelphia has appointed a new agent, Alma Seton, to handle the sale of FOURTH INTERNATIONAL. She reports that on June 16th, a social was held. Fifty percent of the profits were sent to FOURTH INTERNATIONAL and 50 percent to Pioneer Publications. Agent Seton writes:

"We are trying to push the F. I. and all of our literature more than we have in the past, and in order to do that, we are going to sell it at meetings of liberal groups, forums, Quaker discussions, public debates, college lectures, and other meetings where there are people who would be interested in the Marxist ideas presented in the magazine.

"We sold six copies at the Norman Thomas meeting on Peace-time Conscription."

Selling the magazine at meetings and forums is also meeting with success in other cities. S. Stein, New York, reports: "At our last Forum on June 6th, we sold seven copies of FOURTH INTERNATIONAL. We featured it not by announcing it in the usual way—as the theoretical magazine of the Socialist Workers Party—but by a reference to the article of Comrade Leon Trotsky on 'Disarmament and the United States of Europe.' The chairlady of the Forum pointed out that this article written in connection with a different 'disarmament conference' is a real key to the understanding of the San Francisco (popularly known as the San Fiasco) conference. On another occasion we did the same thing with old issues of the magazine which we had in stock and always sold some copies. Yours for the Fourth."

At the Grace Carlson meeting in New York on June 22, all available copies of the June F. I. (10) were sold out. The literature agent reports that probably many more could have been sold, that disappointed customers had to be turned away.

We are constantly receiving requests for back copies. San Francisco sent us an SOS for extra copies of the March issue. Bernard Forrest, our Chicago agent, wrote: "Please send us as quickly as possible the following: 25 copies May FOURTH INTERNATIONAL. Our newsstand sales of the F. I. have been so good that we are completely out of the May issue." A reader in Welcome, Minn., requested the June 1944 issue. Another reader enclosed 25c for a copy of the June 1942 magazine, containing the article "America's Sixty Families and the Nazis."

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FOURTH INTERNATIONAL has a constantly increasing number of foreign readers who eagerly await its arrival. Our latest request for a subscription from a reader was for a friend in Palestine. An English subscriber writes: "Many thanks for the publications I am receiving regularly from you.

"I really look forward to the F. I. with its forthright Marxist interpretation of world events, which are reeling by every day at a terrific speed.

"If ever the worker of the world needed a Marxist lead in face of the vile stench of Stalinist and capitalist propaganda, it is today. The F. I. is giving that lead and is doing a grand job, preparing the youthful cadres for the coming struggles that be ahead."

Some of the letters which we receive contain criticism. We are always glad to receive such letters, for we feel that they help us to improve the magazine. A reader believes that we should have carried

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something on the San Francisco conference. A young merchant seaman says that the best articles we have had lately are the three by Lily Roy, "Socialism Reaffirmed."

"They were fine. Very clear and easy to understand. You should have more articles on this order."

The following is a letter which we feel merits special attention, because it touches on a matter which many readers have pointed out. S. B., New York, writes: "Just finished reading the June issue of your magazine. There was one noticeable omission. But before I state my criticism, let me make clear FOURTH INTERNATIONAL is better and more enlightening than any other magazine, even though we have in this country an accumulation of 'intellectual' refugees and some native ones too, I am sure. The magazine is packed with facts and information. The article by Li Fu-jeu 'Imperialist Program for the Orient' for example, is a wonderful check against the programmatic documents of the Trotskyist movement issued before the war.

"My criticism: there was nothing specific on the United States. All the contradictions of capitalism will be found here together with the role of a first rate imperialist nation. The eyes of the world will be more and more on this country. The Trotskyist movement—no other, can explain the real significance of the United States position."

* * *

An increasing number of public libraries subscribe to FOURTH INTERNATIONAL. A. Thomas, Keeper of Printed Books, British Museum, London, acknowledges with thanks the receipt of copies of the N. I. for 1939 and the F. I. for 1942, 1943 and 1945. Several libraries have requested indexes for their bound volumes. Among these are the Detroit Public Library, the Minnesota Historical Society in St. Paul and the Indiana University Library in Bloomington, Indiana. Also, the John R. Commons Labor Research Library, in the University of Wisconsin has requested copies to fill out the gaps in their files. This material is collected by the Commons Labor Research Library for the Wisconsin Historical Society, where it is permanently available to students and scholars of the labor movement.

* * *

Requests for our 1944 bound volumes, which are now available, are coming in well. The price is \$4.50. They are bound in red cloth, with gold lettering and include a comprehensive index by author and by subject.

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

VOLUME 6

JULY 1945

NUMBER 7

REVIEW OF THE MONTH

Leninism vs. Stalinism—Daily Worker "Discussion"—Political Preparation of Latest Tactical Turn of the Stalinists—The New Strike Wave and the Need of Building a Conscious Left Wing Nationally

What the Daily Worker "Discussion" Seeks to Cover Up; Leninism vs. Stalinism

REALITY AND APPEARANCE

As part of the political preparation of the latest tactical turn of the Stalinists, the columns of the *Daily Worker* have been filled with a discussion of "past" errors and "new" perspectives. The entire Stalinist apparatus has been geared to invest this rather voluminous discussion with an appearance of a real fight over principles; and to picture the situation as if the protagonists in this allegedly principled fight are Browder and Foster. On the one hand, a "revisionist" and "opportunist" and, on the other, a champion of "orthodoxy," and "Marxism-Leninism." How does the reality correspond to this appearance, or more correctly, this illusion which the Stalinists are laboring might and main to create?

To begin with, the *Daily Worker* tries to create the impression that the credit for disclosing Browder's "revisionism," belongs to two individuals, one in France (Duclos) and the second, Foster, the one and only person in America with the necessary perspicacity. The fact, however, remains that if any one can claim credit for disclosing Browder's complete renunciation of Marxism, it is Browder himself. In his Madison Square Garden speech in which the "Teheran" line was first launched, he openly avowed: "We are departing from orthodoxy. . . ." (*Daily Worker*, January 13, 1944.) These words are plain enough. To depart from orthodoxy is to depart from Marx and Lenin. Browder made no bones about it. In presenting his program to the May 1944 C.P. National Convention, Browder underscored in his speech that his program "HAS NO ELEMENT OF SOCIALISM IN IT."

The *Daily Worker* was equally emphatic. On January 16, 1944 it boasted editorially that Browder's proposals were "accompanied by well-defined changes in traditional approach on a number of basic questions." Today, the *Daily Worker* is saying virtually the same thing, although in a somewhat different tone.

THE WHOLE DIFFERENCE

The whole difference is that last year Browder was hailed, whereas today he is being condemned. Last year Browder's program was cynically glorified as "creative Marxism—unhampered by ritual mechanical orthodoxy—a free Marxist mind at work" (*Daily Worker*, January 12, 1944); this year it is being no less cynically reviled as "opportunist," "notorious revisionism," etc., etc. Last year Browder presented his program to the C.P. National Convention, received an ovation and the

unanimous endorsement of the assembled delegates. This year, it is safe to predict, Browder will be cast into discard and Foster acclaimed by the next Stalinist convention, almost as unanimously. Why? Because, to believe the *Daily Worker*, Browder had strayed from the Leninist line, while Foster did not. Let us see exactly what Lenin has to do with all this.

The essence of revisionism or opportunism—whether of the classic Menshevik variety or the latter-day Stalinist brand—is the suspension of the socialist struggle for the sake of cooperation with the bourgeoisie. The essence of Leninism is the unswerving continuation of the class struggle, and, above all, merciless opposition to the imperialist bourgeoisie. This is rendered obligatory by the Leninist evaluation of the present epoch and, in particular, by the denial that any imperialist power (or ruling class) can play in this era a progressive role in war or peace.

Foster, like Browder, has an entirely different evaluation of the imperialist epoch. Like Browder, he underwrote a progressive role for the Anglo-American imperialists not only in wartime but also for the initial postwar period.

Almost simultaneously with Browder's notorious Madison Square Garden speech, Foster in a broadcast on January 9, 1944, declared that:

Communists do not believe it would be of benefit to national unity to make proposals of a specific communistic or socialistic nature at this time or in the immediate postwar period.

TWO FORGERS

In other words, Browder, the "opportunist," issued a permanent blank check to the imperialist bourgeoisie; Foster, the "Marxist-Leninist," issued the same blank check, but dated it differently. From the Leninist standpoint, both are forgeries, with Foster's being less crude, and nothing more.

The French Stalinist Duclos, who like Foster approves the general line of Browder's wartime policy, cunningly pretends that the crux of the issue lies in Browder's "postwar perspective." Leaving aside the fact that there is no essential difference between the former position and the "new" one, this issue is as counterfeit as all the others.

It is an ABC of Marxism that there is no fundamental difference between peacetime and wartime policies. One of Lenin's favorite sayings was: "War is a continuation of the policy of peace; peace is the continuation of the policy of war." This correct idea was used repeatedly by Lenin in his merciless struggle against Kautsky and all the other renegades who in the world war of 1914-1918 tried to justify their treachery by claiming that they had abandoned the struggle for socialism

“only” for the duration. Lenin pointed out that it was precisely the crisis engendered by the war that imposed on revolutionists the duty of intensifying the struggle for socialism.

Among the very first documents drafted by Lenin at the outbreak of World War I were his “Theses on War,” in which he set down that the *very first* slogans the Marxists were obliged to raise were those of “*a thorough propaganda for a socialist revolution,*” and that such slogans and propaganda had to be supplemented by “a merciless struggle against chauvinism and the ‘patriotism’ of petty townspeople and against the bourgeoisie of all countries without exception.” (*Leninski Sbornik*, [Lenin Archives] vol. XIV, pp. 10-12.)

NOT A SINGLE SOCIALISTIC DEMAND

It is obvious that no one can go further in “revising” Lenin than Browder did by presenting a program in wartime without a single element of socialism in it. Foster and the “new” majority of the CPA National Committee cite Lenin against Browder. Yet Foster himself has been and remains in favor of a program without a single “proposal of a specific communistic or socialistic nature” in it. In fact, this has been the policy of the American Stalinists since their complete about-face in June 1941, after Hitler attacked the Soviet Union. It still remains their policy.

One need only read the latest resolution of the CPA National Committee to become convinced that it, too, does not contain a single socialist proposal. From the standpoint of Leninist politics there thus never was nor is there today an iota of difference between Browder’s “principled” position and Foster’s.

More than two decades ago Trotsky predicted that the logical conclusion of Stalin’s theory and practice of “building socialism in one country” would inevitably lead to *socialism in no country*. This prediction has long ago become the tragic reality. Today the Stalinists continue to curb and betray the socialist struggle throughout the world. They oppose the propagation of a single socialist demand not only in this country but everywhere. In the territories occupied by the Red Army, particularly Germany, it is the Red Army that stands guard over capitalist property; opposes the extension of Soviet property forms, and the creation of genuine workers’ Soviets. In the colonies, the Stalinists pursue the self-same policy of trying to behead the only struggle which can accomplish national liberation and solve the tasks even of the bourgeois democratic revolution in all these backward countries—and that is, the struggle for the proletarian revolution and the establishment of workers’ power.

The sole argument advanced by Stalinists, under Browder and Foster alike, is that the objective situation is unpropitious or unripe. And this is palmed off as “Leninism.”

LENIN’S POSITION

In his April 1916 theses, Lenin flatly stated that “the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat for the overthrow of the capitalist governments, for the expropriation of the bourgeoisie, stands on the *order of the day* in Western Europe and in the United States.” In saying this, Lenin was reiterating the official position of the Second International, before its betrayal in August 1914.

One year later, in April 1917—in his famous “April Theses”—Lenin placed the socialist revolution on the order of the day in one of the most backward countries in Europe, namely: Czarist Russia. Thereby, the proletarian revolution was placed on the agenda by Lenin for the whole of Europe. It is common

knowledge that in October of the same year, Lenin and Trotsky, at the head of the Bolshevik Party, led the Russian workers to victory. This, according to Lenin, ushered in a new epoch in world history, the epoch in which the world revolution was placed on the order of the day, with the liberationist struggle of the colonial peoples as an integral part of the world proletarian revolution.

In March 1918, in a speech delivered before the Seventh Congress of the Bolshevik Party, Lenin characterized this epoch as follows:

... A whole epoch of the most diversified types of war—imperialist wars, civil wars within the respective countries, the intermeshing of the latter with the former, national wars, liberation struggles of nationalities oppressed by the imperialists, wars between the various combinations of imperialist powers . . . This epoch is the epoch of gigantic catastrophes, of violent mass military decisions, of crises. It has begun, we see it clearly. This is only the beginning.

This is the Leninist perspective. It has been verified by events. What has it—or reality—in common with the perspective of the Stalin gang and all its Browder-Fosters?

LENINISM AND WORLD REVOLUTION

One year later, in March 1919, Lenin founded the Third International as the General Staff of the world revolution. For the first five years of its existence—that is, until Lenin died—the Comintern fulfilled this role. But this interval proved too brief to create genuine revolutionary parties throughout Europe and the world. After the first four congresses of the Comintern, degeneration set in.

“Scoundrels” was the mildest term applied by Lenin to all those who preached the suspension of the struggle for socialism throughout our cataclysmic epoch, in war or peace. What would Lenin have called people like Foster who preach class-collaboration (“national unity”) in *both* wartime and “in the immediate postwar period”?

In every respect Leninism and Stalinism represent polar opposites. The basic trait of Leninism is granite hardness when questions of principle are concerned. This trait became implanted in the bones and marrow of the Russian Bolsheviks under Lenin. In short, the Leninist school is the school of principled politics.

WHAT STALINISM REALLY IS

The truth is that Stalinism is not even a school of revisionist, let alone principled, politics. It is a school of power politics. Or more correctly, the Kremlin plays the game of power politics, and its foreign agents unquestioningly carry out the orders. It is hardly surprising therefore that Stalinism has produced nothing except utterly corrupt types in the leadership.

The Kremlin and all its agents distrust the masses and have contempt for them. Genuine disciples of Lenin, we repeat, start at the opposite pole. They have full confidence only in the working class. They distrust all other classes. In the genuine Leninist party this attitude was extended not only to the class enemy—the bourgeoisie—but also to other classes accepted as allies. Lenin repeatedly gave expression to this standpoint. Suffice it to quote here what he wrote in 1906, during the first (1905) Russian revolution:

Our last advice: proletarians and semi-proletarians of city and country, organize yourselves separately! Place no trust in any small proprietors, even the petty ones, even those who “toil” . . . We support the peasant movement to the end, but we must remember that it is a movement of another class, *not the one* that can or will accomplish

the socialist revolution. (Lenin's *Collected Works*, First Russian Edition, vol. IX, p. 410.)

Lenin, it is noteworthy, warned against placing confidence even in the Russian peasantry who were, so to speak, the natural allies of the workers. The Bolshevik policy was from the first directed toward cementing the alliance with the peasantry. It was on the basis of this alliance that the victory in 1917 was gained. Yet Lenin advised the workers to trust in no one but themselves, their own program, their own organizations, their own strength. To the end of his life Lenin had no other advice to give to workers. The world's disinherited and down-trodden never had a greater friend and bolder champion than Lenin. Whoever advises them differently is not their friend but a mortal enemy.

STALIN'S REVISION OF MARX AND LENIN

We have already remarked that Stalinism does not, properly speaking, represent a revisionist school of politics. The Stalinists have long ago passed beyond that. The question of revisionism arose not with Browder in 1944-1945 as Foster and Duclos now pretend, but more than two decades ago, in the autumn of 1924 when Stalin first advanced his false and reactionary theory of socialism in one country. It was then that the precondition for a return to Leninism became a complete break with Stalinism. As Leon Trotsky predicted correctly at that time, this revision of Marxism could and did lead only to opportunism.

In the decade between 1924 (the year of Lenin's death) and 1933 (the year of Hitler's assumption of power), the Communist International degenerated step by step. Opportunist swings alternated with ultra-left adventures, each supplementing the other as do two sides of one and the same coin. But throughout this period, the Comintern in effecting its turns remained to a greater or lesser extent subject to the pressure of the masses. The possibilities of reform were not exhausted until 1933 when, with the betrayal of the German masses to the Nazis, the Communist International perished as an instrument of the proletarian revolution.

In 1933, when history itself brought verification of the downfall of this once revolutionary organization, the Trotskyist movement, which had consistently conducted an irreconcilable struggle against Stalinism, first proclaimed the need of building the Fourth International. It was founded in September 1938.

In the years since 1933, the sections of the Comintern have been employed deliberately for the deception and betrayal of the world working class. They have been used as auxiliary items, in the diplomatic deals between the Kremlin and the rival imperialist blocs, with the services of the Comintern sold to the current "ally" of the Kremlin, "democratic" and fascist alike. The Stalinist turns in this period depended exclusively on the needs of the Kremlin's foreign policy. It is in this sense that the totality of the abominations and crimes of the Stalin gang far transcends the framework of revision of theory.

PURPOSE OF LATEST TACTIC

The latest Stalinist tactic is designed to facilitate the continuation of this policy of playing with the mass movement as mere pawns. The radical phraseology is simply a left cover for the same treacherous course. It is needed, above all, as a smokescreen for the wartime crimes of the Stalinists against the American workers.

To fully understand any process whether in nature or politics, it is indispensable to possess a knowledge of its history.

For a succinct account of the transformation of the Communist International from the instrument of the revolution into an outright agency of imperialism, we refer our readers to an important document, "The Evolution of the Communist International," which appears in this issue. A serious study of this document will enable every honest revolutionary worker to place the utterly perfidious, current Stalinist maneuver in its proper context.

The Recent Strike Wave and the Urgent Need of a Conscious Left Wing in the Labor Movement

THE NEW MASS MOODS

A sharp break is occurring in the mood of the American working class and, especially, in the consciousness of its vanguard section. These new mass moods have manifested themselves in the nation-wide strike wave of May and June. They are characterized by the familiar traits which were disclosed so magnificently by American labor in the big push of 1933-1937 when the CIO was born. These traits had been suppressed during the war.

The rubber workers of Akron have once again gone out on strike (Goodyear and Firestone); in Detroit the auto workers have struck Packard, Budd, Ford, Bohn Aluminum, Kelsey Hayes, etc.; in Pittsburgh and Toledo the CIO flat glass workers have gone out on the picket lines, as have scores of thousands in other industries. Resolutions in favor of breaking the Little Steel formula by strike action have been passed overwhelmingly by the UAW Detroit Regional Conference (June 14), by other regional conferences in Michigan, including Flint, and the Buffalo Area Conference of UAW-CIO. The Western Electric workers in New Jersey have voted to strike. The Northwest Lumber Workers are taking a strike vote. The list grows longer and longer as ever broader proletarian layers are shaking off the hypnosis of the war. The no-strike pledge is being trampled into dust on picket lines throughout the country.

In most instances, these strikes are being waged in violent opposition to and defiance of the top union officialdom. The leaders of these struggles have emerged from the most experienced and militant layers of the union ranks. These local leaders are demonstrating an increasing awareness of the need for a whole new leadership in the unions in opposition to the bureaucrats and time-servers who have been acting as policemen for the employing class and its government in curbing labor during the war.

AWARENESS OF LEADERSHIP'S ROLE

This new awareness of the role of the leadership and the connection between the latter and union tasks is the product of a molecular process that has been taking place beneath the surface. Its open manifestation has hitherto been retarded by a combination of objective and subjective factors. In the beginning, the factor of the war proved, of course, decisive. But the objective wartime situation far from explains the abject retreats and defeats which the trade unions suffered during the entire subsequent period.

The trade unions could never have been shackled by a setup of government agencies alone. The complicity of the entire union officialdom was the indispensable supplement. This is confirmed by past experience.

By the year 1941, the year of Wall Street's entry into World War II, Roosevelt had already installed the actual war labor apparatus with its mechanism of compulsory arbitration through government agencies. It was to be fully expanded only after the American people had been dragooned into the war. Yet the year that ended with Pearl Harbor was also the most turbulent year of strike struggles since the peak year of 1937. According to the Department of Labor statistics, in 1941 there were 4,288 strikes involving some 2,363,000 workers.

In 1941 Ford was compelled to capitulate to the UAW-CIO. Bethlehem Steel, heart of Little Steel, bowed to the CIO steelworkers.

AN IMPORTANT LESSON

The fraud of mediation machinery, already in operation at that time, was clearly exposed in the course of the November 1941 coal strike. The National Defense Mediation Board proved impotent to play the role later so effectively assumed by a similar body, the War Labor Board. As a matter of fact, in 1941 the NDMB was blown up, when the CIO officials resigned from it, in the dispute over the organization of captive mines.

It became possible, with the collaboration of the top union officialdom, to impose compulsory arbitration only after Pearl Harbor. In other words, so long as the unions retained their independence, they were able to make advances—as the miners later proved to the hilt—even in the face of the combined pressure of the employers and the administration. Here we come to the factor that really was decisive in bringing about the present situation of the union movement, namely: the subjective factor. For, the question of union independence is inseparable from the question of union leadership and policy.

This is no secret to the bourgeoisie, who are highly class conscious. They know the paramount importance of the subjective factor. But the workers on the whole have still to learn it. The bourgeoisie knew in advance that the union officialdom from the Greens through the Murrays down to the Social Democrats and the Stalinists would work hand in hand with the administration to bureaucratize the trade union movement, and harness it to Wall Street's war machine. They furthermore knew that the workers could not break out of the vice of the union bureaucracy, unless there was a conscious left wing, organized on a national scale to challenge the Greens and the Murrays for leadership. And the fact is: there was no organized and conscious left wing movement in AFL and CIO when the war came.

Such a movement had indeed once existed. Out of the strike struggles toward the end of World War I and in its aftermath, a genuine left wing developed. It was born in the strike wave following the last war: the great Steel Strike of 1919, the Seattle General Strike, the strike of the railway shopmen, and other struggles of that period. This movement developed primarily under the direction of the Communist Party, which in its early years represented the authentic revolutionary movement of the American workers. By 1928, however, Stalinist degeneration had utterly permeated the American section of the Third International. The postwar left wing was transformed into an instrument of Stalinist policy. The Stalinist used the past capital, gained in the building of this left wing, for purposes of outright betrayal. When the Kremlin sold the services of Foster-Browder and Co. to Washington, the American bourgeoisie thereby received additional guarantees against a rapid crystallization of a conscious left wing in the unions.

THE MINNEAPOLIS LABOR CASE

Roosevelt sought further guarantees by seeking to gag the incorruptible proletarian fighters who could neither be duped, bought, nor bullied. The famous Minneapolis Labor Case was an integral part of the deliberate bourgeois plan to guarantee its control of the subjective factor in the labor movement. Upon the request of AFL Teamsters President Tobin, one of his chief labor lieutenants, Roosevelt injected the Department of Justice into the conflict between Tobin and the Trotskyist leadership of the Minneapolis truck drivers Local 544-CIO.

This was the one union in a key industry with a genuinely independent leadership and policy. That is why the bourgeoisie moved to crush it. By railroading the leaders of the Socialist Workers Party to jail, they sought to stifle the only voices that told the workers the truth about the perfidious role of the official trade union leadership and the truth about the connection between the leadership and the current tasks in the unions. In the eyes of Roosevelt and Tobin their greatest crime was that the Trotskyists practised what they preached, and, moreover, demonstrated brilliantly in action the efficacy of class struggle methods in the trade union field.

In the last analysis, it was the absence of a genuine and powerful left wing that underlies all the defeats of organized labor since 1941. Had there been such a left wing, the wartime history of American labor would have been altogether different.

Let us briefly review how the union movement has been, in the absence of the left wing, kept in subjection by a combination of deception and force.

WHAT ACTUALLY HAPPENED

The 1941 strike wave was cut short by the war. The flood of billions into corporation coffers became a torrent. Prices kept climbing upward more and more steeply, despite the ballyhoo of price control. Under the cover of war, the corporations started their anti-union offensive. They violated contractual obligations. Collective bargaining procedure was insolently ignored. Vicious plant regulations and conditions were reinstated. Slave labor legislation began to be introduced in Congress. All that the workers got was their first taste of the WLB run-around.

The workers were stunned in the beginning. The entire weight of the monstrous war machine had descended upon them; their leadership betrayed them. But the resulting apathy lasted only eight months. Sporadic strikes began breaking out, whose number has since then grown steadily from year to year.

Indignation and unrest mounted. To assuage the ranks, the officialdom waved the flag, spouted promises of quick redress by "labor's greatest friend" in the White House, and tightened the bureaucratic vice.

What did Roosevelt do? He first resorted to deception. In April 1942, he demagogically issued his "7 point stabilization program," likewise known as the "equality of sacrifice" program. The one plank of this program realized in life was the "stabilization," that is, freezing of wages—the Little Steel formula.

EXECUTIVE DECREES

The effectiveness of promises and deception declined in proportion with the downward plunge of living and working conditions. The next resort was to executive decrees like the "hold-the-line" order which froze wages for the duration (April 8, 1943); and such decrees as the one promulgated by Manpower Commissioner McNutt freezing 27 million workers to their jobs (April 17, 1943). On top of the wage freeze and the

job freeze came anti-strike legislation (Smith-Connally Anti-strike Act, June 1943). After his election to the fourth term (with the aid of the PAC), Roosevelt crowned his "friend-of-labor" record by asking Congress to enact forced labor legislation. These and subsequent measures of repression by law were the answer to the resurgence of the class struggle.

The four coal strikes of 1943 and the final victory of the miners galvanized the workers, setting off a strike wave in key industries. Immediately following the enactment of the Smith-Connally Anti-Strike Law, after the third coal strike, there were 1,919 strikes with only 34 called in "compliance with the law" (Department of Labor Statistics). During the year as a whole, the same source reports, there were 3,750 strikes involving 1,900,000.

The first breach in the Little Steel formula was made by the miners. 1,500,000 railway workers voted overwhelmingly to strike. They won wage increases. This was a second breach. The wage freeze could have been smashed once and for all; the entire compulsory arbitration mechanism blown up like the NDMB was in 1941; and the anti-labor offensive repelled right then and there. By Christmas Eve of 1943, 200,000 steel workers were out on strike, bearing placards with the traditional miners' slogan: "No Contract—No Work!"

The whole labor movement could have been mobilized for one mighty onslaught, if only the leadership had given the signal. This signal never came. Instead the officialdom kept on cajoling, deceiving and terrorizing the rank and file. Promises of future relief alternated with threats of expulsion and the victimization of militants.

REASON FOR THE DEFEATS

Thus instead of plucking the fruits of victory, the labor movement emerged from the struggle with virtually empty hands.

Would the outcome have been entirely different, had a conscious left wing movement come to the fore at that time? To pose this question is to answer it.

In summing up the situation after the 1943 strike wave, we stated editorially:

In spite of all the retreats the labor movement is still strong and has not been defeated in battle. The labor ranks are still independent and aggressive. Their fighting qualities and capacities still remain unimpaired. They need only a new leadership and to be shown a way out—a program that gives real promise of success. ("The Fourth Coal Strike And Its Aftermath," *Fourth International*, December 1943.)

Ferment and indignation continued to grow in 1944, and so did the number of "unauthorized" and sporadic strikes. There was a momentary decline in the period of the invasion

of France, but the following months witnessed another rise. The main centers of "disturbance" were auto and rubber.

Vanguard sections of the labor movement had absorbed many of the lessons of the past. Union militants began talking and thinking in terms of fundamental solutions. Bitter blows were pounding home the need of a new leadership. This was most graphically expressed by the Ninth Convention of UAW-CIO, where the delegates ran roughshod over every attempt of the reactionary bureaucracy to harness the convention. A determined struggle was waged against the no-strike pledge, and a referendum forced upon the leaders. Thus, the union vanguard took important forward steps, laying the basis for the events in 1945.

Today the long maturing crisis is coming to a head. The termination of the war in Europe, the resulting cut-backs in war production (with further and greater reductions ahead), the mounting inflation, the continued lowering of living and working conditions, the intensification of the anti-labor offensive have eaten like acid through the established apparatus of curbing the masses and paralyzing their self-action.

The patience of the rank and file is exhausted. **IT IS TIME TO ACT** From demands upon the officialdom to put an end to all further enforced retreats and unfended

blows, the workers have passed on to the struggle to break out of the bureaucratic stranglehold. The very fact that this struggle has been previously retarded will add to its explosive power. To assure victory only a single factor is lacking, but it is the decisive one.

The urgent need now is to create what has hitherto been missing. The struggle for the independence of the unions, it must be repeated again and again, will be won only to the extent that a conscious left wing is organized on a national scale capable of challenging the incumbent corrupt union bureaucrats for the leadership of the organized labor movement.

After the 1943 strike wave we predicted:

There lies a stormy period ahead. The issue will be settled only in struggle. The American labor movement will experience in the coming days great conflicts and struggles. Far more likely than the thorough bureaucratization of the unions, as a preliminary to their annihilation, will be the rise of a new leadership fighting to convert the unions into militant class organizations of struggle.

The 1945 strike wave has sounded the tocsin for this struggle. It marks the beginning of a new great chapter in the forward march of the American working class. The organization of a conscious left wing—that is the direction in which the awakened colossus of organized labor is now traveling.

Ministry-Makers and "Leftist" Fakers

By HEMU KALANI

In August 1942, the Indian National Congress endorsed the policy of open fight against the British imperialists. Taking advantage of the lack of organization and the absence of a strong working class party, British imperialism was able to crush the movement under its iron heel, to drive it underground. Since this suppression, Congress had been making innumerable attempts to end what they call the political deadlock. The most important of all these attempts has been the acceptance of office by Congress in the North-West Frontier Province, since all these attempts were directed at getting back to office.

Attempts to show that what has happened in the NWFP is an isolated case, that Congress is not on the way to accept-

ance of office, have completely failed. The move towards office is all over the country. The Congress leaders in Assam have agreed to support the re-constituted ministry on the basis of operating a certain agreed program. So it is also in Sind. In Bengal they are ready to support a coalition ministry. In the Central Provinces, Bihar and Orissa, there is an obvious move towards it. The acceptance of office in NWFP, taken in conjunction with what is happening elsewhere, is thus symptomatic of the move of Congress towards acceptance of office. That what has happened in NWFP is going to happen also in other provinces is proved by the declarations of the Congress leaders to the effect that general acceptance of office is possible only when

all the leaders are released. Thus, within a few years, Congress swings from a policy of open fight to one of acceptance of office, from a policy of grab-as-you-can to one of serve-as-much-as-you-can.

What does the acceptance of office by Congress mean? No imperialist government can now allow any organization to be in office until and unless it unequivocally supports the present bandit war. Hence this act of Congress means that it now gives up its opposition fight and swings back to the position of servitors of the British Raj. It connotes *participation* in imperialist exploitation of the Indian workers and peasants. It connotes *active cooperation* with imperialism to maintain its terroristic rule over India. In the final analysis, it signifies that Congress has sold out itself to the imperialists to perform a twofold task: that of recruiting sergeant for the imperialist war and that of police agents to fight against the revolutionary opposition to the war, *i.e.*, against the exploited masses of India. (That Congress is bound to play the role of police agents is corroborated by the fact that while in office it didn't hesitate to shoot down workers, for example, in Bombay and Cawnpore in 1938. It is further proved by the declarations of the Congress leaders in Assam to the effect that they are for release of all political prisoners except those involved in "sabotage," *i.e.*, the revolutionary elements in Congress.)

To an honest revolutionist the natural question that arises is: Why does Congress accept office at this juncture? To this frankly posed question we reply that, being the class organ of the native bourgeoisie, the task of Congress is to look after the interests of this bourgeoisie. Frightened at the prospect of postwar competition with the foreign capitalists, trembling at the gloomy outcome of that unequal fight, the native bourgeoisie is out to defend what it now possesses by legislative means. It even dreams of facilitating its own fight against foreign capital by constitutional means, such as manipulation of tariffs (*i.e.*, the protection of home products, duties on imported goods, and so on). Hence *their* class organ, the Indian National Congress, accepts office. Thus we see how, behind this opportunistic move of Congress, is the filthy, greedy, trembling hand of a weak colonial bourgeoisie; how, in reality, Congress is tied to the apron-strings of the Indian capitalist class.

Now, what does support, however reserved it might be, of this act, namely, acceptance of office by Congress, mean? Support means that those within Congress must give up their fight against the British Raj, they should not only oppose any movement but also that they *must* unhesitatingly support every action of the Government to smash any attempt at organizing the revolutionary masses of India. (That this will be so is borne out by the fact that, while in office, Congress did not even protest against the promulgation of the Defense of India Rules.) It signifies that they must support and fight *for* the imperialist war, which act has only *one* meaning, namely: that they *must* support the enslavement of the colonial people. For, this war is fought by British imperialism for maintaining its rule over the colonial people, and support to the war necessarily means contributing to the strength of the British Raj so that it can maintain its clutches which are choking the Indian masses for the last two hundred years.

What is the attitude of the "left" forces, *e.g.*, the Congress Socialist Party, within the Congress, who, since their inception, have been crying for the overthrow of the reactionary leadership and implanting their "left" leadership? Ignoring the fact that since these forces came into existence they *failed* to intransigently oppose the reactionary leadership, not to speak of attempting to establish "left" leadership, these forces

pretend that they are out to snatch away the leadership! Babbling about an alternative "left" leadership, they have supported the Gandhian leadership. Prattling about "revolutionary" leadership, they have *always* surrendered to the reactionary one in crucial periods. Tattling about inculcating "socialist" leadership, the "leftists," *i.e.*, the CSP, capitulates to the bourgeois leadership by proposing to liquidate its own organization. As for those, *e.g.*, the Revolutionary Socialist Party, who think themselves to be more to the left than the CSP, they even do not dare attack openly this capitulation of Congress. (So it has been with even Tagore's Revolutionary Communist Party in the Students Federation.) Along with the surrender of the Congress leadership, to whom licking the imperialist boot is now a more lucrative job than an open fight like that of August 1942, which was aimed at squeezing out whatever it could from the British imperialists, the *soi disant* socialist leaders like Masani and his ilk are exhaling poisons of confusion, utter demoralization, in short, capitulation.

Cringing before the bourgeois leadership, these "left" leaders, obviously embarrassed at the attitude of the rank and file towards acceptance of office, are sowing confusion among their own rank and file by characterizing it as a "tactical move." This is a measure of the extent to which this leadership is frightened by the discontentment in the ranks of its own followers. This is obviously an attempt to quiet down the rank and file by whatever weapons it can. As regards this "tactical move" we want to state that tactics are employed to serve the purpose of general strategy. *Now* our task is to *organize* the workers and peasants for the coming onslaught on the imperialist citadel. To what acceptance of office leads, we have clearly seen. Our analysis completely rejects the explanation of these "tacticians." Under the benign patronage of imperialism, an organization can serve the interests of its patrons only. On the other hand, it is a tactical move employed by the British imperialists. Fearful of the revolutionary wars which must come in the wake of this robber war, imperialism is out to utilize the Congress popularity to serve its imperialist aims.

In the face of this shameful capitulation of the "left" leaders, what should the rank and file "leftists" do? Those who still sincerely believe that Congress is a platform, that they should implant their "left" leadership, must prove their sincerity by action. Their task is to fight out the Right Wing on the question of acceptance of office. An organization which fails to attack its opponents on a vital question can never blast out the opponents, not to speak of wrenching away the leadership from them. Fight Out the Right! This every genuine leftist inside Congress demands. A fight against the Right Wing is *now* impossible for them without a fight against their "left" leaders, who have already backed down to the Right. It is only by waging unremitting struggle against capitulation in every form, by fighting against dissolution of their own organizations, that they can seriously fight to attain the goal. Intransigent opposition to every capitulationist masquerading as a "leftist"! This everyone demands of them. To make the fight successful they must mobilize mass opinion in their favor. Where Congress has accepted office or is supporting ministries, there we must press for: *Immediate Release of ALL Political Prisoners!*

In this bitter fight the progressive forces must support the rank and file leftists. We, the Bolshevik-Leninists, pledge full support to these fighters in their fight against capitulation.

*No Surrender to the Right, Politically or Organizationally!
Mobilize Mass Opinion to Fight Against Office Acceptance!
Consolidate the Left Forces in Congress Through These Struggles!*

The Evolution Of the Communist International

From the Party of the World Revolution to the Instrument Of Imperialism

(A Historical Review)

EDITOR'S NOTE: Indispensable to a thorough understanding of the latest tactical shift of the Stalinists is the entire historical background of Stalinist degeneration. This necessary material is supplied by the document we publish below. It is one of the official documents of the world Trotskyist movement, drafted originally for the First International Conference of the Fourth International, held at Geneva, July 29, 30 and 31, 1936. Contained in this document—in the form of 38 theses—is a succinct history of the rise and subsequent degeneration of the Communist International. It covers a period of approximately 17 years, that is, from the founding of the Comintern in March 1919 to early 1936.

To supplement this document, it is only necessary to summarize the developments in the succeeding years. In 1936 the Stalinists throughout the world were in the midst of their "People's Front" era which finally terminated in the Four Power Munich pact (England, France, Germany, Italy). June 1936 saw the beginning of a vast revolutionary mass movement in France. The "People's Front" policy succeeded in diverting and demoralizing the French masses. An exceptionally favorable revolutionary situation was frittered away, thanks, first and foremost, to the influence of the Stalinists. At the same time, the identical policy was employed to bleed white the forces of the proletarian revolution in the Spanish Civil War. It was in 1936, in the midst of the Spanish Civil War and the revolutionary crisis in France, that Stalin staged the monstrous Moscow Trials in order to annihilate physically the old Bolshevik cadres and every vestige of political opposition inside the Soviet Union.

As it turned out, the entire period of "People's Front" and the unprecedented blood purge in the USSR served only as a prelude to another diplomatic maneuver: this time, an alliance with

Nazi Germany. In August 1939 Stalin signed his pact with Hitler, and thereby gave the signal for the outbreak of World War II. In this alliance, the Kremlin, as Trotsky pointed out, assumed the role of Hitler's quartermaster. The Stalinist parties adjusted their policies to conform to the new foreign policy of Moscow. Nazi Germany was proclaimed, together with Mussolini's Italy, as a genuine peace-loving nation, and the role of imperialist aggressors was assigned exclusively to England, France, the United States and other capitalist "democracies." This abysmal capitulation to the Fascist imperialist powers was covered up by radical-sounding phrases. The Stalinist parties posed as opponents of imperialist war, mouthed class-struggle phrases and in this way further disoriented and demoralized the world working class.

In the Manifesto of the Fourth International on *The Imperialist War and the Proletarian Revolution*, issued in May 1940, Leon Trotsky summed up this Stalinist maneuver as follows:

"After five years of the crudest fawning upon the democracies, when the whole of "communism" was reduced to the monotonous indictment of Fascist aggressors, the Comintern suddenly discovered in the autumn of 1939 the criminal imperialism of the Western democracies. Left about face! From then on not a single word of condemnation about the destruction of Czechoslovakia and Poland, the seizure of Denmark and Norway and the shocking bestialities inflicted by Hitler's gangs on the Polish and Jewish people! Hitler was made out to be a peace-loving vegetarian continually being provoked by the Western imperialists. The Anglo-French alliance was referred to in the Comintern press as the 'imperialist bloc against the German people.' Goebbels himself could have cooked up nothing better!"

But the alliance with Hitler did not endure even two years. In June 1941, Hitler's armies invaded the USSR. This imposed an overnight switch in the policy and propaganda of the Communist International. All the labels were changed. The services of the Comintern previously at the disposal of Hitler were now sold to the "democratic" imperialists. The Stalinists out-jingoed the jingoos. In the United States and England the Stalinists became strikebreakers. In India they became an open tool of British imperialism in suppressing the liberationist movement of the Indian masses. The Stalinist propaganda against Germany from the first acted to reinforce the Nazi regime. Again, Goebbels could have asked for nothing better! In May 1943, Stalin sealed his collaboration with the "democracies" by formally dissolving the moribund Comintern.

It will be observed that beginning with 1933, the year of Hitler's assumption of power in Germany, the successive shifts in Stalinist policy are inseparably bound up with the shifting imperialist alignments on the world arena; and that each shift can be correctly appraised only in connection with the Kremlin's foreign policy. The gist of this foreign policy consisted in maneuvering between the rival imperialist camps, and utilizing the Communist International as a supplementary means in all the diplomatic horse-trades. Each time the interests of the world proletariat and the colonial peoples were ruthlessly and deliberately trampled under foot.

The same thing is true of the current Stalinist shift. Its causes lie in the international situation in which the Kremlin gang now finds itself, and the conflict between it and the single imperialist bloc which is completely under the domination of the United States. In the game of power politics, the Stalinist parties serve today as they did in the past the role of mere pawns.

1. The imperialist world war of 1914-1918 was the clearest indication that the capitalist mode of production had become a fetter on the productive forces, and that conditions had become ripe for the victory of the proletarian revolution. However, the Second International, whose bureaucracy had adapted itself to bourgeois society during the long period of capitalist expansion, betrayed the interests of the proletariat at the decisive moment of the outbreak of war, and occupied the position of the defense of the fatherland, i.e., defense of the frontiers of the bourgeois national state, which—together with the system of private property—had become a brake on the further development of productive forces.

2. Only a very small number of revolutionary Marxists

drew from the shameful treachery and miserable collapse of the Second International the conclusion that a Third International was necessary. It is true, in most countries an opposition formed against the chauvinist standpoint of the Social Democratic parties, but such opposition had in the beginning mainly a pacifist-centrist character. At the international conferences of the opponents of imperialist slaughter at Zimmerwald (1915) and Kienthal (1916) the supporters of the building of the Third International remained in the minority and were termed by all centrists and social-imperialists as fanatics, utopians, and sectarians.

3. The victory of the Russian revolution in October 1917 was the victory of the revolutionary principle of struggling against

the enemy at home and of turning imperialist war into civil war, which since 1914 had been counterposed by the handful of revolutionary Marxists and especially the leadership of the Russian Bolsheviks against the principle of defending the fatherland. The Bolsheviks—after overcoming analogous tendencies in their own ranks—broke with the ambiguous centrist majority of Zimmerwald and raised the banner of the Third International.

4. At the foundation congress of the Third International (March 1919) only the representatives of a few and comparatively weak parties and groups met side by side with the victorious Bolshevik Party. Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, who would have deserved a place of honor at this gathering, had been murdered by the soldiery of the German Social Democrat, Noske.

The First Congress [of the Communist International], took a very definite stand against the reactionary effort to rebuild the Second International in its prewar form (Berne Conference of the Social Democratic and independent parties in February 1919) and stood for gathering the vanguard in a homogeneous revolutionary international. The manifestoes of the Congress pitilessly exposed the treacherous pacifism of President Wilson and the illusion of a capitalist League of Nations, which was supported by the Second International. One of the most important results achieved by the Congress was the restoration of the Marxist teachings on the State as an instrument of class rule and the exposure of parliamentary democracy as the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie over the proletariat. Lenin's theses on "Democracy and Dictatorship," which were adopted by the Congress, explain the counter-revolutionary, bourgeois character of the abstract slogans and principles of "pure," formal democracy ("liberty," "equality," etc.). They showed by the example of the Russian experiences the necessity of abolishing the bourgeois state apparatus and the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship on the foundation of the Soviet (workers' councils).

5. In 1919 the experience of the Hungarian revolution was also made. There, owing to the complete deterioration and confusion of the bourgeoisie, power had fallen into the lap of the Communists and Left Social Democrats. But from the start the Hungarian revolution had no real leadership. The Communist Party was assimilated in the Social Democratic Party and thereby showed that it was not a Communist party. The Hungarian revolution failed not only because of the unfavorable international situation, but also owing to the complete incapability of Bela Kun and Co.'s leadership (in regard to the agrarian question, apart from the question of party organization). The Communist International, only just recently formed, was not yet firm enough in an organizational sense to give a different direction to the Hungarian revolution.

6. The disastrous results of the war led to a powerful awakening of proletarian class-consciousness among the masses. They began to an ever-increasing extent to clearly see through the treacherous role played by the Social Democratic parties. Under pressure of their rank-and-file some of the old reformist and social-pacifist leaders (the German Independent Socialist Party, the Italian Socialist Party, the French Socialist Party, the British ILP, etc.) sought affiliation to the Comintern, without however revising their centrist positions. This danger of injecting opportunist tendencies into the ranks of the Comintern was counteracted by the Second Congress (1920) which adopted the 21 points, setting the conditions for membership in the Communist International. These conditions declared implacable war against the ambiguousness, the wavering attitude and the sterile social-pacifism of the centrists, and demanded a complete break

with all pacifist ideas and illusions (such as disarmament, League of Nations, international arbitration, etc.) To the governing principle of the Second International of maintaining loose contacts between parties nationally independent (and acting directly in opposition to each other), was counterposed the principle of the world party built on the foundation of common theory and practice, and the aim of realizing a common international leadership on the principles of democratic centralism.

7. Those centrist and conciliatory (toward the Second International) politicians, who had been hindered by the Second Congress from joining the Comintern, tried to form a Two-and-a-Half International (beginning of 1921), a go-between affair, midway between open social treachery and revolution (the Austro-Marxists, the German "Independents," the French Longuetists," the ILP, etc.). The Two-and-a-Half International proclaimed afresh—as Karl Liebknecht put it—"the unity of fire and water," the unity of revolutionists and social traitors in one international. But history had left no place for such a half-hearted solution. The Two-and-a-Half International was crushed in the struggle between the Second and Third Internationals. Its revolutionary elements turned to the Third International. Its bureaucratic tops reunited in 1923 (the Hamburg Congress) with the Second International.

Virus of Ultra-Leftism

8. Opportunist *centrism*, which did not lead the masses but wanted to be led by them, found its complement in *ultra-radicalism* which instead of winning the masses from within by cooperation in their organizations, their struggles and experiences, put an ultimatum to them from outside. These ultra-lefts declared themselves against participation in parliamentary elections, for leaving the mass trade unions and the formation of "pure" revolutionary unions, and for isolated action of the vanguard. These tendencies led in Germany to the formation of the KAP (Communist Workers Party) in 1920. But even the official Communist Party of Germany had not been able to rid itself of adventurist tendencies. This was shown, above all, in the course of the March events (1921) when the party instead of confining itself to defensive tactics against the provocative challenge of the Social Democrats in the government, led the isolated vanguard to an armed offensive and suffered shipwreck. But the greatest danger was this, that now a whole school of theorists had established itself in the party who transformed the tactics of March into a principle (Thalheimer, Froelich, Maslow, Koenen, etc.). The Third Congress condemned ultra-left adventures and issued the slogan, "*To the masses*," recognizing that the first great postwar wave (1917-1920) was now ebbing, and that a breathing space had occurred which it was necessary to utilize by preparing better and more thoroughly for the coming struggles. The strategy and tactics of the Communist parties were drafted in resolutions which remain models, even today. The Congress adopted "Guiding Principles for the Organizational Development of the Communist Parties, the Methods and the Content of Their Work," which, in spite of being too mechanical, "too Russian" (Lenin, at the Fourth Congress) give many valuable suggestions, particularly regarding the connection between legal and illegal work, the necessity of a quick switch-over from one to the other method of work, the organization of the press, the creation of factory cells, etc.

9. The Fourth Congress (1922) reaffirmed the lessons of the Third Congress, dealt with them more thoroughly and concretely. The NEP (New Economic Policy) of the Soviet Union.

following on "War Communism" which had to be introduced under the pitiless pressure of circumstances, supplied the immensely important experience of necessary tactical retreats even after the winning of power, an experience which most probably will have its validity not only for backward Russia, but also for more advanced countries.

The Fourth World Congress was able to look back on tremendous organizational results. In the course of three years, in all continents and in practically all countries, sections had been created, and apart from this the Red International of Trade Unions and the Young Communist International had been built up. The Communist parties in a number of countries were at that time leading mighty revolutionary mass actions.

The defeat of the Italian proletariat in 1922 was not a defeat of the strategical and tactical methods of the Leninist Comintern, but of those of Italian Maximalism (Serrati) against which the Comintern since the Second World Congress had been continuously carrying on a hard struggle, without, however, being able to avert the catastrophe.

10. One of the greatest achievements of the Comintern of those years was the publicity given by it to the historical importance of national movements of liberation in the colonies and semi-colonial territories, and the support given by it to the struggle of enslaved nations against imperialist oppression, a task which the Second International had always neglected, and which, by its attitude in the World War, the Second International had absolutely betrayed.

Lenin's "Guiding Principles on the National and Colonial Question" at the Second Congress were definitely directed against any attempt to fasten a Communist label on revolutionary movements of liberation which were not in reality Communistic. A temporary alliance with the national revolutionary movement was considered by these theses as necessary, but it was pointed out that the task of the Communists was not to amalgamate with these nationalist parties, but under all circumstances unconditionally to uphold the independent character of the proletarian movement.

The 1923 Turn

11. The year 1923 represents a decisive turning point in the history of the Comintern. Owing to the development of new layers of exploiting elements in the Soviet Union as a consequence of the NEP, and owing to the general exhaustion of the working class after the tremendous efforts and the fervor of the years of revolution and Civil War, the bureaucracy of the party and state apparatus, which had meantime become very strong, was enabled to raise itself at an ever-increasing rate as an independent social force, as an arbiter over the classes. However, the bureaucracy could gain political power only by a struggle against the proletarian vanguard, against proletarian democracy inside the party and the Soviets. This is the content of the struggle which began in 1923 between Stalinism and Trotskyism. The ascent of the bureaucracy coincides with the grave illness and forced political inactivity of Lenin who, however, in his last writings (especially in the article "Better Less, But Better" and in the so-called Testament) had clearly recognized and called for a struggle against the danger of bureaucratization and against Stalin as its main representative.

12. In Germany, in 1923, a revolutionary crisis broke out afresh. The consequences of the [first imperialist] war, which had not been by any means overcome, the economic crisis interrupted only by slight boomlets, the occupation of the Ruhr

territory by the French army, the organization and the collapse of "passive resistance" of the German bourgeoisie against this occupation, the runaway inflation of German currency—all these causes led to an extraordinary sharpening of the class contradictions. Huge mass strikes took place. The shop stewards movement became a gathering point for the revolutionary masses. The workers organized themselves in "Hundertschaften" (bodies of 100) and commenced to arm themselves. In a number of large trade unions the Communists even obtained a majority. Social Democracy was in confusion; the bourgeoisie was split. The mass movement reached the critical point when decisiveness and practical initiative of the highest degree are required of the revolutionary leadership to push this movement further ahead to victory. But the leadership of the Communist Party (Brandler, Thalheimer, Walcher, Froelich, etc.) showed itself incapable of fulfilling its historical tasks and thereby proved that it was only a Social Democratic leadership, with a coating of Communist varnish. It stuck to the united front with the Social Democracy, without being able to grasp that the idea of the united front is to "step back in order thus to leap forward all the better"; without being able to grasp that at a certain moment the fight for winning the masses can be carried out only by a direct struggle for power. The leadership of the Comintern, which already showed signs of bureaucratic degeneration, also proved incapable of leading the CPG on to the correct road. When the German bourgeoisie at last gathered its forces, proclaimed a state of siege and proceeded to take the offensive, the CPG capitulated without a struggle. The consequence was a severe defeat of the German, and with it the European, proletariat, giving thereby European capitalism the possibility of stabilizing itself anew.

Consequences of the 1923 Defeat

13. The defeat of 1923 led to a serious internal crisis in the CPG. A new "left" leadership (R. Fischer-Maslow) was chosen. This leadership, however, did not recognize that the October defeat was decisive in character. Instead of ordering a retreat, it proceeded along the path of adventurism and thereby increased the scope of the defeat.

In Bulgaria, the Comintern section of that country (under the leadership of Kolarov-Dimitrov) also let slip in 1923 a highly favorable revolutionary situation and then endeavored to make up for it by putschist adventures in September 1923, thereby causing a fatal defeat of the Bulgarian proletariat.

After the German defeat the Comintern adopted a policy of adventurism and extended this course to the entire International, the consequence being a further defeat in Esthonia (uprising in Reval, December 1924.)

14. To the extent that the German defeat had weakened the positions of the international proletariat and of its vanguard, to the same extent it acted to strengthen the tendencies of the Soviet bureaucracy to become an independent force. This accounts for the fact that the Fifth World Congress of the Comintern (1924) signifies above all the subjection of the Comintern to the yoke of the Russian bureaucracy. The Comintern itself became bureaucratized, and was brought into complete dependence on the bureaucratic center in Moscow.

15. The theory of "socialism in one country," advanced by Stalin, the head of the bureaucracy, in the autumn of 1924 in glaring contradiction to the entire theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism, became for the newly formed social layers (bureaucracy, kulaks, "spetses" (specialists), etc.) the ideological expression of their nationally-limited interests. Not the inter-

national proletariat, but the bureaucracy was proclaimed as the bearer of Socialism. The Comintern, created to be an instrument of world revolution, now became the tool for the national interests of the Soviet bureaucracy. This fundamental contradiction placed its imprint on the future policy of the Comintern, which from that point on became centrist—zigzagging, unprincipled adaptation to the reformist bureaucracy and bourgeois democracy on the one hand, and putschist adventurism on the other. All these traits became combined in its policy. The social basis of this type of centrism—the stable point in a world movement—is the Soviet bureaucracy.

Bureaucratic Centrism

16. The two methods adopted by the Comintern for handling the masses—on the one hand, unprincipled adaptation to existing circumstances and the bourgeois democratic and petty-bourgeois reformist parties; and on the other, the sudden, unprepared appeals to the revolutionary instincts of the masses—have their roots in the social position of the Soviet bureaucracy (the Comintern bureaucracy being its obedient appendage). Owing to its entire social character, the Soviet bureaucracy inclines toward adapting itself to the privileged and exploiting sections of Soviet society (kulaks, intellectual strata, labor aristocracy). However, as soon as the development has reached a critical point, when these strata become so powerful socially that they threaten the bureaucracy's position of political privilege, the latter saves itself by an appeal to the masses. In reality, it only stirs the proletarian masses (or more correctly merely small sections of these masses) by applying rigidly the whole force of state power (in particular, the GPU). On the international field, the Soviet and Comintern bureaucracy feel themselves attracted by petty-bourgeois democracy. But whenever, for national reasons or by the logic of events, the Soviet bureaucracy finds itself in opposition to petty-bourgeois democracy, it endeavors all of a sudden to drive the masses to revolutionary action. But as the Comintern lacks the state forces required to enforce its ultimatums, the masses remain passive.

This explains, on the one hand, the pseudo-successes of Stalinist policy in the Soviet Union (which so impress the philistines of all shades, from the reactionary English Fabians, Webbs & Co., over to the Romain Rollands, and down to the "London Bureau" of the SAP-ILP); and on the other hand, the catastrophic failures of the Comintern.

17. The adventuristic course of 1924-25 found its opportunistic supplement in bureaucratic combinations, directed entirely against the interests of the proletarian vanguard. The formation of a Peasants' International (Krestintern), the flirtation with the Croatian Peasants' Party of Radich, and with LaFollette in the United States (Federated Farmer-Labor Party), were examples of the endeavors by the Stalinist bureaucracy to use, on an international scale, the kulak tendencies as a counter-balance against the proletarian vanguard. The union with the Chinese Kuomintang, in which the class differences were ignored, the hopes pinned on the English trade union bureaucrats, all these props of the adventuristic course of 1924-25 became the most essential elements of the openly opportunistic course of 1925-27.

18. In the period from 1925 to 1927 the Chinese revolution had its gigantic outbreak. The initial events enabled the Chinese bourgeoisie and its party, the Kuomintang, to take the leadership. The Comintern declared its complete solidarity with the Kuomintang and its military leadership (Chiang Kai-shek). The Chinese Communist Party was forced to renounce an independent policy, and to join and to submit completely to the

Kuomintang. Thus, all lessons of the Second World Congress were disregarded. This entirely Menshevist policy was justified by quoting a formula from the days of the 1905 revolution: "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the poor peasants." For Lenin this formula was an elementary expression of the idea of a fighting alliance between the proletariat and the poor peasants against the aristocrats and liberal bourgeoisie. It was left to each concrete revolutionary situation to determine the concrete form which this *dictatorship* of the oppressed against the oppressors should assume. When, however, in the spring of 1917, opportunist tendencies within the Bolshevik party tried to hide behind this old Bolshevik formula, Lenin in his "Letters on Tactics" (April 1917) discarded it as having been rendered obsolete by living developments. However, in the hands of Stalinism, Lenin's slogan, which had been directed against the liberal bourgeoisie, served for the complete subjection of the proletariat to the liberal bourgeoisie.

Nevertheless, in spite of the opportunist policy of the Stalin bureaucracy, crawling on its belly before the military bureaucracy and lacking confidence in the revolutionary power of the proletariat, the Chinese proletarian masses and poor peasants turned to Communism, imbued with the desire to carry out in their country the "October Revolution," the partition of the land, the expropriation of the expropriators, the destruction of the bourgeois-militarist state machine and its substitution by Soviets.

The Kuomintang bourgeoisie, tied by finance capital to the landlords and the rich peasants, opposed with all its might the agrarian revolution. The Chinese Communists, thus tied by Stalinism to the Kuomintang, were hindered from placing themselves at the head of the agrarian revolution. The peasants remained without revolutionary leadership and the Chinese revolution was deprived of its strongest lever.

In spite of the submissive policy of Stalinism, the Chinese bourgeoisie did not refrain from settling accounts with the potential danger, created by the rising wave of Communism. The militarist leadership of the Kuomintang made a counter-revolutionary *coup d'état*; and, at a time when in Moscow Chiang Kai-shek was still hailed as the hero of the revolution, he ordered to be shot thousands of Chinese proletarians, who had been already deprived of power and arms by the Stalinist policy. After Chiang Kai-shek's "treason" (not against the class interests of the Chinese bourgeoisie, but against Stalinist illusions), the Stalinist bureaucracy supported the alliance with the "left" Kuomintang (Wang Ching-wei) and underwent with him the same bitter experiences as with Chiang Kai-shek. Only when the defeat was completed, did the bureaucracy appeal to the proletarian masses whose vast majority had just been crushed to the ground. The result was the Canton insurrection which—although bearing a putschist character and condemned to complete isolation and thus to defeat—again showed unmistakably in retrospect the class character of the Chinese revolution and the possibility and necessity of forming Soviets and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat, and thereby underlined the criminal folly of the whole Stalinist policy.

Opportunist Policies

19. In the other colonial and East-Asiatic countries (British India, Dutch East Indies, Indonesia, Japan, Korea, etc.), Stalinism supported during this period the building of "Peasants' and Workers' parties" (of the Kuomintang type) in direct contrast to Communist parties. This policy disorganized and demoralized completely the proletarian vanguard in those coun-

tries and—in conjunction with the catastrophic defeat of the Chinese revolution—is the main cause for the fact that in these countries no independent proletarian party has been formed to this day.

20. Parallel with the political alliance with the Kuomintang, a political alliance was made with the English trade union bureaucracy, the so-called "Anglo-Russian Committee" for the purpose of "preventing the war of intervention." Whereas the Leninist united front tactic has the aim of winning the masses to Communism, the Stalinist bureaucrats here did not come into contact with the English masses at all. The Anglo-Russian Committee confined itself to purely bureaucratic activities (conferences, banquets, and so on). The result was a strengthening of the authority of the reactionary trade union bureaucracy and the direct desertion by the Third International of the Minority Movement which at that time was developing favorably within the trade unions. This reactionary character of the Anglo-Russian Committee was exposed clearly during the English General Strike of 1926 which was miserably betrayed by the trade union leaders (covered by the authority of Moscow). The relations were broken off, not by the Russian, but the English bureaucracy at a moment most favorable for the latter.

21. In 1927, the fight of the bureaucracy against the proletarian vanguard in the Soviet Union came to its sharpest clash. Due to the catastrophic results of Stalinist policy, which confirmed in all points the criticism of the Left Opposition, (Trotskyists) the bureaucracy—in direct alliance with the kulaks and the other petty-bourgeois sections—took the sharpest measures against the Opposition, measures which were a denial of every principle of proletarian democracy. Expulsions from the party, ejections from office, imprisonment, exile, deportation, smuggling agents provocateurs into the ranks of the Opposition, counterfeit evidence, executions, cleared the road for the Bonapartist dictatorship of Stalin.

22. After having used the kulaks and the urban petty-bourgeois strata as a support in its fight against the Opposition, the bureaucracy itself was faced by the danger of becoming crushed by these strata. For reasons of self-preservation it was therefore now compelled to turn against the kulaks. On the international field, a continuation of the openly opportunist course had likewise become impossible owing to the attitude of the partners (termination of the relations by the British trade union bureaucracy, counter-revolutionary coup d'etat of Chiang Kai-shek and Wang Ching-wei). So far as the German and French Social Democracy was concerned, contradictions existed which were mainly due to national and foreign policy considerations. These were the causes which led to the turn from bureaucratic adaptation to Social Democratic, trade union and national-democratic (Kuomintang) bureaucracies, on the one hand, to bureaucratic ultimatism and adventurism, on the other hand. (See Thesis 16).

Sixth World Congress

23. The Sixth World Congress (1928) called after a lapse of four years, had an ambiguous, contradictory character. This Congress was held during the period of transition from the ultra-right to the ultra-left course and served the purpose of preparing for the expulsion of the Right Wing which had no desire to depart from the opportunist line adopted and applied from 1925 to 1927 (Bukharin, Rykov, Brandler, Thalheimer, Walcher, Froelich, Kilboom, Lovestone, etc.). The program adopted by the Sixth World Congress was based, from beginning to end, on eclecticism. It canonized the theory of socialism in one country, thus castrating the Comintern.

The program does not take as a premise the present day world situation of capitalism as an interlocked whole, from which must be deduced the necessity for the world revolution, but it examines in a pedantically reactionary manner the possibility of each country "realizing socialism," thus opening wide the door for future social-patriotic degeneration of the Comintern. For the colonies and semi-colonial countries—with certain limitations, even for such countries as Spain, Portugal, Poland, etc.—the program issues the slogan of "democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants," filling it with the same anti-Leninist content (fraternization of the classes) which had caused the collapse of the Chinese revolution. On the question of strategy and tactics, the program does not go beyond commonplaces. The real experiences gained by the October victory and the tremendous defeats of the proletariat in Germany, Hungary, China, etc., and the role and the importance of the revolutionary party and of its leadership, are not analyzed.

24. Throughout the subsequent period, the Stalinist bureaucracy operated mainly, but no means exclusively, by the other method at its disposal, i.e., that of issuing commands to the masses, issuing ultimatums, without any preparation. In the midst of the comparative social peace of the then still existing boom period of 1924-1929, a "revolutionary upheaval" was suddenly ordered uniformly on the international field (the so-called "Third Period"). The fatal policy of splitting the trade unions (propagation of the Red Trade Unions as independent organizations) was put in practice. Any pact with the Social Democracy, even one of merely temporary or practical-technical nature, was rejected. The theory of Social Fascism was promulgated ("Social Democracy and Fascism are not antipodes, they are twins"—said Stalin) and every difference between parliamentary democracy and fascist dictatorship was denied. Whereas the "ultra-left escapades"—as Lenin put it—which occurred in the first postwar years, were at any rate caused by honest revolutionary desire, the Stalinist bureaucrats betrayed in scoundrel's fashion the interests of the proletarian masses.

25. The severe economic crisis originating in America in 1929-1930 shook to the core the existing regime, first and foremost in Germany, suited to which was the characterization given by Lenin to the Russian capitalism of 1917 as being the "weakest link of the capitalist chain." The policy of the German Social Democratic Party, adapting itself to declining capitalism (under the slogan of the "lesser evil") and the bureaucratic degeneration of the German Communist Party hindered the strengthening of the working class movement in the crisis. The petty-bourgeoisie turned to demagogic fascism which preached civil war not against the oppressing bourgeoisie, but against the proletariat; and the aim of which is to continue and intensify capitalist exploitation through the suppression of all democratic liberties. But even the rise of this dangerous enemy of the proletariat could have been employed as a lever for the revolution, if only the Communist Party of Germany had understood how to set in motion against it all proletarian forces. But the Stalinist bureaucracy did not even recognize the danger, to say nothing of being able to fight it. The absolutely insane estimation of the Social Democracy as "Social Fascism" led to rapprochement with real fascism (program of national and social liberation, support of the fascist referendum against the Social Democratic government of Prussia in 1931, etc.). This program of adapting oneself to nationalist agitation, and the bureaucratic-cowardly evasion of a military struggle against the fascist opponent found its support in Soviet foreign policy which was solely governed by day-to-day considerations. This foreign policy saw its task in keeping alive German-French antagonism, in

order thus to exclude an intervention from the west. Basically, Soviet foreign policy is, of course, absolutely justified in exploiting for its own ends the differences between imperialist powers. But it is an unheard-of-crime to sacrifice the interests of the proletarian revolution to day-to-day considerations of foreign policy.

The criminal, blind policy of the German Communist Party (for which the whole Comintern bears complete responsibility) led to the shameful defeat without a battle of the German proletariat. The miserable collapse of the German Communist Party (which was confirmed anew by the melancholy result of the Saar Plebiscite of January 1935) brought the final proof that the Comintern had become transformed from a subjective factor of the world revolution into an objective obstacle to the world revolution. From this fact derived the absolute necessity of building the Fourth International.

Unprincipled Combinations

26. The policy of bureaucratic ultimatism found its complement in unprincipled combinations with bankrupt bourgeois politicians, pacifists and novelists (Lord Marley, Barbusse, Romain Rolland, Heinrich Mann, etc.) as well as in the "Peace Congresses" organized by the Stalinists, the League Against Imperialism, the Friends of the Soviet Union, etc., a policy which is the exact opposite of the Leninist united front tactic for winning the proletarian masses and a policy which reflects the bureaucratic admiration of "people in high positions," and the bureaucratic scorn of the revolutionary forces of the masses.

27. In 1934, a new turn of the Comintern policy was imposed by the domestic-political situation of the Soviet Union as well as the foreign political situation, altered by the victory of fascism in Germany. Whereas the Leninist united front tactic in relation to Social Democracy had been previously regarded as "counter-revolutionary," now every opportunity presenting itself anywhere was used to make an alliance not only with Social Democracy, but also with its masters, the liberal bourgeoisie, and this treacherous capitulation to bourgeois democracy received the pompous name of "People's Front."

28. Stalin's declaration to the French Premier Laval (May 1935) that "he understood and approved completely the policy of national defense of France" signalizes the Comintern's desertion to the camp of imperialism. Soviet diplomacy, which in the meantime had joined the League of Nations, advocates "collective security" (i.e., the security of the imperialist robbers to continue to rob without hindrance), international arbitration, and the like. Thereby, the Comintern makes itself the prop for the oldest and most worn-out illusions with which imperialism deceives the masses and prepares them for the mass slaughter, and this at a moment when Italy's brutal assault on Abyssinia demonstrates clearly the whole emptiness and shallowness of the lying phrases of collective security.

29. The Seventh World Congress, assembling at last in the autumn of 1935, signifies the break with the last remnants of Comintern traditions, "People's Front" and "National Defense," social betrayal and social chauvinism are all that this Congress—a hollow theatrical performance of bureaucratic marionettes—had to offer to the world working class.

30. The Stalinist demand in all countries, in exchange for their willingness to defend the "Fatherland," only one price, i.e., that the foreign policy of the respective country should not be directed against the Soviet Union. The Franco-Soviet military agreement alone sufficed in order to transform the French Stalinists into the worst type of chauvinists, preaching national

fraternization of all classes and of all political and religious denominations. The British Stalinists have no other aim but to get the British bourgeoisie to become a signatory to the Franco-Soviet agreement. Today, the American Comintern section already endorses a war of the United States against Japan "for the defense of the Soviet Union." Although a war of the USA against Japan—given a correct policy on the part of the proletarian party—would offer tremendous possibilities for the proletarian world revolution, the American Stalinists are already preaching the renunciation of the revolutionary class struggle and the support of the American bourgeoisie, the mightiest and most dangerous imperialist bourgeoisie of the world. In China, the Stalinists are prepared to deliver the Chinese proletariat and poor peasants again into the hands of the counter-revolutionary Chiang Kai-shek, if the latter only declares himself willing to turn his bayonets against Japan.

In the small European countries, the Stalinists already declare themselves defenders of "national independence." They forget completely that these countries are links in the imperialist chain, and that they, too, carry on war with imperialist aims. So far as Czechoslovakia is concerned, a nation which is particularly dear to the hearts of the Stalinists, this is not a national state at all, but only a conglomeration of nationalities, held together by French imperialism. Poland, Rumania, Belgium, etc. are themselves oppressors of national minorities. Holland, Belgium, Portugal, and others have colonies of their own which they exploit with a brutality second to none of the great imperialist powers. The Austrian Stalinists declare that they are prepared to defend the "independence of Austria"—of this artificial creation, incapable of independent existence—if only the Austrian bourgeoisie (and Franco-English capital) will allow the Stalinists a certain amount of legality for their patriotic loyal propaganda. The German Stalinists in emigration have become inverted social-patriots, transforming themselves from nationalist champions against the Versailles Peace Treaty to defenders of the *status quo* created by this very same treaty. It follows from the present position of the German Stalinists that they will transform themselves into real social-patriots as soon as the fascist dictatorship in Germany is replaced by another type of bourgeois regime.

As against this enormous betrayal of the interests of the proletariat, the organizations of the Fourth International adhere to the internationalist slogan of turning the imperialist war into a civil war; not the defense of the reactionary national frontiers, which decades ago became a brake on any kind of progressive development, but their abandonment; the creation of the United Soviet Republics of Europe and of the whole world is our aim.

Opportunist Internationals

31. Due to the social-patriotic transformation of Stalinism, all the differences between the Third International and the Second International, which owes its artificially prolonged existence only to the degeneration of the Comintern, have disappeared for all practical purposes. Thus, it is only logical that the problem of "organic unity"—the amalgamation of the Second and Third Internationals—is increasingly coming to the forefront. In those countries where reformism still has the monopoly power over the working-class movement (Britain, Scandinavia) the parties of the Second International oppose organic unity. In Belgium, the recent successes of the Stalinists and the failure of the Labour Party may probably have caused the latter to become more sympathetic to the idea of amalgamation. In France, however, the Communist Party,

which is now growing at the expense of the Social Democracy, is delaying the matter. Nowhere, however, is there any principled, irreconcilable antagonism. What matters are only purely bureaucratic bargaining methods. But no matter whether "organic unity" is realized or not, the advanced worker must have no doubt that Stalinism and Social Democracy are "not antipodes, but twins." They both are the yellow agencies of rotting capitalism.

32. At present, the Comintern is experiencing a certain growth which is not to be underestimated, but as a social-treacherous and social-chauvinist, not as a revolutionary party. Faced with tremendous political tension, already signalling everywhere the approach of the new world war, the masses rush to the left and find there the only door known to them, that of the Comintern. Thus, at the last elections the French Communist Party was able to more than double its votes (its number of deputies increased sevenfold). Above all, the proletarian districts—Paris and suburbs—voted Communist. Also, the Belgian Communist Party, always very weak, was able to register in this year's elections a success which is not unimportant (more than 100 per cent increase in votes, as against 1932, and a three-fold increase in mandates). Certain successes may be registered by Stalinism also in Spain, in Switzerland, and partly also in Czechoslovakia. A growth of other sections (England, Holland, Scandinavia, America, etc.) is, if not certain, by no means improbable. But while the masses hope that the Third International will save them from the danger of a war, the Comintern is preparing itself to become the main political instrument in the coming imperialist war. Thus, the Comintern takes the place of the worn-out Second International in the service of bourgeois democracy and imperialism, but it carries within it tremendous contradictions.

33. These recent successes of the Comintern are confusing above all the petty-bourgeois philistines who have united themselves in the "International Bureau of Revolutionary Socialist Unity" (London Bureau), i.e., the SAP of Germany, the English ILP, the Socialist Party of Sweden, the Party of Marxist Unity in Spain (Nin-Maurin), etc. Under the impact of the catastrophic defeat of the German working class movement some of the centrist parties were turning in the direction of the Fourth International. But the Stalinist turn of the autumn of 1934 pulled along with it into the swamp of People's Front policy the hesitating Walchers, Maurins, Nins, etc., and the complete absorption of the London Bureau by Stalinism is now merely a question of time.

Mass Radicalization

34. A convincing example of the contradictions connected with the present growth of the Communist parties is the tremendous strike movement and factory occupations during the last weeks in France (embracing about two million manual and clerical workers), which started to the utter surprise of the French Communist Party. But whilst this fresh mass movement is commencing on the road of revolution, it finds everywhere obstacles put in its path by the fossilized apparatus of the Comintern. For instance, instead of placing itself at the head of the strike movement and putting forward revolutionary demands, the French Communist Party worked from the very beginning with the government and the employers, in order to find a means of bringing the strike to an end. It may, therefore, be predicted with certainty: either the fresh movement of the proletarian masses in France will sweep aside the bureaucratic apparatus of the Stalinist traitors and create a new leadership—

then the proletarian revolution will be victorious—or the treacherous bureaucrats will become masters of the situation—then fascism will triumph.

35. The contradiction between the militant masses who are pushing to the left and the new treacherous part played by the Communist parties offers to the organizations of the Fourth International great tasks and possibilities. Some of these organizations have, in the immediate past, joined the Socialist parties and have won over the best elements there to revolutionary Marxism. In countries with tremendously accelerated inner-political developments (France, Belgium), this proved to be a short stage. In other countries (Poland, England) this experience is not yet completed. In others again (America) they are still at the beginning. But no matter whether the sections of the Fourth International are working independently or within the Socialist parties, they must direct their attention to the fact that at present the Third International is attracting the workers from the Second International. Therefore, the most essential struggle against social-imperialism—Socialism or Communism in words, and imperialism in practice—is the struggle against the Comintern, against the Stalinist bureaucracy. The most important task is to make clear to the workers the present day character of the Comintern as an agency of imperialism, to make it clear to them that a change-over from the Second to the Third International means jumping from the pan into the fire.

36. The roads and methods of this work will be manifold and various, dependent on the whole development and the peculiarities of each country. It is of decisive importance to utilize every possibility to force the reactionary Stalinist bureaucracy into open antagonism to its social supporters, the revolutionary working class. It is important everywhere to watch developments with open eyes, to collect material, to follow carefully all contradictory tendencies, in order to be able to act opportunely and effectively.

37. Of the theory and practice of the First Four World Congresses there is not a breath left in the existing Comintern. But the strategical and tactical teachings of the Comintern of Lenin and Trotsky, the Leninist re-affirmation of theoretical Marxism, are not forgotten. These teachings and experiences have been defended ever since 1923 by the Bolshevick-Leninist Opposition against bureaucratic degeneration. They are the foundation of the political and the theoretical work of the Opposition, which from the start has fought against the theory of socialism in one country as the source of social-patriotic degeneration. The Leninist strategical teachings and experiences, applied to the new events and phenomena, and the pitiless criticism of Stalinist mistakes and crimes during 1923 to 1936 have been used by the Opposition to educate new Bolshevick cadres throughout the world. Without a thorough study of the programmatic documents and writings of the Bolshevick-Leninist Opposition during this period, no proletarian revolutionary—who wants to deserve the name—can qualify for a leading part in the ranks of the proletarian vanguard.

38. By taking as the sole guiding line for its policy the strategical aim of the proletarian world revolution, adopted by the Third International of Lenin and Trotsky, but betrayed by the Stalinist bureaucracy, the Fourth International arms itself with the teachings and experience of almost a century of revolutionary struggles between proletariat and bourgeoisie, and re-affirms thereby the ideas and the life work of the great pioneers of the proletariat, Marx, Engels, Liebknecht, Luxemburg and Lenin.

Was the German Working Class Responsible for Nazism?

By FELIX MORROW

When Mussolini declared war, with the support of the House of Savoy and the leading capitalists, Churchill nevertheless insisted that "one man, only one man" was responsible. Churchill was aiming to effect a split in the ruling summits of Italy, and thus began to whitewash Badoglio and the King. But when the Italian proletariat showed its hatred not only for fascism but for its royal and capitalist accomplices, and Churchill imposed an oppressive armistice, not the least of its functions being to save the House of Savoy from the wrath of the masses, then Churchill's line became that the whole Italian people was sufficiently responsible for the war to justify making them "work their passage home." Vain would be any attempt to find logical consistency between Churchill's first and second positions on Italian responsibility; the real consistency is not in the realm of logic but in the shifting needs of imperialist policy.

Similar shifts are seen in the attitude of the victorious imperialists toward responsibility for Nazism. There was the period when "democrats" praised whoever was responsible for it. As late as November 11, 1938, Churchill declared in a speech: "I have always said that if Great Britain were defeated in war I hoped we should find a Hitler to lead us back to our rightful position among the nations." Then came the war, and new propaganda aims: to indict Nazism, to encourage internal opposition to it and to assure the people in the "United Nations" camp that there was such opposition. The British government published in 1939 "Papers Concerning the Treatment of German Nationals in Germany." This consisted of confidential reports of previous years from British consulates, indicating the enormous extent of the use of concentration camps, to crush widespread anti-Nazism, the fact that the German masses were opposed to the Nazi pogroms, etc. But as the war drew to a victorious conclusion, the imperialists erected, as the logical cornerstone for the dismemberment and oppression of Germany, the idea that the German people as a whole were responsible for Nazism. Hence new horror tales about the concentration camps—but silence this time about the fact that they had been created and had functioned for most of their existence exclusively against German nationals, who still constituted a major part of their population on VE-Day.

There is nothing new in the fact that this imperialist lie is also sponsored by "socialists." In 1918 likewise the French and English social-chauvinists (the word was coined by Lenin to designate those who talked socialism but practiced chauvinism) supported the Versailles Treaty, its "war guilt" clause and the burden of reparations imposed on the German people.

What Is New

What is new, however, is that in 1918 there was the great mass movement inspired by the October Revolution which branded the social-chauvinists as traitors to the working class, whereas today the Communist parties follow the line of the social-chauvinists. Unlike 1918 there is as yet today no revolutionary mass movement which solidarizes itself with the German

proletariat. The Fourth International carries on the internationalist tradition, but it is still today struggling against the stream.

Another difference between now and 1918 is the fact that this time the German proletariat did not rise in revolt. In a later article I propose to analyze why there was no revolution against Hitler, during the war due above all to the role of Stalinism inside and outside Germany. We must recognize, however, that the absence of revolution has been a heavy blow to the idea of international proletarian solidarity. The revolution of 1918 showed irrefutably the abyss between the ruling class and the proletariat and thereby gave a death blow to the propaganda which blamed the German people for the war. The Russian and German archives opened by the revolutions made it relatively easy to show that all the imperialists were equally guilty of moving toward war. This time we do not yet have such weapons in our hands.

Another factor today, which has no logical weight but tremendous emotional weight, is the scope of the atrocities committed by the Hitler regime against the peoples of the occupied countries. Whereas in World War I much of the atrocity stories were later disproved, this time evidence is overwhelming that atrocities were committed on a scale unsurpassed in modern history. What the atrocities really prove is the deepening degeneration of world capitalism, of which German capitalism was only the most desperate sector during World War II. Unfortunately, however, this character of the atrocities is as yet understood only by the proletarian vanguard. The main effect of the atrocities for the present has been to exacerbate chauvinist hostility against the German people, far more so than in 1918. The reason is all too understandable: if in World War I German authorities killed, say 1,000 Belgian civilians, and this time they killed 200,000 the emotional tendency among the Belgian masses not to distinguish between the German rulers who gave the orders and the conscripted soldiers who had to carry them out tends to be much greater now than in 1918. This emotional reaction, however illogical it is, is a major political fact today which it is impossible to ignore.

Such, then, is the situation which we must combat. The victorious imperialists, their labor lieutenants and the Stalinists are joined in an apparently universal outcry condemning the German people as responsible for Nazism. Their propaganda is aided by three major factors: the absence of a revolutionary mass movement calling for proletarian international solidarity; the absence of a revolution in Germany; the emotional reaction to the unprecedented scope of the Nazi atrocities.

The difficulty in answering those who blame the German proletariat is not because their arguments are powerful but because those who are behind them are powerful. Their arguments are absurd, their falsity can be demonstrated conclusively. But the Big Three and their labor lieutenants have succeeded in closing many minds to the truth.

If this were a static situation, we would be voices crying in the wilderness. But events will come to our aid, both developments among the Big Three and in the European proletariat.

Rivalries among the imperialist victors after 1918 soon broke down their common front against Germany and with it their "war guilt" propaganda. Likewise the tensions among the Big Three will lead to a cessation of their common front and propaganda against the German people. Already events are demonstrating to thinking workers the falsity of the ostensible reasons for the dismemberment and occupation of Germany. Instead of ending the cause of war in Europe, the zones of occupation are being incorporated into the war-making forces of the contending powers. This is the root meaning of the Big Three differences in Germany.*

Events will open the minds of the workers. They will listen then to the truth about the German proletariat. And the true history of the German proletariat will give them invaluable lessons in revolutionary strategy, for it is one of the richest chapters in revolutionary history.

Our Principal Task

Our principal task in this field is to combat the Stalinist lies. Since 1942 the Stalinists have falsified literally every phase of the history of the German proletariat.**

In the present article, however, I want to examine, not the Stalinist or Social Democratic lies, nor those of their camp-followers, but the concept of German responsibility enunciated by an upright moralist, the editor of *Politics*, Dwight Macdonald. He is at some pains to declare himself opposed to punishment of the German people by outside powers, yet blames the German people. It is not our fault if, in answering this man who considers himself the polar opposite of Stalinism, we shall also be answering the Stalinist lies. Macdonald writes:

. . . But the German people have a political responsibility for Nazism, both in that they permitted Hitler to come to power, and in that they endured his rule without revolt. For to absolve the German people of this kind of responsibility is to regard them simply as victims, dupes, or slaves, with a slavish irresponsibility. But if one believes, as I do, that the masses are not the inanimate raw material which Fuehrers and demagogues mould at will, that they are capable of initiative and have in fact intervened on the stage of history with decisive results at certain moments, then they must also be held responsible for not intervening. If, for example, one applauds the Spanish people for their heroic fight against fascism in 1936-38, then one must also condemn the German people for tamely submitting to fascism in 1933-34. This kind of responsibility cannot be enforced by outside powers, cannot be called to account by outside powers and is not a matter of crime and punishment. It means that the Germans should not regard themselves simply as slaves and victims but should accept political responsibility for Nazism as the first prerequisite to accepting the responsibility for themselves creating an alternative society to Nazism. (*Politics*, May 1945, pp. 156-7.)

In this article I shall limit myself to Macdonald's charge that the German people have a political responsibility for Nazism "in that they permitted Hitler to come to power," "tamely submitting to fascism in 1933-34." In a later article I propose to deal with the charge that the German people are also responsible for Hitler because "they endured his rule without revolt."

To blame themselves provides the German people with no

*See "Big Three Differences in Germany," by Felix Morrow, June 1945 *Fourth International*.

**The March 1942 issue of *World Survey* (successor to the *Communist International*) was devoted to laying out the line on German working-class history which has since been followed. For a digest and criticism of that compendium, see "Stalin Blames the German Proletariat," by Felix Morrow, June 1942 *Fourth International*.

clue to what they must now do. To "create an alternative society to Nazism" they must, obviously, begin by establishing anti-Nazi political parties. For nobody has yet invented another method of acting in politics than political parties. Suppose, however, that the parties and their leaders, after faithfully promising the masses to do their will, do not do so; or the parties and leaders entrusted by the masses to fight reaction instead, by false policies, pave the way for another reign of reaction. Suppose, in addition, that from time to time the masses, seeing the inadequacy of the parties to which they have given their allegiance, turn to other more promising parties which, however, in the end turn out to be no better. As a result of these factors, reaction again triumphs after 15 years of such vain attempts by the masses to ward off reaction. Will Macdonald again blame the masses for having "permitted reaction to come to power?" He would be absurd if he did so. Yet the actual history of the German masses from 1918 to 1933 is just such a record of the masses wanting to overthrow capitalism and fight reaction, and of the political parties breaking their promises to the masses and paving the way for fascism by their false policies.

Role of the Parties

To say that the German people were responsible for Nazism is intelligible only if one points to a real alternative which they refused to accept. Responsibility is non-existent unless choice exists. In the last free election in Germany, in November 1932, the overwhelming majority of the proletariat—13 millions—gave their allegiance to the Socialist and Communist parties; if one adds the Catholic Center and other avowedly anti-Nazi parties, then a majority of the German people voted against Nazism. Even if the masses had not spoken so clearly, one would have had no right to blame them; for it would not have been their fault or at all surprising if, after 14 years in which the parties had done nothing to solve their problems, they had voted in larger numbers than they did for Hitler's party which seemed to promise decisive action. The masses gave their parties a mandate to fight against Nazism, which the parties did not do.

Shall one blame the masses because of the failure of their parties? This is the implication of Macdonald's position. Since the masses "are capable of initiative and have in fact intervened on the stage of history with decisive results at certain moments," he says, "then they must also be held responsible for not intervening." He cites the example of the Spanish fight against fascism, but obviously that did not lead to "decisive results," since the Spanish proletariat lost. There is but one example in modern history of the masses intervening with really decisive results: the October Revolution. Why that time with decisive results? Because they were under the leadership of a revolutionary party. Shall one, then, blame the German masses because in 1933 they did not have a mass revolutionary party? But if so, then one must blame the Spanish masses for the same lack, and Macdonald's contrast between Germany and Spain becomes meaningless.

He blames the German masses for not having made such a rising against Hitler as that of the Spanish proletariat. If "one applauds the Spanish people . . . then one must also condemn the German people for tamely submitting to fascism in 1933-34." Moralistic Macdonald sits in judgment on single events in the history of a proletariat, without relating them to other events without which they are incomprehensible. The Spanish proletariat endured King Alfonso until 1931, whereas the German proletariat overthrew the Kaiser in 1918. By Macdonald's method one should condemn the Spanish proletariat for enduring Alfonso so long and praise the German proletariat for its ac-

tion in 1918. And so on. History would thus become a moralist's account of events which he alternately praises and blames, and none of which he understands or can make comprehensible.

To speak as does Macdonald of the masses without even mentioning the parties which lead them is to make impossible any understanding of events. Even his Spanish example is not to be understood without knowing the history of the Spanish workers' parties. It is true that the Spanish proletariat demonstrated a great deal of spontaneity in initiating the fight against Franco, seizing arms, attacking fascist-led garrisons, etc. Even this spontaneity is to be comprehended only as the result of the discontent of the workers with the policy of their own party leaders in the Popular Front government which was giving the fascists a free hand to prepare civil war; because the workers were suspicious of their "own" government, they were ready to act on their own against the fascists.

Scope of Spontaneity

Upon closer analysis, however, the scope of what could be strictly called spontaneity in the opening of the fight against Franco proves quite limited. The principal party, the Socialists, had moved to the left since 1933 under the impact of the German events; its ranks and even its leadership were determined not to make the same mistake as their sister party in Germany, but to resist with arms; from their own mistakes in the insurrection of October 1934 against Gil Robles, which was aborted by arrests of top leaders who alone knew where arms were cached and what the plan of attack was, they had learned the need for decentralizing arms caches, giving lower party and trade union officials initiative to act, etc.; the party and the unions had been alerted for weeks expecting the fascist putsch and had been assured by the leaders that the armed fight would be made. The second-largest proletarian organization, the anarchist-led CNT, had refused to participate in the October 1934 insurrection for sectarian reasons, had been condemned by most of its own members for that failure, and both leadership and members were ready to act differently in July 1936. Furthermore Franco's rising came at a moment when the workers felt self-confident and vigorous; they had recovered from the disappointment of the defeat of the October 1934 insurrection, they had in January 1936 ousted the reactionary government, had since been engaged in a great wave of successful strikes, etc. The situation of the workers found its distorted but nevertheless significant reflection in the fact that a Popular Front government was in office against which Franco had to make a putsch, in contrast to Hitler's legal entry into office by appointment of Hindenburg; it is manifestly easier to begin an armed struggle against a putsch than against a legal regime. Thus Macdonald's own example of Spain in 1936 turns out to be understandable only in terms of the fact that Franco's rising came at the beginning of a new cycle of workers' militancy and the effect of that stage of the cycle on the political parties.

On the historic scale, the German proletariat was no less capable of struggle than the Spanish masses. The difference is to be understood by the fact that Hitler entered the Chancellery when the German proletariat had been exhausted by a 15-year struggle for socialism which failed due to the false policies of the workers' parties. Nor was the difference between the policies in Spain and in Germany fundamental: Macdonald's praise of the Spanish proletariat and condemnation of the German does not help one to understand the essential identity of false policies of the workers' parties in both countries which led in Spain, too, to defeat.

The story of the 15-year struggle in Germany, from 1918 to

1933, provides not the slightest justification for placing the political responsibility for Nazism on the proletariat. It is not a story which gives Macdonald any warrant for speaking of the proletariat as if it were identical with its parties. It is not, as the Stalinists pretend, a story of the German proletariat following the Social Democracy from 1918 until its capitulation to Hitler.

On the contrary, where the proletariat had a choice between following the party which had misled it or turning to a more revolutionary party, the proletariat did the latter at the crucial turning points. It was not the fault of the proletariat that the new party it turned to failed to do what it had been given a mandate to do. And at other stages, where the proletariat remained in the parties, it did so because there was no other perceivable alternative, and because it believed that the parties were going to fight capitalism and fascism. The history of 1918-1933 is thus an intricate process of the class struggling against its dominant party, entering new ones, making the young Communist Party its dominant party (1923) only to have it fail to take the revolutionary opportunity, returning in disappointment to the old party during capitalist stabilization (1924-1928), turning again toward the Communist Party in the world crisis but paralyzed by the insanely false policy of that party, still expecting it nevertheless to lead the armed struggle against the Nazis and too late being betrayed in its expectation. What has this, the real process of history, to do with Macdonald's charge that the German proletariat "permitted Hitler to come to power"?

Crucial Turning-Points

In order to show the absurdity of Macdonald's refusal to make a distinction between the parties and the class, let us touch very briefly on some of the crucial turning-points of the events of 1918-1933.*

In November 1918 the class made a revolution against a government supported and participated in by the dominant party of the class. The class overthrew the Kaiser and, inspired by the example of the October Revolution, established a network of Workers' and Soldiers' Councils (Soviets) throughout Germany. All this against the will of the Social Democratic leadership. But without a revolutionary party to carry out its aims, the class could not complete what it had begun. It was cheated of its achievements by the Social Democracy. Had the Social Democratic leadership openly pursued its counter-revolutionary policy, it could never have succeeded. But Ebert's agreement with the German General Staff for a common policy, and the secret November 1-15, 1918 conference between the trade union leaders and German industrialists who likewise reached a common policy—these things were not known to the class. In order to betray the revolution, the Social Democracy pretended to represent it. The government it set up called itself the Council of People's Commissars (like that of Lenin and Trotsky) and its initial proclamation declared: "The government emerging out of the Revolution, whose political leader-

*For more comprehensive information on these events the new reader is referred to: Trotsky's "Lessons of October," "Germany, the Key to the International Situation," "What Next," "The Only Road." C. L. R. James' "World Revolution, the Rise and Fall of the Communist International." Walter Held's "Why the German Revolution Failed," in the December 1942 and January 1943 *Fourth International*, and an answer to it, "The German Revolution in the Leninist Period," in the March 1943 *Fourth International*. Also Comrade Held's articles, "The German Left and Bolshevism" in the February 1939 and "Once Again—Lenin and Luxemburg" in the June 1940 *Fourth International*.

ship is exclusively Socialist, sets itself the task of realizing the Socialist program."

It was the most monstrous betrayal in history, forerunner of the Stalinist betrayals of the same character. By Macdonald's method, one would have to blame the German proletariat for permitting itself to be deceived. But both the treachery of the Social Democracy and the success of its deception had profound social causes. The Social Democracy had led the proletariat for nearly fifty years. Gigantic historical forces—the continued successes of capitalist economy from 1870 to 1914, the consequent rise of an aristocracy of skilled labor and party and trade union functionaries which controlled the party, the rise of an openly reformist wing in it and a centrist wing which conducted a battle against the reformists while practicing the same kind of politics ending in open or masked support of the war—had transformed the party, without the masses being aware of it, into an agency for the support of capitalism.

But this situation was not static. In August 1914, with virtually unanimous support of the war by the party leadership, the masses followed so that party and class seemed identical. In the course of the war, however, the gap between class and party speedily developed. Under pressure of the masses, the dispute over support of the war led to a split in the party in 1917 and the formation of the Independent Social Democratic Party. Hundreds of thousands of workers began to pour into the new party. The class was in process of finding a new vehicle for its tasks.

The leadership of the new party, however, was a heterogeneous combination which in the crucial days of November 1918 facilitated the treachery of the Social Democracy. It accepted the bait of three out of the six seats in the Council of People's Commissars. Little more than a month later it left the government, but its support of it during those decisive weeks played a major role in saving capitalism. After leaving, it remained a mere opposition without a revolutionary perspective.

The centrist vacillation of the Independents was supplemented by the ultra-left impatience of the genuine revolutionary group, the Spartacists. Among its leaders were Liebknecht, Luxemburg, Mehring and Jogisches, but majority control at its December 1918 conference was in the hands of ultra-leftists who decided to boycott the Social-Democratic-controlled Workers' and Soldiers' Councils and not to participate in the elections for the Constituent Assembly called for January 19, 1919. Tardily organized after the 1917 split in the Social Democracy and hardly established as a party, not to speak of a mass party, the Spartacist leadership made the fatal error, on the eve of the elections, of trying to transform a Berlin mass protest against the removal of the left-Socialist police head into an armed insurrection. The protest had been supported by the Independent Social Democrats and the powerful Berlin shop stewards' movement, but the insurrection was limited to the Spartacists. It was carried out against the advice of Luxemburg and Jogisches, and they and Liebknecht were murdered by army officers who arrested them after its defeat. Thus at its very inception the revolutionary movement was decapitated.

The Problem of Cadres

Ensuing events demonstrated that a revolutionary leadership is the product of a long process of interaction with the masses. The Spartacists became the Communist Party but the ability of its cadres matured far too slowly in the crucible of the revolution. The lessons of the ultra-left errors of January 1919 were not absorbed quickly. In the monarchist Kapp putsch of March 1920, the Communist Party began by declaring the struggle between the monarchists and the republic of no con-

cern to the workers; in a few days the party corrected itself, but by then the workers, whose instincts were more correct than the party's ultra-left strategy, had defeated the putsch by a general strike.

The masses increasingly turned against the Social Democracy. One of the important stages in this process was the aftermath of the Kapp putsch, when the workers in the Ruhr continued the general strike which defeated the putsch, waiting to see if the Social Democratic government would at last take decisive measures to democratise the army part of which had made the putsch. The government, however, sent the same General Von Watter, who had immediately recognized the Kapp government, against the strikers, and he boasted: "Troops are advancing along the entire line, killing hundreds of Spartacists." Two months later, in the general elections of June 6, 1920 the workers showed their feelings when the Social Democrats lost almost half their votes to the Independent Social Democrats.

In the mass party of the Independents, in turn, the workers turned increasingly to the star of the October Revolution. At its October 1920 Congress the overwhelming majority of the party decided to unite with the Communist Party, the minority splitting away and soon returning to the Social Democracy.

The united Communist Party, now numbering hundreds of thousands, rushed into action but, under pressure of its impatient ultra-leftists, with poor strategy. In March 1921 a struggle took place between the police and the miners of Central Germany. Operating on an ultra-left "theory of the offensive"—to "electrify" the workers by throwing them into action—the party tried to precipitate a nation-wide general strike in support of the miners. Many hundreds of thousands of workers responded but the precipitate action was not understood by the rest; hundreds of workers were killed, thousands arrested, the party illegalized for a while, and the confidence of the masses in the party's ability to lead successfully was badly shaken.

Leadership Wavers

Yet there is well-nigh universal agreement that by the summer of 1923 the party had behind it the majority of the German proletariat. The January 1923 occupation of the Ruhr by the French, followed by the robbery of the masses by the runaway inflation of the currency, had brought about a revolutionary situation, indeed the most favorable opportunity for a revolution that perhaps ever existed in any European country. The Social Democrats had left the government which was now purely bourgeois. The elections for factory councils, the few local elections, the growth of the party—to 500,000 members—everything showed the turn of the proletariat to the party. Ruined by inflation, the petty bourgeoisie of town and country had no stake in defending the existing regime; as in Russia in November 1917 it was ready to accept a revolutionary overturn. Every summons to the masses—strikes, demonstrations, meetings—brought tremendous response. Workers' militias were developing everywhere.

But the party leadership wavered and took no steps to organize the insurrection which the whole class awaited. It preoccupied itself with secondary and contradictory tasks—such as entering coalition governments with the Social Democrats in Saxony and Thuringia provinces—and let the crucial weeks slip by. The Communist leadership was unsure of itself and got no help from the Comintern. Stalin, Zinoviev and Kamenev were coming into control in Russia; in a letter in August from

Stalin to Zinoviev and Bukharin, he said "The Germans should be curbed, not spurred on." But in those days there was still no question of the totalitarian control which came in after years. Had the German leadership been determined on the insurrection, it could not have been stopped. But neither was it helped; Trotsky in September warned of the German party's "fatalism and sleepy-headedness" but was alone in the Russian Central Committee. (Lenin was dying.) In Germany couriers were held ready to carry the orders for insurrection of the Central Committee, at least once were given orders, recalled, kept ready . . . and the opportunity slipped by.

The workers had turned from the Second International to the Third International, only to have their hopes blasted. Would a Macdonald argue that the workers should have made the revolution themselves without the party? But they had learned from November 1918 that a revolution could not achieve its aims without the leadership of a party. They had poured out much blood; 15,000 workers had been killed by Noske's bloodhounds in the first nine months of 1919; hundreds more in the aftermath of the Kapp putsch and in the March action. After bloodletting and defeats, the workers wanted the assurance that this time the party would act decisively and go through to the end. Instead the leadership wavered, communicated its indecision to the party and through it to the class.

One cannot exaggerate the consequences of the lost opportunity of 1923. The workers had recovered relatively quickly from the defeat of their socialist aspirations in the November 1918 revolution; they had had the satisfaction and experience of struggle. In 1923 they got nothing to soften the blow to their trust in the party and their own self-confidence. A whole generation lost its faith in the revolution. With stabilization of the mark in October 1923, came a period of capitalist stability with the help of US loans. The workers began to turn back to reformism. The Social Democracy polled six million votes, the Communists 3,600,000 in the May 1924 elections. But that was but the beginning of the ebb. In the May 1928 elections the Social Democracy polled over nine million, the Communists three million.

Then came the world economic crisis in 1929. Again there was a turn of the workers, indicated by the November 1932 vote: Social Democracy seven million, Communists six million. But this time the turn was only partial, not as in 1923. It was not that the workers retained faith in the Social Democracy, but that they did not trust the Communist Party. They had seen its progressive Stalinization since 1923, with one leadership after another purged, the expulsion of the right and left oppositions, hooliganism employed against dissidents. Then came the theory of "social fascism," which branded the Social Democracy as a wing of fascism and forbade united fronts with it. Thus the Communist Party both repelled Social Democratic workers from joining it and would not unite the workers' parties for common struggle against the rising Nazi power.

The speedy growth of the Nazi party came at the expense of the bourgeois parties, whereas the workers' parties taken together maintained their following to the end. But the Nazi strength meant something new. In 1918-1923 millions of petty bourgeois elements of town and country who voted for the Catholic Center or other bourgeois-democratic parties nevertheless were not hostile to the socialist proletariat. The same petty bourgeois who voted for the Catholic Center in 1922 was ready to welcome the proletarian revolution in the summer of 1923. Now, however, his nerves frayed by the long, indecisive struggle, deceived in his expectations by the workers' parties and turning away from them, he gave himself to a

movement hostile to the death to the workers' parties. Macdonald, who insists on speaking throughout only of the German "people" and not of classes, refuses to understand the class character of the Nazi phenomenon and ends by condemning the "people" as a whole.

Why, in the face of the false policies of the Social Democracy and the Communist Party, didn't the workers form a new party? The answer is that the workers are not all-powerful: they know what years of effort it takes to form a new party. The best revolutionary elements still remained in the Communist Party, disturbed at its course but hoping and trying to change it. So long as the flower of the proletariat remained there, no new party could arise. More than one attempt was made, such as the SAP (Socialist Labor Party) but remained small. No one could arbitrarily say in advance that the Communist Party could not be reformed to the extent of forcing its leadership to unite with the Social Democracy for common defense against the Nazi attacks. To the extent that the Left Opposition, the Trotskyists, did get a hearing among growing numbers of workers, it was because it still held itself to be a faction, though expelled, of the Communist Party, and proposed to the Communist workers the measures necessary to reform the Communist Party. As the world crisis deepened, the prestige of the Soviet Union and its five-year plans grew enormously; the contrast between full employment in the USSR and the 75 percent shutdown of German industry in mid-1932 endowed the Communist Party with great authority despite its policies.

The Crisis of 1932-33

At the end of 1932 the party had 600,000 members and at least six million followers—that was the number of votes it polled in November 1932. The Social Democrats polled seven million. Hitler polled 11,700,000—two million less than in July. It was axiomatic that the workers' strength at the polls was but a pale reflection of their power in the factories and the streets. Many Communist workers believed that when it actually became a question of Hitler's entry into the government the party leadership would join with the Social Democracy to defend the workers' movement from extermination. It seemed incredible that the leadership would go down without a fight against Hitler. Party functionaries, even Reichstag deputies, later told how they took it for granted that the top leadership had a plan for struggle if Hitler entered the government. Even we Trotskyists took it for granted, when Hindenburg appointed Hitler as Chancellor on January 30, 1933, that it would be the signal for civil war. Lenin had no basic illusions about the Social Democratic leadership, yet when he received a copy of its August 4, 1914 *Vorwaerts* reporting a unanimous vote of its Reichstag delegation for support of the war, he thought it a Kaiser's forgery. We likewise, on January 30, 1933 could not believe that the Stalinist betrayal would reach such proportions as a capitulation without a fight. Yet that is what happened: most of the top leadership fled to Moscow and Paris and no directives, not a single word, came from the Comintern in those crucial weeks; Reichstag deputies, party functionaries, Communist workers vainly looked for the top leaders, waited for the plan to be put into operation which they were sure existed. . . .

The German workers had suffered too many defeats, were too exhausted, to spontaneously enter battle without and in spite of their leadership. A *secondary* factor, perhaps, is that the German proletariat did not understand the full consequences of Hitler's entry into the government. This, too, however, is

primarily to be explained by the conduct of the workers' leadership. The Communist Party had incessantly taught the workers that Hitler's government would be short-lived and then would come the turn of the Communists. The Social Democracy, on the other hand, actually hoped by concessions to have the party and the unions tolerated by Hitler. To this end it disaffiliated from the Second International and declared itself a "national" party; its Reichstag deputies voted for Hitler's foreign policy; at Hitler's request it brought back the union funds

which had been transferred abroad.

Such, briefly, is the record of the Social Democracy and the Communist Party. These indubitable facts demonstrate the absurdity of Macdonald's proposal that the "German people" should accept responsibility for Nazism as the prerequisite for creating an alternative society. The prerequisite for the socialist future of Germany is, on the contrary, to place the responsibility for Hitler's coming to power where it correctly belongs—on the leadership of the Social Democracy and the Communist Party.

The Rising German Revolution: Its Enemies, Betrayers and Vilifiers

By JOHN G. WRIGHT

The propagandists of Mussolini and Hitler have gone, but the Allied and Stalinist liars are continuing where Goebbels left off. The swinish vilification of nationalities continues unabated, with the Japanese and German peoples as targets in place of the "non-Aryans." We shall deal here only with the case of Germany.

Prior to the crushing of Germany, these gentlemen justified the "Big Three" plans for the military occupation of that country by the need of combatting a large-scale underground Nazi-led resistance movement. Now they aver that the German people are authoritarian by nature, and never evinced any will whatever to anti-Nazi resistance. At the same time, the Allied military authorities install Nazis in office. *PM* and its Lerner, *The Nation* and *The New Republic*, literary lights like Nobel Prize Winner emigre German novelist Thomas Mann and kindred spirits who parade as champions of progress, culture, and—of course! of course!—anti-fascist struggle—all these liberals repeat the Allied lies; they all allege that the German people must first be "re-educated" to imbue them with a will to resist Nazism.

In these quarters it has even become fashionable to lament the "failure" of the German masses to overthrow Hitler's regime. Naturally, the source of this argument makes it highly suspect, coming, as it does, from such servile flunkys of the imperialist cannibals. It emanates from the very people who are without a spark of revolutionary ardor, and who manifest in any serious struggle, only a will to retreat.

The hall-mark of a revolutionist is his readiness to fight the masters and oppressors at home. It is cheap enough to favor struggle and revolution abroad, especially one that hasn't yet taken place, and especially, in the milieu the fascists found the easiest to cow. And this not accidentally.

For the argument from revolution is now being used by the people who are the most terrified of and by revolution. They hate it instinctively. They, like all "friends of the Soviet Union," accept the revolution, only after it has conquered, and then only after it has been shackled. What they hail and accept in the USSR is not the revolution but the rule of the Stalinist bureaucracy and the degeneration that ensued after the revolution. Such are the individuals who now talk so pompously about the "failure" of the masses in Germany to make a revolution against Hitler.

This canard of "failure" is even more insidious and cunning than the racial-degeneracy and atrocity campaign, because it is

an appeal not solely to emotions but to reason. And, on the surface, it does sound like a plausible political argument. Even in Lenin's time, during the Civil War, complaints were occasionally voiced at the "failure" of the Western European proletariat to come to the aid of the Russian Revolution. Lenin never permitted such remarks to pass unnoticed, pointing out that an attitude of this sort was "unworthy of internationalists." Essentially the same argument is employed today primarily to confuse the class conscious workers in America and to weaken their instinct of international solidarity. It is a hook baited for all those who lack scientific knowledge of a revolution and its decisive factors.

In the first place, did the German revolution necessarily have to erupt in the very course of the war? No one can predict the exact date of revolutions. Marxists leave such occupations to numerologists, astrologers and crystal gazers.

Wars and Revolutions

The interrelationship between wars and revolutions is neither simple nor automatic. Wars sometimes act to retard revolutions. Trotsky pointed out long ago that the Russian revolution was retarded in 1914 precisely by the inception of World War I. Nor are the ruling classes unaware of this. To cite only one instance, Czarism engaged in the Russo-Japanese war of 1904, calculating in this way to avert revolution.

On the other hand, situations frequently arise in peacetime, which are the most favorable for revolution. The dialectic of wars and revolutions has been popularly explained many times. In a reply to a question as to the "desirability of war as furthering the interests of Socialism," Trotsky elucidated:

It is almost the same as if the question were asked: What is your opinion of cholera and epidemics for human civilization? (Laughter) When there was cholera—there was in Russia, and is now from time to time—we revolutionists sought by illegal leaflets to help the peasants. We denounced the regime of the Czar. You know it is an interesting parallel. The Black Hundreds, our specific Russian reactionaries, accused us of spreading the germs of cholera. There were pogroms against the doctors, the students, the radical intelligentsia, and Jews, as a vengeance for spreading cholera. It was the measure of the reaction to reject the responsibility about sanitary conditions and to place it on the radical elements. I thank you very much for your question because I find the analogy very important. I assure you, under Czarism we had twenty-five years of revolutionary activity, and I never asked for cholera. (Laughter) The same with war. If war comes in spite

of us, we will use all the means to place the responsibility on the ruling classes and to accelerate the revolution. But to wish a war—it is absurd from every point of view. What do we need with artificial means for revolution? We have a revolution in Spain without war, but we are not capable of being victorious yet. We had in Germany two and three revolutions. There was in 1918, and in 1923 during the Ruhr occupation, a totally revolutionary situation. Before the victory of Hitler we had a totally revolutionary situation. The lack was not objective revolutionary situations, but revolutionary parties which had the necessary confidence of the masses and adequate leadership. Now, we need the creation of such parties and such leadership. For that we need time, and not to provoke artificial revolutionary situations with the purpose of losing them and so to allow millions of workers, hundreds of thousands to perish in defeat. (*The Case of Leon Trotsky*, pp 306-7.)

Revolutions do arise out of war, but not in accordance with any time-table set in advance. Depending upon the objective situation, the alignment of class forces and the mood of the masses, the revolution can break out either during the war, or during its aftermath.

The revolutionary wave reached its crest in Western Europe in the era of World War I, not during the hostilities but in the course of the liquidation period of the war (1918-1919) and after Versailles (Germany, 1923). Another revolutionary wave in Western Europe followed after the economic crisis of 1928.

The argument that the Germans were obliged to make the revolution "somehow" during the war is false from the standpoint of theory. Such an approach is purely fatalistic. If the masses were able, of their own accord, to make revolutions there would be no need whatever of programs, parties, leadership.

False in Practice

From the standpoint of practice, this approach seeks to impose fantastic demands on the masses, especially on those who had experienced defeats in the entire previous period. It is the masses who pay for the defeats. After the massacre of the Paris Commune, the revolutionary movement in France remained dormant for years. The defeat of the 1905 revolution in Russia led to more than six years of prostration. The German proletariat has shown, if anything, the most remarkable recuperative powers.

Betrayed by the Social Democratic leadership in the 1918 revolution, with its vanguard decimated in the Spartacus uprising of 1919, and again in the adventurist "March Action" of 1921, the German workers were nevertheless marching toward power in 1923. This time they fell victims of a vacillating Brandlerite leadership, which, with the backing of Zinoviev-Bukharin-Stalin in the Communist International, let slip one of the most favorable revolutionary situations in history. Yet six years later the German workers were prepared to fight the rising Nazi movement to the death. Once again they were betrayed (1929-1933) both by the Social Democrats and by the Stalinists. Not the masses but their official leadership permitted Hitler to assume power without a battle.

Six years of Nazi peacetime rule were followed by six years of imperialist war. Vast as the powers of the German working class are, they are not inexhaustible. Even the best-led armies need time to recover from a single defeat, let alone a series of defeats in the course of three decades. The German workers have not only needed breathing spells, but have lacked the decisive instrument in the struggle—revolutionary leadership.

From recent—and past—history of the German working class not a single instance can be cited of the refusal of the

ranks to respond, in a revolutionary situation, to the summons of the leadership. In every instance the masses did all they were asked to do, and more. They suffered three defeats, each more catastrophic than the one before. Upon whom ought the responsibility be placed for these defeats and any apathy resulting from them? We say, upon the official leadership, the Social Democrats and the Stalinists.

What did the official leadership do in all the peace and war years to prepare Hitler's overthrow? What program did they offer? What revolution were they preparing to lead?

The Kremlin and all its foreign agents—including those in Germany—first collaborated with Hitler and then with the Anglo-American imperialists. The German Social Democrats in emigration remained throughout tied to the "democratic" imperialists.

What alternative to fascism did the Allies and the Kremlin (or the liberals) offer to the German people? No propaganda more calculated to strengthen the Nazi regime and to imbue the German people with the conviction that Hitler was their sole recourse could have been devised by Goebbels than the propaganda supplied him by Washington, London and the Kremlin.

Mass Anti-Nazi Resistance

They and their agents have done everything in their power to add their own brands of poison to the virus disseminated abroad by Nazism. They and their agents have done and are doing everything in their power to crush every manifestation of revolution in Germany and everywhere else.

Needless to say the Gestapo did not remain idle all this while, either. They crushed every oppositional element, arresting or shooting the most courageous and devoted fighters, in order thus to terrorize the masses and keep them beheaded.

What would have been so astonishing about moods of apathy or cautious watchfulness throughout this period? But the German workers are really cast in a heroic mold. Even amid the incredible havoc of the war, in the shambles of bombed cities, they have fought the Nazi regime in war as they had in peace. The very horror camps—Buchenwald, Dachau, Belsen—used in newsreels, press, radio and pulpit as proof of congenital German degeneracy, were filled—as they have been from the outset—by the political opponents of Nazidom. This truth is now cutting a way for itself in the world public conscience.

Recently sufficient evidence has seeped through the Allied military censorship, to stamp indelibly the brand of infamy on all the vilifiers of the German masses. This evidence consists of official Gestapo records of arrests and death sentences in "Greater Germany" from the outbreak of the war to the autumn of 1944. This news was released by the London *Tribune*, organ of the Laborite "lefts." Our citation is from a digest of the London *Tribune* report made by *The Call* (June 18):

"The total number of death sentences in the 'Greater German Reich' for 1943 was 5,326, as against 3,660 in 1942; 1,292 in 1941; and 926 in 1940. For 1943 we know the detailed distribution of this total. 1,421 out of the 5,336 death sentences refer to non-Germans, i.e., 894 sentences pronounced in the 'occupied Eastern territories,' 282 for 'crimes against the occupying power,' 138 for 'sabotage and insubordination by foreign workers,' 66 for 'sabotage in the Protectorate,' 39 for 'retention of arms by citizens of the Protectorate,' and 2 for 'retention of arms by Poles.'"

Disregarding the thousands of deaths of Germans in Nazi concentration camps the London *Tribune* notes, there were 1,883 political sentences against Germans in that same year, for "high treason, undermining of the armed forces of the nation, desertion, and crimes against

broadcasting laws." Another 2,034 death sentences occurred for "crimes against the war economy, race pollution, and against the decree protecting the winter relief."

"The figures of the Gestapo arrests during the first half of 1944 are even more startling. They amount to more than 310,000 for the Greater Reich including the annexed territories—133,853 for the first quarter and 176,660 for the second. That makes 2,000 arrests a day for the three months preceding July 20 and the subsequent wave of mass arrests."

Added to this irrefutable proof of large-scale mass resistance, we have also proof that the anti-Nazi fighters not only had but still retain the support of the population as a whole. Despite Allied prohibition of demonstrations, the allegedly "passive" Germans have already given ample proof of their will to struggle. Suffice it to cite a single instance. The May 25 issue of *Maple Leaf*, the daily paper of the Canadian forces reported:

An unauthorized meeting of 6,000 Germans at Cologne was broken up by U.S. troops who fired over their heads.

The meeting was organized to welcome Germans returning home from Buchenwald. The crowd was dispersed after signs appeared expressing dissatisfaction with the mildness with which the Americans were treating the Nazis.

In the very teeth of Anglo-American imperialist terror the German masses are waging the struggle against Nazism which they began in 1933, intensified during the war, and are continuing under Allied occupation.

The same betrayers who are responsible for the tragic lot of these heroic fighters are now crowning their crimes by chiming in the vilification of the German people. The worst betrayers

have ever been the worst vilifiers. In its latest Manifesto the German Stalinist Party "repeats the charge that the German people bear guilt and responsibility" for the crimes of the Nazis. What program do they offer to "rehabilitate" Germany? They oppose the sovietization of the country. They start where the despicable Social Democracy left off at Weimar. They propose to repeat the same course that led to the rise of Nazism after Weimar.

The heroic workers of Germany will yet give a fitting answer to all their executioners, betrayers and slanderers.

There is only one force that can inspire the German people, restore their confidence in themselves and in the revolutionary solution. That force is the proletarian party of Trotskyism.

The objective conditions have been ripe for the revolution ever since the first imperialist war. The German workers have proved over and over again their unconquerable will to struggle. The task today is to constitute the indispensable instrument of the revolution—the German Section of the Fourth International, the party that would sweep aside the discredited, crime-splotched Social Democratic and Stalinist Parties and lead the German proletariat to victory. That day of historical vengeance must and will come.

Then, the great people of Germany whose true national traits and contributions to mankind's progress and culture remain second to none, will, under the leadership of the working class, unfold all their colossal creative powers. They will make their greatest contributions in the coming German revolution, and Germany will take her rightful place among the Socialist United States of Europe.

Trotskyist Tasks in Europe

By WILLIAM SIMMONS

The following article is a contribution to the discussion on the problems of the European revolution. Comrade Simmons defends the position of the SWP majority which was set down in the European Resolution, adopted at the Eleventh Convention of the Socialist Workers Party (see *Fourth International*, December 1944).—Ed.

* * *

History has now written its finish to the fascist era in Europe and out of its smouldering pyres of death and destruction new life, new hope, begins to grow. This is manifest in the revolutionary events already unfolding. But these are still in their very early stage and a successful conclusion is not yet assured. Such an assurance can be given only when the proletariat follows a revolutionary policy.

The policy pursued is therefore the crucial factor. Upon that depends whether the revolutionary possibilities are advanced or retarded. And, as we know very well, the question of policy is decided in each instance, and at each stage of development, by whichever party gains the adherence of the masses.

Unfortunately, however, revival of political life has shown in Europe so far an overwhelming mass support for the social reformist parties, the Stalinist and the Social Democratic parties. Compared to these, the parties of the Fourth International are still very small, very young and inexperienced. We can therefore readily agree that the first task is the building of the Marxist party. But how is this task to be approached? What strategic and tactical methods is to be employed? What should be the

character of slogans and demands advanced? The posing of these problems have led to disagreement and discussion.

To this discussion Comrade Morrow has made a contribution in the article entitled "The First Phase of the Coming European Revolution" published in the December 1944 issue of this magazine. Concerning the specific question of how to build the Marxist party I think it is fair to say that Morrow's attitude can be summed up in his insistence upon the method of democratic demands. He says:

I repeat: the main danger *within* the Fourth International appears to me to lie in the direction of ultra-leftism. It is necessary, as we approach the first period of the European revolution, to emphasize and underline the role of democratic demands.

It is true that Comrade Morrow foresees for Europe a more or less protracted stage of bourgeois democratic developments. This he makes perfectly clear in his article. To support this view, and to support equally his insistence upon democratic demands, he adduces some factors which emerged from European developments at the time. Some of these factors still exist, perhaps in an even clearer form today, without, however, supporting in the least either of his conclusions. Insofar as the possibility of bourgeois democratic developments in Europe is concerned, this is determined by far more fundamental factors than those cited by Morrow, and this question has already been discussed extensively in these columns. I shall therefore confine myself here entirely to his insistence upon emphasizing and

underlining the role of democratic demands. I do not think that I can be accused of an artificial separation of related questions inasmuch as Morrow makes it clear that his insistence applies especially to the immediate tasks and does not necessarily depend upon what he calls the tempo of developments. In the above quotation he says that it applies, "as we approach the first period of the European revolution." And, besides, it is the immediate tasks which present the most pressing problem.

Among the important factors emerging from European developments, as listed by Comrade Morrow, are the following: "the revival of democratic illusions among considerable sections of the masses," because, "... new generations have grown up without any experience of bourgeois democracy and without active participation in political life." This is undeniably so. He estimates that "these masses may well have to go through a certain body of experiences before they will understand that their needs cannot be satisfied within the framework of the democratic republic." No doubt this is true, although the experience may be gained in a concentrated form and within a brief period. Comrade Morrow also concluded from Italian experiences so far that, "the traditional workers' parties, as well as centrist and liberal-democratic parties, will emerge throughout Europe as the principal parties of the first period after collapse of the Nazis and their collaborators." This is already the case in a number of European countries. It cannot yet be said for Germany, the most decisive sector of the European revolution, although, to a much more limited extent, it may also come true there.

Still there is no need, or desire, on my part to quarrel with these general formulations cited in the above paragraph. In fact, it should rather be necessary to add that the period of fascist dictatorship quite naturally produced, not only a swing toward democratic liberties; but also created a genuine need for such liberties.

In this situation the parties of the Fourth International, whether small or large, must go with the masses through this body of experience. And they must do so regardless of whether the experiences can be assimilated within a brief period, in concentrated form, or at a relatively slow tempo. In conformity with the needs of each situation they must advance, and fight for, democratic demands. Of course they dare not stop short there or permit these demands to become a noose to strangle the masses. They must follow out the theory of the permanent revolution and recognize that the genuine democratic needs cannot be satisfied without the workers' conquest of power.

At the same time we must not for one moment lose sight of the fact that the social reformist parties, the centrist and liberal parties, advance democratic demands to one degree or another, in one form or another. Regardless of any failure on their part to conduct a serious struggle; yes, regardless of open betrayals of their own professed reformist and liberal programs, they will make democratic demands. Even the Stalinists will make them. Neither of these parties can operate without them. They will in fact, after the collapse of fascism, endeavor to capitalize particularly on existing democratic illusions. They will sponsor demands for social reform within the framework of capitalism as their only means of maintaining mass support, and as a means toward keeping this system intact. They have no *other* means.

Although the actual situation in Europe is by no means too clear to us, it seems to emerge quite positively that such is the position of these parties now. In Northern Italy the militant partisan movement, evidently under the leadership of Stalinists, Social Democrats and left wing liberals, demand the republic.

Even the Belgian Social Democrats have given feeble voice to such a demand. In France and elsewhere demands have been made by these parties for a constituent assembly, always taking care, of course, that actual measures are delayed as much as possible. Similarly, demands have been made for a certain degree of nationalization.

The mere advancing of democratic demands will not serve in itself to distinguish the Fourth Internationalists from the position of these parties. It is important therefore to recognize the fact that democratic demands are for us only incidental and episodic in the independent movement of the proletariat; and they are now especially so in view of the utter capitalist collapse. They are at the present stage of developments, whenever and wherever they come into use, essentially a bridge to, and subordinate to, the more fundamental demands of the revolutionary socialist program. Standing alone the mere episodic slogans and demands are, of course, entirely inadequate.

Essence of the Problem

And so we come to the essence of the problem of what method to pursue to build the Trotskyist parties in Europe.

It is hardly necessary to repeat the fact that everything is relative. The brutal fascist dictatorship created a genuine need for democratic liberties; and slogans corresponding to these needs *can* and *will* serve as powerful means to set masses into motion. At the same time this is by no means the only pressing need emerging in present day Europe. Fascism itself represented the last desperate resort toward preservation of the tottering capitalist structure. This brief experiment with the most hideous system of oppression did not strengthen the structure in the least. Its gaping holes have become veritable cataracts. The capitalist crisis retains all its characteristics of permanency. Indeed its whole structure teeters over a precipice. On the other hand, revival of democratic illusions among considerable sections of the masses, due to lack of participation in political life of the younger generation, is not the only present phenomenon. Far more pressing for them is the very lack of the most meagre means of subsistence. Therefore, with all its weight this catastrophic crisis pushes the proletariat relentlessly on the road toward the revolutionary mass struggle for power.

A revolutionary situation is beginning to unfold. Objective conditions are favorable to the proletariat. And yet at this very beginning we are presented with a paradox: A proletarian revolutionary policy does not yet prevail; the principal parties of the proletariat are the social reformist parties.

Yes, these are the crucial factors emerging from the European situation today. And at the same time these are the conditions that determine the strategy and tactics of the numerically small Trotskyist parties, rather than any speculative estimates of the viability of bourgeois democracy. The question of policy pursued by these co-thinkers is equally crucial. Their most immediate, and their main, adversary is made up of the social reformist parties against whom they must carry on the unrelenting fight for mass influence. In a very immediate and in a very pressing sense this is their main struggle.

How are they to win out in this crucial conflict for leadership? By emphasizing and underlining the role of democratic demands? No! Our conclusion must be the exact opposite to that drawn by Comrade Morrow. This conclusion must proceed from the idea that the parties of the Fourth International possess the enormous advantage of a revolutionary program. This is the main program which they must bring forward now. Therefore, if in this main struggle anything is to be especially emphasized and underlined, it is the revolutionary content of this program.

They must emphasize the socialist way out of the capitalist collapse in clear and precise revolutionary slogans. In fact they must put forward as their most pressing demand the expropriation of the capitalists and the socialization of the means of production.

The Correct Formula

Comrade Morrow's formula should be reversed to read: it is necessary to emphasize and underline the tasks of the socialist revolution as the most pressing problem before the working masses. At the same time we should say: Use every opportunity available to demand and to fight for more and more democratic liberties; to demand and to fight for ever greater political and economic concessions from capitalism. Remember, however, that such liberties and such concessions can, at the present stage of social developments, be won only as a by-product of the revolutionary struggle. The bourgeoisie will grant such concessions only when in fear of losing all its privileges. And finally: Do not fail to make it crystal clear that a successful struggle for the socialist way out of the frightful capitalist collapse can be waged only by the forces and the methods of the proletarian revolution.

Such a policy is imposed upon the European Trotskyist parties by the unfolding revolutionary situation. Ultimately this alone can secure for them the necessary mass influence. But it is no less imperative in its more immediate sense.

The small Trotskyist parties do not yet dispose of forces sufficient to set millions into motion. Far from it. In the first instance their appeals must be addressed therefore to the more advanced, the more politically conscious, and the more militant workers. But these are still by and large within the folds of the Stalinist and the Social Democratic parties. Paradoxical as it may seem, we can be sure that the militant workers adhere to the parties still carrying the names of socialism and communism not as a sign of approval of the policies and actions of social reformism, but rather because of their burning desire to find the socialist solution or the communist solution, as the case may be. What else could be expected in the absence of any other working class means of political action sufficiently known to them?

Should we say that in order to win them it is necessary to emphasize and underline the role of democratic demands? That would be utterly inadequate. In fact it would be a flagrant mockery. Everything would in this manner be turned upside down. Let us try rather to place the problem right side up and affirm again without equivocation, the basic proposition: in the struggle to win the more advanced stratum of the European proletariat the Trotskyist parties must especially emphasize their revolutionary program. They must demonstrate beyond a shadow of a doubt, by means of slogans, demands, propaganda, agitation and action, that the genuine Marxist program, together with the method and the forces of revolution alone can lead to the socialist solution.

The Socialist Solution

Objective reality will naturally present different and varying stages in the general political process of development. But these stages interpenetrate and they are directly interrelated with the movement of the masses. Changes in the one will involve changes in the other. The moods of the masses will of necessity show similar variations. And it would be illusory to expect changes continually in a progressive direction. Initial set-backs, reverses, and even possible defeats have to be counted on. Obstacles in the path of European revolutionary develop-

ments are still tremendous. In several respects they are even greater than those that followed in the wake of World War I. Direct allied imperialist and Kremlin bureaucratic intervention on the side of reaction in every serious situation is now a very real, a very potent factor of enormous proportion. Then, in addition, we have now not merely one but two reformist parties in the service of imperialism. But the small revolutionary forces have also learned from the rich experiences and possess infinite advantages. And, while it is not possible in a discussion here to attempt to formulate detailed tactical plans for every changing situation, it is possible and necessary to emphasize both the importance and the character of their conscious intervention in the general process. Above all, that must mean that they project their revolutionary policy for the socialist solution.

While we have no textbooks telling us how to make a revolution, the Marxist method is available. It has stood the tests in the laboratory of history. The October Revolution, the greatest test of them all, brought its verification, and much of it is available in written and amply documented form. We should not attempt to present the conditions of October as analogous to present conditions; yet we must by all means learn from its experiences.

We can afford to learn especially from the role of Lenin in the "rearming of the party." Trotsky relates in his *History of the Russian Revolution* how prior to Lenin's return the whole party leadership feared to go beyond the boundaries of the democratic republic. He says: "The proletariat did not seize the power in February because the Bolshevik party was not equal to its objective task, and could not prevent the compromisers from expropriating the popular masses politically for the benefit of the bourgeoisie."

Lenin's Course

And then Lenin arrived, and the "History" relates: "He swept aside legislative agrarian reform," complains Sukhanov, "along with all the rest of the policies of the Soviet. He spoke for an organized seizure of the land by the peasants, not anticipating . . . any governmental power at all."

"We don't need any parliamentary republic. We don't need any bourgeois democracy. We don't need any government except the Soviet of workers', soldiers', and farmhands' deputies!"

The next day Lenin presented his famous "Theses of April 4," which expressed, says Trotsky, in simple words comprehensible to all:

The republic which has issued from the February revolution is not our republic, and the war it is now waging is not our war. The task of the Bolsheviks is to overthrow the imperialist government. But this government rests upon the support of the Social Revolutionaries and Mensheviks, who in turn are supported by the trustfulness of the masses of the people. We are in the minority. In these circumstances there can be no talk of violence from our side. We must teach the masses not to trust the Compromisers and defensists. "We must patiently explain." The success of this policy, dictated by the whole existing situation, is assured and it will bring us to the dictatorship of the proletariat, and so beyond the boundaries of the bourgeois regime. We will break absolutely with capital, publish its secret treaties, and summon the workers of the whole world to cast loose from the bourgeoisie and put an end to the war. We are beginning the international revolution. Only its success will confirm our success, and guarantee a transition to the socialist regime.

All accounts from these fateful days of rearming of the Bolshevik Party agree that Lenin's theses, when presented, were greeted as ultra-leftist even among leading Bolsheviks. And to the democrats, says Trotsky, it appeared fantastic: "The Bolsheviks are a tiny minority in the Soviet, and Lenin dreams

of seizing the power: isn't that pure adventurism?"

Pravda, under the editorship of Stalin and Kamenev, said four days later:

As for the general scheme of Comrade Lenin, it seems to us unacceptable in that it starts from the assumption that the bourgeois democratic revolution is ended, and counts upon an immediate transformation of this revolution into a socialist revolution.

History nevertheless proved Lenin correct. Due to his insis-

tence the Bolshevik Party became armed theoretically for its struggle with the compromisers. He was concerned primarily about the party's understanding its basic objective task, namely: to lead the struggle directly toward workers' power and the socialist system. He was concerned equally about making it clear to the masses that the party understood this as its basic task and was determined to strive for its realization. This is one great lesson for us to learn from Lenin.

International Notes

India

The recent renewal by the British colonial despots of their 1942 Cripps Mission offer is a patent fraud, just as the original offer was. Less known in this country is the role played by the Indian bourgeoisie in paving the way for this deception of the Indian masses. Elsewhere in this issue we publish the slashing article "Ministry-Makers and 'Leftist' Fakers" by an Indian Trotskyist. Below is the text of editorials on the same subject from the January-March issue of *Permanent Revolution*, theoretical organ of the Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India (BLPI), Indian section of the Fourth International.

The Coming Compromise

A revolutionary party which uses correctly the weapon of Marxist analysis is able not only to see the general trend of future developments but often also to foretell them with remarkable accuracy. We wish to draw attention to two specific prognoses of the BLPI the correctness of which events are confirming in a remarkable manner.

In our *Notes* to the April-December 1944 issue of *Permanent Revolution* we maintained that the Viceroy's December speech in Calcutta represented a change in the attitude of the British government to the question of settlement with Congress. Whereas earlier, "the British government was not prepared to enter into any kind of negotiation with Congress" (cf. Viceroy's reply to Gandhi's Gelder interview), in December the Viceroy laid down the basic terms on which he was prepared to settle with Congress. Wavell's visit to London and the impending release of the Congress leaders demonstrate that our reading was correct. But this is not all. We proceeded to ask the question, "Why has Whitehall thus 'relented' at this particular juncture?" And we answered: Unless some sop is thrown to British public opinion the labor leadership's control of the leftward moving masses on behalf of the reactionary Churchill government may well be threatened. And unless some dramatic step is taken to rehabilitate Britain's position internationally, his prestige may well sink so low as to affect adversely his maneuvers in the diplomatic field." Today in almost verbatim confirmation of this, Reuter's report of April 4th in connection with the Wavell-Amery talks declares that:

"It is acknowledged, however, that Whitehall entertains acute anxiety on two points: First as to the possible effect on the Tory Party's electoral future, and secondly, as to the ultimate effect upon the British position in the East in

the eyes of the Americans if the failure to deal adequately with the Indian political demands results in a failure to mobilize Indian resources for war against Japan."

And today, we repeat again as we have done in the past, that the settlement that is coming will be a surrender-settlement. Why? For two reasons. On the one hand, an imperialist Britain (which will have to more than double her pre-war exports if she is to return after the war to her prewar economic level), simply cannot afford to grant any real concessions to India, her largest single field of colonial exploitation. And secondly, the Congress bourgeoisie, having failed in August 1942 in their bid for a greater share of power, are today seeking not even for real concessions, but only for a face-saving formula.

The Future of the Congress Socialist Party

On this question the political resolution passed at the September 1944 conference of the BLPI declared that since the coming settlement would involve Congress support of the war and participation in suppression of the masses, "It is impossible for the Congress Socialist Party if it is to remain true to its August tradition to support such a policy; and it is extremely doubtful that the Congress High Command will in such event, tolerate its functioning as an organized opposition within the Congress fold. The CSP will thereby be forced to a choice—and choice can only lead to the political demise of the CSP as a distinctive organization, for it will have either to surrender to the reactionary Congress Right Wing or to leave Congress altogether."

Today, even before the arrival of the settlement, we see signs of this development. For a number of prominent CSP leaders including Meterally, Masani, and Kamaladevi have reached the decision that the CSP should be disbanded and its program abandoned in favor of that of the Congress. The decision certainly is logical. For, these leaders have completely succumbed to the Right Wing, which has today assumed full control of whatever Congress activities are proceeding in the country. In fact, there is nothing today to distinguish the CSP leadership from the Right Wing. They are enthusiastic over the constructive program, unreservedly support the Gandhian leadership which is moving to an ignominious settlement, and are prepared to support the imperialist war when the settlement comes.

But what of the CSP rank and file? The situation is becoming increasingly difficult for the

more honest of them. We have already mentioned the case of the Hindustan Mazdoor Sevak Saugh, into which they are being dragooned. [Hindustan Mazdoor Sevak Saugh—Society for the Service of Indian Labor—is an organization in process of formation with the blessing of Gandhi and under the patronage and control of Right Wing Congress leaders. Its ostensible purpose is to ameliorate the condition of the workers through the formation of trade unions. Its real purpose is to bring the working class under the influence of the nationalist bourgeoisie.] Congress labor policy is increasingly revealing itself not as one of helping the workers or organize themselves in their own independent class organizations but as one of starting what are in effect company unions to bring the workers under the influence of the bourgeoisie. Gandhi's opposition to independent Kisan Sabhas [peasant organizations] (as revealed in his discussion with Ranga) and the decision to build Kisan organizations only as a part of the Congress, is an effort to stem the struggle of the peasants by tying them to the bourgeois and pro-Zamindar [pro-landlord] Congress. The time is fast approaching when it will become impossible for honest left elements in the Congress to do labor or Kisan work under the discipline of Congress. Thus in the very field of day to day practical activity there will be demonstrated to them what an application of Marxist theory would have brought them long ago—that Congress is the party of the bourgeoisie. How many of them will be bold enough to draw the further conclusion that the need is to build independently the revolutionary party of the proletariat?

Ireland

Our co-thinkers in Ireland write:

The class struggle continues in the form of sporadic strikes but there is still a disheartened, apathetic attitude towards politics among the majority of the workers. The mass exodus of young Eire workers—300,000—to Britain, where they have found work in the war industries or have enlisted in the British services, is the root cause of the stagnation. If emigration had been dammed up, the desperate plight of the workers would have produced a tremendous pressure upon the existing organizations. As things have been, the various tendencies have each stewed in their own juice. The Stalinists are split into two rival factions; each one numerically insignificant.

This is not to say that they are finished for good. Needless to say, the limits within which the Eire C.P. may move to the left to meet the

postwar situation will be determined by the Kremlin diplomacy; it is reasonable to suppose that there will be a new turn of policy before long. And it is realistic to expect that for a time the Stalinists will make some headway again. This is not to say that any large number of Eire war workers are under Stalinist influence. Most of them, in fact, are undoubtedly strongly hostile to British imperialism and, therefore, far from sympathetic to the antics of the Stalinists.

The decline in the living standards of the Irish worker will be even more precipitous than in Britain. Of course, in the long run the majority of British workers have equally bleak prospects, but no section will experience such a sharp and steep decline in living standards as the "redundant" Eire workers. These workers will fight. They will not accept pauperization as an unalterable fate. The British war effort has enabled them to escape the unbroken unemployment which has demoralized the 70,000 unemployed remaining in Eire. Least of all among the workers have they held the illusion of possessing a stake in the Empire's war effort; so quite naturally Eire workers have been noticeably to the forefront in the British industrial struggle. The grip of the priesthood—always strongest where family relationships are stable—will undoubtedly have been loosened among many of these workers, most of whom are young.

Even if, for the reasons we have indicated, in the first stages the Stalinists recruit a certain percentage of these returning workers, it is none the less evident that Stalinism in Eire will labor under a grave disadvantage compared to, let us say, French Stalinism, or even to British Stalinism. Probably in no country, apart from the totalitarian states, has Stalinism collapsed so completely as an organized force as in Eire during the war years. The Stalinists cannot hope to emerge from their present state unscathed. The returning workers will approach politics with a seriousness corresponding to the situation. At the same time, most of them will be entering politics for the first time. The Stalinist movement, even allowing for the transference of some British party members back to Ireland, will have only a handful of the type of rank and file workers who have put much effort and sacrifice into the party and who have become indoctrinated with the ideology of Stalinism over a lengthy period.

No matter how stringently the bourgeois government attempts to deal with the returning workers, inevitably the lightning growth of the unemployed will contribute to an increase in the rate of taxation; and consequently further lower the vitality of the already depressed industries of Eire. It is not improbable that Eire unemployment will rise to the fantastic figure of half a million. A discussion on the transitional demands of the Fourth International in relation to the special problems of Eire unemployed is not the sole concern of the party in Eire. It transcends the 26 County boundaries to the same extent as the Eire workers have themselves done so.

In Northern Ireland a scandalous regulation exists which excludes Eire workers from receiving unemployment benefit unless they have worked in the North for 5 years; although the

Eire war workers are compelled to contribute the same sum into the Unemployment Insurance scheme as Ulster or British workers. At the same time the iniquitous residence permit system excludes almost all Eire workers from qualifying to receive payment. Agitation on behalf of returning Southern Irish workers who have contributed to the British insurance scheme will be carried out by our British comrades.

The majority of the Eire war workers are dilutees. Moreover, the arrangement between the Eire and British governments allows them only a specified stay in Britain. They are therefore in a singularly weak position to resist sackings; and they will be in a particularly desperate plight once they have become unemployed. Many—perhaps the majority—will have worked in Britain in types of industry of which there exists no equivalent in Eire. Moreover, it is even doubtful if there exists sufficient plant to absorb the majority in any capacity. Our key demand in Eire must therefore be for the inauguration of public works projects, financed by taxing the rich, on a scale capable of absorbing all unemployed and of a nature which will produce genuine use-values for the workers. This is not to say that the transitional demand for a sliding scale of hours is inapplicable. At every stage it must be agitated for both in relation to the situation within the factories already operating and to the public works projects under workers' control. For example, the bourgeoisie will cite the shortage of raw materials in order to demonstrate the impossibility of introducing useful public works on a scale sufficient to absorb the unemployed. Our reply must be: "Then shorten the hours of work while preserving the normal weekly wage."

The bourgeois political leaders must have wracked their brains more than once over the question of the returning workers. In general, their problem reduces itself to two main tasks: (1) to find adequate funds to cope with the situation during the most critical stage—that is, before the decentralization of a sufficient number has been achieved; (2) to decentralize the unemployed as quickly as possible by establishing some form of slave camp system. The bourgeoisie will be assisted in their plan to drive the unemployed—the unmarried youth in particular—out of the capital city by the unevenness of the scaling down of the British war effort. The workers won't come home together in one huge mass but, to begin with, in dribs and drabs. However, even the British bourgeoisie cannot control the transition from war economy to peace economy exactly to suit their own political purposes. Naturally, they will try to organize the pay-offs in the most expedient way. Nevertheless, a huge and uncontrollable slump in employment is bound to take place shortly after the end of the war in Europe. And then Dublin will be crowded with returned emigrants.

From Ulster also a large emigration of workers to cross-Channel jobs has taken place during the war, although not on the same huge scale as from Eire. The majority of Ulster workers have been absorbed by the war industries of the Province. Before the war nearly every Ulster worker who thought politically considered himself either a Unionist or a Nationalist.

The Labour Party had only negligible influence at this period and the Stalinists were quite insignificant. The working class is at a much higher level of political consciousness today. Sectarian bitterness has died down. The majority of workers have swung to the left. A series of bitter strike struggles, made possible by full employment, has severely shaken the power of the Unionists; and, of course, the whole international situation has awakened the workers to socialist ideas. However, the hardships of war have pressed lightly on the shoulders of the Ulster workers. The British conscription laws do not cover the Province. The working class as a whole has therefore gained materially out of the war. There is work for all. No one has been forced to don uniform. This situation, we think, reflects itself among a number of militants who accept our policy in the following attitude: "Tomorrow I will be back on the scrap heap, but meanwhile I am not too uncomfortably placed. If I join the Trotskyists I may be immediately victimized. So, although I support them, I will hold my job while it lasts." When considering the problems of Northern Ireland it must never be forgotten that a police regime exists. The workers themselves never forget this. Irrespective of the actual powers which the police can use at a given moment the traditional fear of them persists. This exercises a most depressing effect.

The dominant force in the working-class movement during the war years has been the Shop Stewards' Movement, led by a mixed bunch of left Labourites and workers deeply imbued with syndicalist illusions. However, wartime illusions are already in process of being shattered. Male unemployment has trebled in the past three months. The heavy industries have little or no postwar future, and most of the workers realize this.

The Stormont Government is little more than a glorified Town Council. Almost 40% of the Six County population belong to Belfast. The great majority are workers, unlike in the South; there is only an insignificant urban petty-bourgeoisie, politically inconsequential, while at least 40% of the rural population is hostile to Stormont on nationalist grounds. Already the Unionists have lost their ideological grip on the Protestant workers, who were the main prop of their power in prewar years.

The majority of workers are employed in two or three large industrial plants. When any one of these close down—and unemployment is already developing in aircraft—a governmental crisis is threatened. Large industrial struggles in Belfast affect the Stormont regime in much the same way as the General Strike threatened the British capitalist state. We believe, therefore, that the onslaught of depression may produce a revolutionary crisis in Northern Ireland sooner than in England.

March 1945.

Germany

Upon the publication of reports relating to the European Conference of the Fourth International, held in February 1944, and especially in connection with the participation in it of a German Trotskyist group, the "Committee Abroad of the

IKD" saw fit to issue a letter, dated Nov. 19, 1944, disclaiming all knowledge of such a group, implying that it was not a genuine German Trotskyist group, insisting that it is "most likely a few AUSTRIAN comrades who are involved, who belonged neither to the IKD nor to the Fourth (International)." And so forth and so on. This letter was carried by the Shachtmanite sheet, *Labor Action*. Below we print a letter of protest addressed to *Labor Action* by a group of European Trotskyists.

* * *

March 17, 1945

To the Editorial Board Of *Labor Action*
New York, N. Y.

Comrades,

We have just received a copy of your issue of December 11, 1944, in which appears, under the title: "A Letter From German Socialists," a statement made in the name of the "Committee Abroad of the IKD."

The very fact that this Committee has sent you this letter which you introduce as coming from "our" comrades, is a disgraceful action on the part of a leadership claiming to "represent" a section of the Fourth International. But that is a matter which will be settled within the ranks of the Fourth International itself.

The Committee of the IKD, by its letter, and you, by endorsing it, endeavor to throw suspicion upon the information published concerning the activity of the Fourth International on the European continent under the yoke of the Gestapo. You present these informations as unreliable and unverifiable. But in spite of the still difficult communications, you were not—at the time of your publication—altogether ignorant of parts of this activity, of the clandestine meetings, the illegal publications, the many victims. You affect to ignore this and are very eager to show your *political* hostility by publishing a scandalous letter: German militants have forgotten or have been unable to register with the so-called IKD leadership before being murdered by the Gestapo. Therefore, they are not Fourth Internationalists! The Stalinist slanders against us are more dangerous, but certainly no more odious than the alleged objectivity to which you pretend.

In fact, the comrades here are now in direct contact with the European parties, and the information to which the "Committee Abroad of the IKD" objected was information given directly by the provisional European Secretariat of the Fourth International.

In the above-mentioned statement, the so-called leadership of the IKD and yourself ignore and re-

fuse to recognize the members of the Fourth International, militants who have propagated the program of the Fourth International under the Gestapo terror. It is obvious that this so-called leadership of the IKD and yourself, having both abandoned fundamental points of the Bolshevik-Leninist program, are only recognizing each other in order to fight against the program of the Fourth International and the organizations struggling for it.

To conclude, may we add that, at present, the groups in Europe which had fought each other bitterly for many years, are either unified or attempting to unite on the basic program of the Fourth International. Conditions in Europe are sweeping away those who have used revolutionary words to cover their skepticism and they are leaving room only for those who really take the revolutionary struggle to heart. The distance which is separating you from the comrades in Europe should incite you to some caution in dealing with them.

Bolshevik-Leninist greetings,

**A Group of European Emigres,
Members of the Fourth International.**

P.S. Copies of this letter have been sent to *The Socialist Appeal*, London and *The Militant*, New York.

From the Arsenal of Marxism

Perspectives of World Development—II

By LEON TROTSKY

In the first installment of this document—a speech delivered on July 28, 1924—Leon Trotsky briefly summarized the Marxist approach to revolutionary situations, and, in particular, the preconditions for the proletarian revolution. From this standpoint he then went on to analyze the decade of 1914-1924, differentiating several clearly defined periods within this decade. The conclusion drawn from this analysis is that the defeat of the German revolution in 1923 ushered in "a new era in the development of Europe." The outstanding feature of this particular stage of European development was the resurgence of reformism, the revival of the Social Democratic organizations as a consequence of the spread of reformist illusions among the masses. Trotsky poses the question: What are the material foundations of this neo-reformism? And in answer he refers to the role of US capitalism in Europe. The analysis of America's role in post-Versailles Europe is the main theme of this installment.—Ed.

"Pacifist" Imperialism of the USA

America's full and complete entry into the path of active world imperialist policy does not date back to yesterday. If we try to fix the date, we might say that the decisive breaking point in the policy of the US coincides approximately with the turn of the century. The Spanish American war occurred in 1898 when America seized Cuba, thereby assuring herself the key to Panama, and consequently the entry to the Pacific Ocean, China and the continent of Asia. In 1900, the last year of the Nineteenth Century, the export of American manufactured goods for the first time in US history exceeded the import of manufactured articles. This already made America, so to speak,

bookkeepingly a country with an active world policy. In 1901 or 1902 America secured herself the province of Panama in the Republic of Colombia. In these matters America has a policy of her own which was applied in the Hawaiian islands, and I think in Samoa, but in any case, it was applied in Panama and is now being applied in Mexico. Whenever the trans-Atlantic republic finds it necessary to seize foreign territory, to subjugate it or to conclude some slave treaty, it stages a small native revolution and then appears on the scene in order to pacify and quell it—precisely in the manner in which General Dawes has now appeared to tranquillize and pacify Europe which has been ruined by a war waged with the assistance of this very same America. In this manner the US assured itself Panama in 1902 and proceeded to dig the canal. By 1914 they had it dug in the rough; while in 1920 the already fully completed Panama Canal opened up the greatest chapter, in the full sense of the word, in the history of America and the whole terrestrial globe. The United States has introduced a drastic correction into geography in the interests and aims of American imperialism. There is no map here before us, but you can imagine one. As you know the industry of the US is concentrated in the eastern part, on the Atlantic side. The country's west is predominantly agricultural. The entire pull of the US, more correctly its main pull, is in the direction of China with the latter's population of 400,000,000 and the country's countless, uncharted and limitless resources. Through the Panama Canal, American industry has opened up a waterway for itself from the east to the

west, shortening the distances by several thousand miles. These dates—1898, 1900, 1914 and 1920—are the dates marking the open entry of the US into the highroad of world brigandage, i.e. the road of imperialism. The decisive signpost along this road was the war. As you will recall, the US intervened in the war toward the very end. For three years the US did no fighting. More than that, two months before intervening in the war, Wilson announced that there could be no talk of American participation in the bloody dogfight among the madmen of Europe. Up to a certain moment the US remained content with rationally coining into dollars the blood of European "madmen." But in that hour when fear arose lest the war conclude with victory for Germany, the most dangerous future rival, the United States intervened actively. This decided the outcome of the struggle.

And the noteworthy thing is this, that while America avariciously fed the war with her industry and avariciously intervened in order to help crush a likely and dangerous competitor, she has nevertheless retained a reputation for pacifism. This is one of the most interesting paradoxes, one of the most curious jokes of history—jokes from which we did not and do not derive much merriment. American imperialism is in essence ruthlessly rude, predatory, in the full sense of the word, and criminal. But owing to the special conditions of American development, it has the possibility of draping itself in the toga of pacifism. This is not at all done in the manner of the imperialist parvenues of the old world where everything remains transparent. In the case of the US, however, its bourgeoisie and its government, thanks to the special conditions of America's development, this same pacifist mask seems to have become so glued on the imperialist visage that it cannot be torn off. (Laughter.) This was not accidental. Geography helped. History helped. The US managed without a land army. Why? Because it is so hard to reach. On the right there is the Atlantic Ocean and on the left, the Pacific (even the ocean is pacifist!)—how can it be reached? England is an island and this is one of the basic reasons for its peculiarities and at the same time it is one of England's basic advantages. The United States likewise represents a gigantic island in relation to the old world grouping on the planet. England barricades herself with her fleet. But should the line of the English fleet be broken, the British Isles lie defenseless, they can be cut in two with a cavalry sabre, so narrow is this strip of land. But try to cut across America, across the United States! This is an island which at the same time possesses all the advantages of Russia—her vast spaces. Thanks to its colossal distances, the United States, even without a fleet, would be almost invulnerable to Europe or Japan. Here is the basic geographic reason for the pacifist mask which has become a second face. Actually, America, unlike Europe, unlike all the others, does not create an army. . . . And if America does undertake to create an army, it is only because it is under the compulsion to do so. Who compelled it? Barbarians did, the Kaiser, the German imperialists, people who were not educated in the virtues of Presbyterians or Quaker religions. Another reason for the pacifist virtue must be sought, as I said, in history. The US entered the world arena late, after the whole world had already been seized and divided. The imperialist progress of the US therefore proceeds under the banner of "the freedom of the seas," "open doors," and so on. Thus when America is compelled to engage in acts of open military criminality, the responsibility—in the eyes of the US population and to a certain degree in the eyes of mankind as a whole—falls upon all the other citizens on the planet but not on the USA itself.

Wilson helped finish off Germany and then appeared, as you will recall, in Europe accoutred from head to toe in his Fourteen Points which promised universal well-being and the reign of peace, the right of nations to self-determination, punishment for such criminals as the Kaiser and rewards to all virtuous people, etc. The gospel according to Wilson! We all still remember it. And the whole of middle-class Europe, and workers, too, by and large—the whole of worker-middle-class Europe, i.e. worker-Menshevik Europe subsisted for many long months on the gospel according to Wilson. This provincial professor summoned to the role of representing American capitalism and dripping from blood up to his knees and elbows—for after all he incited the European slaughter—appeared in Europe as the apostle of pacifism and pacification. And everybody said: Wilson will bring peace; Wilson will restore Europe. However, Wilson did not succeed in accomplishing what Dawes, accompanied by a suite of bankers, now arrives to accomplish; and Wilson petulantly turned his back on Europe and returned to America. And great were the democratic-pacifist and social-democratic wailings and complaints about the insanity of the European bourgeoisie who refused to come to an agreement with Wilson and prevented him from attaining peace in European affairs.

Wilson was replaced. The Republican Party came to power. There ensued in America a commercial-industrial boom based almost exclusively on the internal market, i.e. on the basis of a temporary equilibrium between industry and agriculture, between the East and the West. This boom did not last long, approximately two years. Last year the boom tapered off and an unstable condition resulted, but in the spring of this year many obvious signs became manifest of a commercial-industrial crisis, which hit the agricultural sections of the USA savagely. And, as always, the crisis gave a new quickening impulse to imperialism. As a result, US finance capital sent its representatives to Europe to finish the business which began so solidly with the imperialist war and was continued by the Versailles Peace, i.e. the business of degrading and enslaving Europe economically.

The Plan—To Place Europe on Rations

What does American capitalism want? What is it seeking? It is seeking, we are told, stability; it wants to restore the European market; it wants to make Europe solvent. How? By what measures? And to what extent? After all, American capitalism is compelled not to render Europe capable of competition; it cannot allow England, and all the more so Germany and France, particularly Germany, to regain their world markets inasmuch as American capitalism finds itself hemmed in, because it is now an exporting capitalism—exporting both commodities and capital. American capitalism is seeking the position of world domination; it wants to establish an American imperialist autocracy over our planet. This is what it wants. What will it do with Europe? It must, they say, pacify Europe. How? Under its hegemony. And what does this mean? This means that Europe will be permitted to rise again, but within limits set in advance, with certain restricted sections of the world market allotted to it. American capitalism is now issuing commands, giving instructions to its diplomats. In exactly the same way it is preparing and is ready to issue instructions to European banks and trusts, to the European bourgeoisie as a whole. . . . This is its aim. It will slice up the markets; it will regulate the activity of the European financiers and industrialists. If we wish to give a clear and precise answer to the question of what American imperialism wants, we must say: *It wants to put capitalist Europe on rations.*

This means that it will specify just how many tons, liters

and kilograms and just what materials Europe has a right to buy and sell. In the theses of the Third World Congress of the Comintern we wrote that Europe is being Balkanized. At present this trend is being further reinforced. The states of the Balkan peninsula always had a protector either in the person of Czarist Russia or Austria-Hungary. Their entire political life: the succession of ruling parties and even the replacement of dynasties (Serbia) hinged on the will of the mighty protectors. Today Balkanized Europe finds herself in the same position with respect to the US and in part, Great Britain. To the degree that the antagonism between them develops, the European governments will scrape their feet in the waiting rooms of Washington and London; the shifts of parties and governments will be determined in the last analysis by the will of American capitalism which is issuing orders to Europe how much she is to eat and drink. . . .

Rations, as we know from personal experience, are not always sweet, all the more so since this American and rigidly standardized ration is being offered not only to the European peoples but also to their ruling classes who have become very accustomed to sweets. This involves, in the last analysis, not only Germany, not only France but also England. Yes, England, too, has to diffidently prepare herself for the same fate. To be sure, we hear it said often today that America is marching hand in hand with England, and that an Anglo-Saxon bloc has been formed. There is frequent allusion to Anglo-Saxon capital, Anglo-Saxon policy. It is said that the basic world antagonism lies in the hostility between America and Japan. But this is the language of those who do not understand the situation. The basic world antagonism runs along the line of American and British interests. And as time goes on, this will be laid bare more and more starkly.

U.S. and European Social Democracy

However, before passing on to this highly important question, I want to analyze the place that American capitalism assigns to European radicals and Mensheviks, the Social Democracy of Europe—the same Europe which is now confronted with being placed on rations. The Social Democracy has been issued an assignment—and I do not at all say this for polemical purposes—to render political aid to American capitalism in placing Europe on rations. What is the Social Democracy of Germany, of France now actually doing? What are the Socialists throughout Europe doing? Let us study this closely and ponder over it.

They are now educating themselves and they are trying to instill in the working masses the religion of Americanism. This does not mean that they have all turned Presbyterians or Quakers. But it does mean that they are making a new political religion out of Americanism and out of the role of American capitalism in Europe. They are teaching or trying to teach the toiling masses that Europe cannot maintain herself without the pacifying role of American capitalism and its loans. They are leading the opposition to their own bourgeoisie, as, for example, do the German social patriots—an opposition not from the standpoint of the proletarian revolution, nor even from the standpoint of some sort of reforms, but from the standpoint of exposing the German bourgeoisie as intemperate, greedy, chauvinistic and incapable of reaching an agreement with the humane, democratic, pacifist capitalism of America. This is now the central question of the political life of Europe, and especially of Germany. In other words, the European Social Democracy is becoming before our very eyes the political agency of American capitalism. Is this development expected or un-

expected? If we recall—and it is hardly a case that calls for recollection—that the Social Democracy is the agency of the bourgeoisie, it will become clear that the Social Democracy, by the logic of its political degeneration, is bound to become the agency of the strongest and most powerful bourgeoisie, the bourgeoisie of bourgeoisies. This is the American bourgeoisie. To the extent that American capitalism undertakes the task of “unifying” Europe, “pacifying” Europe and “educating” Europe how to cope with the questions of reparations, war indemnities, and so on, and to the extent that the purse is in the hands of the American bourgeoisie, to that extent the entire dependence of the German Social Democracy upon the German bourgeoisie, and of the French Social Democracy upon their own bourgeoisie in France is gradually transferred to the chief master. Yes, a great master has come to Europe, American capitalism. And it is only natural that the Social Democracy should assume a position politically dependent on the master of its masters. This is the basic fact for understanding the present condition and the present policy of the Second International. Those who do not grasp this clearly will fail to understand the events of today and of tomorrow and will keep sliding on the surface, subsisting on generalities.

More than that: one service deserves another! The Social Democracy prepares the soil for American capitalism; it runs ahead of the chariot, talks of the salutary role of American capitalism, sweeps the road, cleans away the rubbish, bestows blessings. This is not unimportant work! Imperialism is used to sending missionaries ahead. The savages in the colonies usually shot the priest, and sometimes ate him. Then the warrior was sent to avenge the saintly one, and hard on the heels of the warrior came the merchant and the administrator. In order to colonize Europe, to transform the latter into an American dominion of a new type, American capitalism has no need of sending priests-missionaries to Europe. On the spot, on the European continent, there is a political party whose entire task consists in proclaiming to the peoples the gospel according to Woodrow Wilson, the evangel according to Calvin Coolidge, the holy writings of the New York and Chicago stock markets. This is precisely the mission of present-day Menshevism. But I repeat, one service deserves another! The Mensheviks gain not a little thereby. As a matter of fact, the German Social Democracy not so long ago had to assume the direct armed defense of its own bourgeoisie, the same bourgeoisie that marched shoulder to shoulder with the Fascists. Noske is, after all, the figure that symbolizes the postwar policy of the German Social Democracy. And today? Today it has a different role. Today the German Social Democracy permits itself the luxury of being in an opposition. It criticizes its own bourgeoisie and thereby keeps a certain distance between itself and the parties of capitalism. How does it criticize its own bourgeoisie? It says: You are self-seeking, dull-witted, cunning but here is a bourgeoisie on the other side of the Atlantic which is first of all rich and powerful; secondly, it is humane, reformist and pacifist and it has again come to us, and wants to give 800 million marks cash in order to restore the currency. And this sounds very well in Germany—the gold mark! But you, the German bourgeoisie, are obstreperous. After you have pulled our dear fatherland up to its ears in the swamp of poverty, how dare you be so stubborn before the American bourgeoisie? Why, we shall expose you mercilessly in the eyes of the popular masses of Germany! This is spoken almost in the tones of a revolutionary tribune . . . in defense of the American bourgeoisie. (Applause.) This is the paradox of the German Social Democratic Party.

The same thing applies to France. Of course, in consonance with the political situation in France, and in consonance with the more respectable reputation of the French franc, everything in this country takes place on the sly and in modulated tones. But essentially the same thing is being done there, too. The party of Leon Blum, Renaudel and Jean Longuet bears full responsibility for the Versailles Peace and for the occupation of the Ruhr territory. After all, as we all know, it is already incontestable today that the Herriot government, supported by the Socialists, stands for maintaining the occupation of the Ruhr. But now the French Socialists are enabled to say to their ally Herriot: "The Americans are demanding that you clear the Ruhr under such and such conditions; do it. . . . We, too, demand it now."

They are demanding this not through the will and strength of the French proletariat, but in the name of subjecting the French bourgeoisie to the will of the American bourgeoisie. It ought not to be forgotten that the French bourgeoisie owes 3,700 million dollars to the American bourgeoisie. This means something! America can topple the French franc any time it so pleases. Of course, the American bourgeoisie will not encroach on the franc. Oh no! After all, the American bourgeoisie has come to Europe to restore order and not to bring ruin. It will not encroach . . . but it can encroach, if it so wishes. Everything is in its hands. For this reason, against the background of this debt of almost 4 billion dollars, the arguments of Renaudel, Blum and others have a rather convincing ring in the ears of the French bourgeoisie. At the same time the Social Democracy in Germany, France and other countries is enabled to oppose its own bourgeoisie, to carry on "oppositionist" policies on some concrete questions, and thereby regain the confidence of a certain section of the working class.

Nor is this all. Certain possibilities of joint "actions" are opened up for the Menshevik parties of the various countries of Europe. The Social Democracy of Europe already represents a rather harmonious chorus. In some respects this is a new fact. For 10 years—since the beginning of the imperialist war—it has had no opportunity for presenting a common front. Now this possibility exists and the Mensheviks have now come forward as a solid chorus, supporting America, supporting her program, her demands, her pacifism, her great mission. And here we come to the question of the Second International in Europe.

Here is the key and explanation for certain signs of life in this semi-corpse. The Second International, like the Amsterdam Trade Union International, is being reestablished. Of course, not in the same form as before the war. The past cannot be resurrected; old strength is gone beyond return. The Communist International cannot be obliterated. Nor is it possible to obliterate the imperialist war which gravely injured the spine of the Second International, and in several places, too. This is a basic fact. This is beyond repair. Nonetheless, with this damaged spine, they are seeking to rise on American crutches, straightening themselves up as best they can. The change that is taking place must be appraised to its fullest extent, comrades. During the imperialist war, the German Social Democracy remained most closely and quite openly tied to its own bourgeoisie, its own military machine. The French Social Democracy—to its own. What kind of International could there be so long as they savagely fought each other, accused each other, defamed each other? There was no possibility whatever for maintaining a mask of internationalism, or even a shadow of it. In the epoch of the drafting of the peace—the same situation existed. The Versailles Peace represented simply the seal set upon the results of the imperialist war on diplomatic paper.

Where was there room for solidarity? The situation remained essentially the same in the period of the Ruhr occupation. But now the great American capitalism comes to Europe and it says: Here is a plan of reparations for you, Messrs. Mensheviks!

And the Social Democracy accepts this program as the basis for its entire activity. This new program unites the Social Democracy of France, Germany, England, Holland, Switzerland. Every Swiss citizen, after all, hopes that Switzerland will sell more watches once the Americans restore order and tranquillity in Europe. The entire middle class which expresses itself most articulately through the Social Democracy likewise finds spiritual concord on the program of Americanism. In short, the Second International now possesses a unity program: It was brought by General Dawes from Washington. (Applause.)

Once again we see here the same paradox: When American capitalism launches into outright brigandage, it is fully enabled to step to the fore in the guise of an organizer and pacifier, as some sort of humanistic, historical principle. And in passing it creates a platform for the Social Democracy, far superior to the latter's nationalistic platform of yesterday. The native bourgeoisie happens to be right on the spot; one can inspect it, as if it were on the palm of one's hand, whereas American capitalism is removed by great distances; its doings are not clearly observable, and these doings, as everybody knows, are not always impeccable; and, besides, there is the power—and this is the most important thing—there is the colossal, unbelievable wealth, unexampled in history, which so impresses the average citizen and the Social Democrat.

Let me add parenthetically that in the course of last year, in the line of duty, I have been obliged to engage in discussions with several American Senators, Republicans and Democrats alike. In appearance they are out-and-out provincials. I am not sure that they are well acquainted with the geography of Europe. It is hard to say. But for the sake of politeness; let us grant them such acquaintance. Whenever they discuss politics they express themselves as follows: "I told Poincare," "I said to Curzon," "I explained to Mussolini. . . ." They feel themselves to be leaders and masters in Europe. This newly-rich manufacturer of condensed milk. . . . (Laughter.) Condensed milk, comrades, is not at all inferior to other products. I note considerable sympathy here for condensed milk. . . . This wealthy food packer from Chicago or elsewhere refers with outright patronizing condescension to the eminent bourgeois politicians of Europe. He expects to be the master; he already feels himself the master. And it is precisely for this reason that certain calculations of the English bourgeoisie to retain their leading role will prove to be false. I promised to deal with this, and I shall now do so.

(To Be Continued.)

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