

Fourth International

Editorials

**BREAK-UP OF TWO-
PARTY SYSTEM**

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**ATTACK ON
DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS**

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**STALINISM AND
THE STRUGGLE
FOR CIVIL LIBERTIES**

The True Testament of Trotsky

On the 8th Anniversary of the Assassination of Leon Trotsky

By E. Germain

Yugoslav Events and the World Crisis of Stalinism

Statement by the Political Committee of the SWP

Oil and Labor

By John Fredericks

August 1948

25c

Manager's Column

Although the first presidential campaign of the Socialist Workers Party holds the promise of greatly expanding our reading public, its immediate result was a slump in Fourth International circulation. In the language of statistics, August was a cold month for the FI. New and renewal subscriptions were less than half as numerous as expirations of old subs.

It was a short month, because the July issue was so late, but that would hardly explain the slump. Precisely because the presidential campaign is so inspiring and absorbing, it has monopolized the attention and funds of SWP members and friends. It has also concentrated interest on **The Militant**, which published the radio speeches and week-to-week campaign news.

Fourth International can reasonably expect a healthy gain in circulation as a result of the party reaching millions of new contacts for the first time through radio broadcasts by the SWP candidates, Farrell Dobbs for President and Grace Carlson for Vice President, and by other campaign activities. But under the initial excitement and pressure, some of the most devoted FI readers have let their subs lapse. Even some SWP organizers and literature agents have overlooked expiration notices in their last two copies. They were too busy getting election petitions signed, introducing **The Militant** to new readers in sub drive mobilizations, arranging mass meetings and radio time for the candidates, conducting street meetings, or working for the campaign in a dozen other ways. Or they had just sent their last spare dollars to the campaign fund and had to let their FI subs wait.

But these staunch readers will not go long without their FI's. They feel a constant need for this theoretical organ.

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

VOLUME 9 August 1948 No. 6 (Whole No. 88)

*Published Monthly by the
Fourth International Publishing Association*

116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y. Telephone: Algonquin 4-9330. Subscription rates: \$1.00 for 6 issues; \$2.00 for 12 issues; bundles, 20c for 5 copies and up. Foreign: \$1.50 for 6 issues; \$2.50 for 12 issues; bundles, 21c for 5 copies and up.

Re-entered as second-class matter May 27, 1948, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

Managing Editor: E. R. FRANK

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Likewise hundreds of the new friends of the SWP will want it after reading the first literature they get. They will soon want to read the more advanced and rounded Marxist material on domestic and world affairs published each month in the **Fourth International**.

Some radio listeners subscribed immediately to both **The Militant** and **Fourth International**, even before seeing either of them. Upon hearing the SWP candidates on the radio they sent money at once "for your official publications." More subscribed after reading **The Militant**. Some requested sample copies of **Fourth International**.

Samples will be sent to all the interested new friends of the SWP at the first opportunity.

About 800 individuals and several libraries, newspapers and various organizations have sent for copies of the radio speeches and the election platform. All received samples of **The Militant** and scores quickly subscribed, either directly or through branches of the party. The next step is to introduce them to **Fourth International** and the valuable library of Marxist-Leninist-Trotskyist books and pamphlets published by Pioneer Publishers.

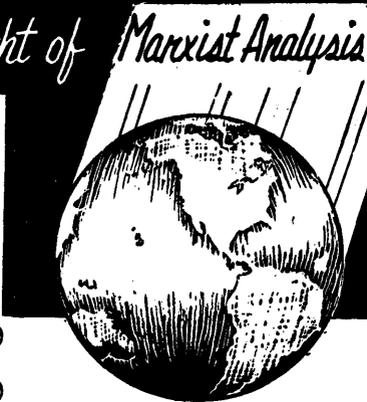
These steps take time and money, but with the devotion always shown by **Fourth International** readers, the task will be accomplished.

Five **Fourth International** subscriptions arrived from Shanghai last month, but with no direct comment by the subscribers. At least four of them apparently resulted from reading **The Militant**, weekly paper of American Trotskyism, which US friends had sent to three Chinese workers whose letter of appeal for help was published in **The Militant** Dec. 29, 1947. Four of the subs were for both the magazine and the weekly paper.

World Events in the Light of Marxist Analysis

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FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

VOLUME 9

AUGUST 1948

NUMBER 6

WORLD IN REVIEW

Break-Up of the Two-Party System and the 1948 Presidential Election — The Attack on Democratic Rights Must Be Met by Labor Solidarity — Stalinism and the Struggle for Civil Liberties

Break-Up of Two-Party System And the 1948 Election

The towering political development of the 1948 presidential election is the breakup of the Democratic Party. This has ploughed up in roughshod fashion the political soil of the United States. The two-party system which has dominated American politics since post-Civil War days is disrupted, and new significant political realignments are now appearing.

The unnatural alliance of Southern Bourbons, Northern political machines, and the labor movement is falling apart. These antipathetic social forces were held together during a specific period of American history by the granting of concessions to the labor movement, huge subsidies to the farm interests and the cement of patronage. But American imperialism emerged from the war with a \$250 billion internal debt and with the necessity of laying out additional billions as subsidies, loans and for military expeditions to prop up shaking regimes throughout the globe and save the disintegrating system of capitalism. The old New Deal policy of throwing small concessions to the working people became a luxury that hard-pressed American imperialism could no longer afford. The period of the "cold war" with Russia became likewise the period of the Taft-Hartley Law, witch-hunts, spy scares, labor injunctions, union-busting and lowered living standards at home.

But the first serious sharpening of the social crisis at home witnessed the splintering of the Democratic Party. The Wall Street rulers, after isolating and disgracing the New Deal remnants in the administration, demonstratively kicked Wallace out of office. Goaded on by the Stalinists, and taking heart from the ground swell of opposition developing in the ranks of the American people over high prices, lack of housing, the Taft-Hartley Law, violation of civil rights and the danger of war, Wallace decided to take advantage of the vacuum existing in the present-day political scene and launch his own middle-class party, lavish in promises of reforms while proposing to preserve in-

tact the capitalist system. The launching of this postwar edition of the New Deal evoked — in the absence of an authentic labor party — widespread response from poor people throughout the country, especially the thrice-oppressed Negro masses, workers suffering from high prices and even numerous middle-class elements.

This noteworthy development in turn thrust the Democratic Party into a crisis. In danger of losing its support among precisely those sections of the population which had guaranteed its victory since 1932, the Truman administration, in a panic, began making numerous gestures and offering glib promises, especially to labor and the Negro masses. Because its foundations were shaken and its cause more desperate than during Roosevelt's lifetime, Truman was compelled to go even further than Roosevelt in promising the Negro people their civil rights. To labor, the Democrats promised repeal of the Taft-Hartley Law.

But these steps, in turn, rather than resolving the crisis of the Democratic Party, sharpened it. By now, the Southern plantation aristocracy, already alarmed by the growing proportions of the postwar Negro movement for equality, become panic-stricken with the thought that Truman's demagogic utterances on civil rights would endanger their already shaky rule in the South and make impossible the preservation of Southern "lynch law" and "white supremacy." After numerous threats and blackmailing attempts, the most extreme of the Southern Bourbons likewise staged a walkout from the Democratic Party and are setting up a scarcely concealed "Dixiecrat" fascist movement.

These splits in the Democratic Party both from the left and right, far from enhancing the position of the trade-union bureaucracy in the Democratic rump, have further weakened its influence and thrust the bureaucracy, in turn, into the most serious crisis since the advent of the New Deal. For 15 years, the bureaucrats of the AFL and CIO were able to line up their union memberships behind the Democratic Party through the medium of such counterfeited labor political organizations as Labor's Non-Partisan League, the PAC, etc.

But after the war this policy became increasingly dif-

difficult to pursue. The memberships, while not sufficiently class-conscious and determined to put a stop to the bureaucrats' policy of supporting the two-party system of capitalist politics, were nevertheless voting against this policy negatively. They were showing increasing apathy toward coming out to vote for union-supported capitalist candidates. After the passage of the Taft-Hartley Law, this apathy turned to sullen resentment and lack of trust of all capitalist politicians. Under the circumstances, the labor bureaucrats have been long hesitating to come out openly in favor of Truman. They are attempting to concentrate on electing "good" Congressmen to office.

But the existence of Wallace's Third Party in the field and its forthright attack on the worst evils of capitalism, is making it obvious that the labor bureaucracy cannot for long continue its bankrupt politics of supporting the two-party system. In the absence of a genuine labor party, millions of voters are bound to turn to Wallace.

The bureaucrats fear that this repudiation of their policies at the polls may at the next stage endanger their positions in the unions themselves. That is why the most perspicacious and socially conscious of the bureaucrats, especially in the CIO, are seeking an alternative policy. It is in this light that Reuther's recent call for a new party must be viewed.

Reuther does not want a labor party. He is attempting to set forces into motion for the creation of a new party, similar to Wallace's in its People's Front character, dominated like Wallace's by liberals and middle-class politicians, but anti-Stalinist, with a program similar to the Americans for Democratic Action. His call for a new party is certain, however, to inaugurate a fierce debate inside the union ranks. This debate can be of inestimable significance in furthering the political education and understanding of the union ranks and thus strengthening the nascent left wing and enlarging its support for the creation of a genuine labor party, based upon and responsible to the unions and with an effective program for militant labor action.

This labor party development will undoubtedly be spurred on by the fact that the Socialist Workers Party — the Marxist vanguard of the American labor movement — has for the first time emerged on the national scene as an effective party participating in the presidential elections and popularizing its program for a Workers and Farmers Government among hundreds of thousands of people previously unaware of the existence of the SWP.

The SWP candidates are calling upon all working people, especially the active unionists, to cast an SWP vote in this election, as they are the only candidates who are fighting for the creation of such a mass labor party in this country. This SWP campaign will undoubtedly act as a spur to the creation of a labor party movement, which in turn will revolutionize the present political lineups.

At the same time, the SWP campaign serves to popularize a clear-cut class program among great masses of the working population on the major social questions of the day: war and peace, inflation and prices, civil rights and full equality for the Negro people and other minorities,

the nationalization of industry and the reorganization of the economy on planned socialist foundations; as well as sharply demarcating the party and program of genuine socialism from all varieties of middle-class panaceas, including Wallace-Stalinist People's Front demagoguery and Norman Thomas "milk and water" reformism.

These crucial questions are basic to the founding of a labor party armed with a policy that can meet the pressing needs of the American working class. The SWP campaign for a Workers and Farmers Government thus lays the ground-work for the hammering out of a correct program for the emerging mass labor party movement.

The Attack on Democratic Rights Must Be Met by Labor Solidarity

On July 28, Farrell Dobbs, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for President of the United States, sent a letter to Attorney General Tom Clark requesting a hearing on the listing of the SWP by the Department of Justice as a "subversive" organization.

The blacklisting of the SWP, Dobbs pointed out, "was done without prior notification to our party, without a hearing, and without any specification of the grounds for such action."

"Our party," the SWP candidate continued, "objects not only to the arbitrary and unheard-of procedure by the Department of Justice in this matter but equally to the dictatorial principle of a political blacklist."

This letter was written eight months after publication of the political blacklist. The American Civil Liberties Union had protested the procedure of listing agencies without hearings, and the Attorney General in response to this pressure assured the ACLU that a hearing would be granted any organization challenging its blacklisting.

Informed of this by the ACLU, the SWP immediately prepared to file its request for a hearing.

The reply of the Department of Justice came after more than two weeks' deliberation. In an official letter dated August 16, Alex Campbell, Assistant Attorney General, speaking for Tom Clark, flatly declared that "the Department does not contemplate holding hearings in such matters, with or without specifications or charges."

With this dictatorial refusal to grant a hearing, the Truman administration indicated where it really stands on the vital issue of civil rights in America. In his election propaganda, Truman attempts to pose as a champion of democracy. He has even paid lip-service to the struggle of the Negro people for equality, just as he has uttered critical remarks about the Taft-Hartley Law and promised to battle for its repeal. When it comes to action, however, this political representative of Big Business shows that he is no more liberal than Dewey.

Both Democrats and Republicans assure the voters they will defend civil liberties. But that is only campaign propaganda. As the reply of the Department of Justice to the SWP underlines, an election promise is one thing; carrying out that promise is quite another.

This contradiction between the propaganda of the capitalist politicians and their actions in regard to civil liberties is one of the many symptoms of the decay of

capitalism. The contradiction stems from the incompatibility of the old revolutionary and democratic traditions of capitalism with the present-day utterly reactionary character of this economy. The struggle for democratic rights and civil liberties played a major role in the revolution that broke the chains of feudalism and freed the rising capitalist class from those fetters. The principles enunciated in the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights mark one of the highest points in the capitalist revolution.

This tradition became deeply imbedded in the United States. The workers and farmers of America not only still believe in these principles but they try to practice them and defend them from attack. That is why every capitalist politician who seeks office today finds himself compelled to tip his hat in their direction.

The progressive role of capitalism has long passed. Upon conquering power and clearing away the feudal rubbish, the capitalist class buried its revolutionary past, turned conservative and then arch-reactionary. The continued existence of democratic rights and civil liberties appears to the monopolists as a threat to their rule, for the practice of these principles opens the political arena to the working class as an independent force, thereby facilitating the rise of socialism, the coming new economic order destined to replace capitalism.

Consequently the world capitalist class tends to become more and more authoritarian and dictatorial in its politics. The extreme expression of this tendency is fascism. In countries such as the United States where vestiges of democracy still exist, the growth of authoritarianism is expressed, among other things, in the shift of power away from the deliberative bodies such as Congress to the executive branch. During the Roosevelt administration, government by Executive Order increased alarmingly. The entrenchment and expansion of the military clique in America added a new and powerful force bolstering this sinister trend in American politics.

The ultimate victim of authoritarianism is the organized labor movement. Up to now this has been seen most clearly in Italy, Germany and Japan where the trade unions were crushed by the authoritarian state. The same pattern is now taking shape in America.

With the close of the war for "democracy" and "four freedoms," Big Business opened up war on the domestic front against the labor movement. The first great victory the monopolists chalked up was passage of the Taft-Hartley Slave-Labor Law. This law is now being adjusted around labor's neck like a hangman's noose. Its full effects are yet to be felt, since the strategists of Big Business prefer to apply it step by step in order to undermine and disarm the opposition.

Having achieved this success, the next move was publication of the so-called "subversive" list of organizations who do not agree that the Democrats and Republicans provide the best type of government for America. This blacklist is a diabolical weapon in the hands of labor-hating politicians. It enables them to proscribe and persecute any organization which they consider even potentially

dangerous to their monopoly of government office.

The organizations thus placed beyond the pale are denied their right to view the "evidence" on which the blacklist is based. They are denied the right to confront their accusers. They are denied their right to appear in court and argue their case. Now, as the case of the Socialist Workers Party reveals, they are even denied their right to a hearing by the combined prosecuting attorney, judge and jury that arbitrarily decreed them to be "subversive."

The next step in this process of converting the United States into a military police state is the persecution of individuals courageous enough to hold opinions disagreeable to Big Business and its political flunkies. Truman's "loyalty" purge was the opening gun in the shameful witch-hunt that has since been waged.

At first the purge was confined to isolated individuals in government service who were "guilty" at one time or another of the "crime" of having read the Marxist literature that is available in any reasonably well-equipped library in the country, or of the "crime" of holding membership in an organization blacklisted by Attorney General Clark or of the "crime" of "associating" with individuals belonging to those organizations.

The objective of this purge is to terrorize militants and to lay the basis for more far-reaching measures. It is not a long step from making the reading of certain books a "crime" to the burning of those books. And it is an even shorter step from the purging of government employees to the purging of employees on any job in industry.

How far America has already traveled down this ominous road can be seen from the following two recent incidents, both of them of unusually dramatic character:

The first occurred at the South Philadelphia Works of the Westinghouse Corporation in Lester, Pennsylvania where Navy orders have been placed. On July 1 an engineer, Frank Carner, was informed that he was a "poor security risk" and at once escorted out of the plant. The company placed him on a forced leave of absence without pay. On July 12, a sheet-metal worker in the same plant, Herb Lewin, was treated in similar Hitler-like fashion. Neither worker was presented with accusations, charges or evidence by either the Westinghouse company or Navy Department officials.

Both men were well known militants of Local 107 of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, CIO. Both men had worked during the war in plants handling government orders. No complaints had ever been lodged against them.

Local 107 reacted to these firings in exemplary fashion. If the company could get away with firing these two men, then no one was safe. At 2 P.M. on the day Lewin was ousted, the first shift held a meeting within the plant gates. After hearing complete details, the shift voted to stay out on grounds of the obvious violation of contract by the company. The second shift and third shift concurred in this action.

Local 107 mobilized to inform the entire labor movement of this outrageous violation of civil liberties and

democratic rights. Telegrams were sent to the heads of the CIO and other union officials. News releases were issued to the papers. Paid spot announcements were placed on the radio.

The company took fright at this rousing demonstration of solidarity. On July 14, it reversed its position, reinstating the two men but transferring them to a "non-classified" section in agreement with the local union. Local 107 had won a heartening victory.

This incident demonstrates that a militant defense by labor *can* push back the anti-labor drive. But the assumption of the company that it could get away with such firings reveals only too clearly what eventual victims Big Business had in mind when it inspired the "subversive" blacklist, the "loyalty" purge and the Washington witch-hunt.

The other incident is the case of James Kutcher, of Newark, New Jersey. This Purple Heart veteran of World War II lost both legs at San Pietro, Italy, after serving in the African and Sicilian campaigns. At the end of the war he took a job as a clerk with the Veterans Administration to help support his aged and sick parents.

On August 13, this disabled veteran was served official notice of "proposed removal from employment" within 30 days. The "charges" were membership in the Socialist Workers Party, making financial pledges to *The Militant* and associating with "persons, associations, movements, and groups designated by the Attorney General as subversive in nature."

Kutcher did not deny these "crimes." On the contrary, he proudly affirmed them and announced his intention to challenge this brutal invasion of his right to hold political views different from those of the Washington bureaucrats.

This sensational case reveals in the most dramatic way possible how far the government of Big Business will go in its drive against civil liberties and democratic rights.

What is needed today is a firm stand by the trade unions and all organizations and individuals interested in safeguarding these hard-won rights. If a vigorous defense is put up for Kutcher such as Local 107 put up for Lewin and Carner, the anti-labor drive can be dealt a heavy blow. The issue at stake is an important one. It begins with defense of the right of every working person to think and speak in accordance with the dictates of his own conscience. It involves the fate of all minority groups in America and their right to equality. And ultimately it affects the very existence of organized labor in the United States.

Stalinism and the Struggle for Civil Liberties

When Stalin first promulgated his theory of "socialism in one country" in the autumn of 1924, Trotsky not only condemned the theory as a betrayal of revolutionary socialism, which is above all else international in character, but even at that early stage predicted the course of degeneration to which Stalin's theory would lead. Among Trotsky's predictions was the inevitable transformation of the Communist International from the militant instrument of the world proletariat into the pliant tool of the Kremlin

bureaucracy. The Communist parties throughout the world, he warned, would become mere border patrols of the USSR and national agencies of an ever more corrupted clique, interested exclusively in its own survival even if it meant the destruction of the international revolutionary movement.

Trotsky's early predictions have long ago become the unfortunate reality. Although this fact was first noticeable only to the advanced layers of the working class, it is now the common property of workers everywhere and is even infiltrating into the ranks of the Stalinist faithful who have for so many years closed their minds to the truth. And how could it be otherwise? The twists and turns of the Stalinist bureaucracy and their unconditional and uncritical acceptance by the GPU-controlled national sections have become so frequent and so contradictory that they are at one and the same time the subjects of ridicule in the camp of the imperialists and the working class alike.

Many still remember the "Third Period" when everyone but a Stalinist was designated as a "social-fascist," thereby easing the path for Hitler's rise to power. We saw later how almost everyone was wooed to join the popular front against fascism, even those who helped finance Hitler. We remember the days of the Stalin-Hitler pact when all were invited to struggle against world imperialism, with the "democratic" imperialists singled out as the hated enemy. And then came the attack by Hitler against the Soviet Union. Fascism in the form of German imperialism was now portrayed as the only foe, and the hated "democratic" imperialists of yesterday became Stalin's staunchest "democratic" friends. And today these same "democrats" have once again become imperialists against whom all and sundry must join forces.

All these changes were accomplished without regard for the interests of the working class either in the Soviet Union or throughout the world. The acceptance of the theory of "socialism in one country" led not only to the abandonment of world revolution by the Kremlin but to its deathly fear of it.

The Stalinist bureaucracy continued in power by making deals with one or another imperialist power. However, with Wall Street's unchallenged dominance resulting from the Second World War, Stalin finds it harder and harder to get livable terms from Washington. His role in the "cold war" can be understood as an attempt to secure a bridge to a new deal with American imperialism. All the revolutionary-sounding verbiage emanating from the Kremlin is sheer camouflage. The American State Department is of course fully cognizant of Stalin's fear of revolution and his desperate desire to come to terms with Washington.

Irrespective of temporary rapprochements, the fundamental contradictions between capitalism and the nationalized property forms which emerged from the Russian Revolution remain. Thence flows the extreme difficulty of harnessing the Kremlin and its foreign agencies to the role of a reliable agency of American imperialism. The attitude of Washington toward the American Communist Party faithfully reflects the existing relationship at any given time between the State Department and Stalin. When there was a rift as in the days of the Stalin-Hitler pact,

Washington showed its displeasure by persecuting CP leaders. Thus Browder was put into jail on the flimsy charge of a passport violation. When agreement with the Kremlin was again obtained after Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union, Browder received a presidential pardon and the monstrous Moscow Trials were tacitly whitewashed by the State Department. Now that we are in the midst of a "cold war," Washington once more persecutes the Stalinist leaders. Only in this light can the current indictments of the 12 leaders of the Communist Party be fully understood.

These indictments come under the notorious Smith Gag Act. It was under this very law that 18 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and the Minneapolis Truck-drivers Union were indicted in 1941 and later convicted. The teachings of Marx and Lenin which are to be found in every library of the country were construed by the Justice Department as a conspiracy to overthrow the government by force and violence. In this way 18 genuine revolutionists were framed and sent to prison. The Stalinist leaders are likewise being framed, in fact doubly so. In the first place the teachings of Marx and Lenin are not a conspiracy, and in the second place the Communist Party no longer adheres to these teachings. But it serves the interests of Washington to maintain the fiction that the CP is a revolutionary organization and to prosecute its leaders accordingly.

In its preparation for World War III American imperialism must housebreak the labor movement and shackle it completely to its war machine. It can do so only by silencing the militants and revolutionists. It can do so only by taking one step at a time. Since the Stalinists, because of their many betrayals of the working class, are the most vulnerable section in the labor movement, they are being prosecuted under the Smith Gag Act allegedly for being militants and revolutionists. In this way Washington also seeks to discredit the real militants and revolutionists. American capitalism hopes that the working class will fail to rally in defense of the Stalinists, all the more so because the latter did everything in their power to sabotage the fight of the Trotskyists against the sinister Smith Act in the famous Minneapolis trials.

We must make it clear at the outset that eventually the real victim of the current indictments will be the American labor movement. It is the duty of all labor to rally in a solid united front to defend civil rights—the most elementary, precious possession of the working class. Without these rights the labor movement stands in constant danger of being cut to pieces and reduced to the status of slaves.

Wherever the vital interests of the working class are at stake, the tactic of the united front has been constantly advocated by Marxists. Lenin expounded this lesson over and over again. After Lenin's death Trotsky taught the necessity for a united front by word and deed. His was the only voice to be raised for a united front struggle against Hitler by the German working class irrespective of their differing politics. While equally condemning the false political policies of the Social Democrats and the Stalinists, he never tired of asking them to join forces with

the Trotskyists in a united front struggle. As Trotskyists we again make a similar call, this time to the entire American labor movement, to unite in beating back the fraudulent charges against the leaders of the Communist Party, much as we despise its politics let alone its many betrayals.

We shall be as unremitting in our efforts to rally the labor movement against the indictments of the Stalinist leaders as we were in obtaining the support of over 5,000,000 workers for the Minneapolis victims of the Smith Gag Act. This will not be an easy task because of the legitimate hatred of the workers for Stalinism. The miseducation that the Stalinists have carried on as, for example, in the Minneapolis trials will not redound to their advantage. But it is precisely because Trotskyists are known as the deadly political enemies of the Stalinists within the labor movement that the appeal of our comrades in support of the indicted leaders of the Communist Party will receive a favorable hearing. We ask support for them not for any reasons of magnanimity but because we fully realize that the blow against the Stalinists is in effect a blow aimed against all labor. If the Smith Act can now be invoked against the CP as it was originally used against the Trotskyists, the monopolists and brass hats will not hesitate to wield this weapon against all union militants and those who dare oppose their war plans.

It was for these reasons that the Socialist Workers Party sent a letter to the Central Committee of the Communist Party at the time of their national convention, offering them a united front to combat the government's indictments. But this proposal was not even allowed to come to the floor of the Stalinist convention. The Stalinists fear any propulsion of the labor movement on the correct course of struggle. They are as well aware as we that in a united front struggle the genuine revolutionary party always stands to gain the most because it best reflects the interests of the workers as a whole. So here as elsewhere, the fear of the masses moving in a revolutionary direction is the motivating force that guides the actions of the American Communist Party irrespective of the particular line it may be peddling at the moment.

But the contradictions of the Communist Party are becoming clear to a larger segment of their own followers. It is difficult for the ranks to fathom the reasons for its failure to join in a united front with workers while it joins in a "People's Front" movement with a capitalist like Wallace. In the defense of civil rights the broadest united front is not only permissible but mandatory. On the other hand, it is precisely in the field of politics that it is unprincipled to join forces with an agent of the enemy class like Wallace. Thus both in their formation of a "People's Front" movement in support of Wallace and in their rejection of a united front with the Trotskyists against the Smith Act, the Stalinists equally betray the interests of the working class.

The destruction of Stalinism as the most conservative and reactionary force within the labor movement is indeed the duty of all workers. This task, we repeat, cannot be assigned to the monopolists who, even if they achieve their goal, will eventually destroy all labor in the process.

The True Testament of Trotsky

On the 8th Anniversary of the Assassination of Leon Trotsky

By E. Germain

He who leaves nothing to posterity incurs no risk of having his legacy contested. Only an important inheritance attracts forgers of testaments, in detective stories as in political life. In the last few months all types of periodicals, from the anarchist *Libertaire* to the cheap yellow sheet *France Dimanche*, have published grossly falsified documents as the alleged or even authentic testament of Leon Trotsky. Here we have clearest evidence of the immense political capital represented today by our heritage from the old revolutionary leader who met death at the assassin's hand.

After their death, the outstanding leaders of the revolutionary movement have been invariably subjected to attempts by "official" public opinion to appropriate their great names in behalf of the sordid struggle against the very movement which they had led. Trotsky has not escaped this fate, any more than did Marx and Lenin before him. Both wings among the intellectuals — the Stalinist wing and the "democratic" wing—are vying with each other over the mantle of Trotsky, which they seek to use as a cover in their struggles against the international Trotskyist movement. This trick only underscores the growing authority which the work of the revolutionary leader now commands, dominating completely the thought of our epoch, and signaling the potential danger which the living revolutionary movement represents, despite its apparent material weaknesses, for the ruling classes and all their agents. And as Marxism, despite all the falsifications, continued to develop after 1914 within the internationalist Social Democracy; and as Leninism continued to live after 1923 in the Left Opposition, so, too, does the true heritage of Trotsky today supply the programmatic foundations of the Fourth International.

International Policies and the Class Struggle

To explain social reality and its evolution in history, scientific socialism takes the *class struggle* as its point of departure. Trotsky left us masterpieces of political analysis precisely because he knew how to lay bare the mechanics of the class struggle, which determines, in the final analysis, all the stormy events of our epoch. Petty-bourgeois historians and journalists have long ago assimilated Marxist "techniques" which they employ, as they so ingeniously say, to illuminate "this or that aspect of social reality." But whenever it comes to rigorously applying this same method to present-day reality *as a whole*, their thought invariably collides with their own class character. Just as World War I and World War II appeared to them to be a struggle between "good and evil," or what amounts to the same thing, a struggle of "peace-loving, liberty-loving peoples" against "militarism (totalitarianism) and its un-

bridled expansionism," just so World War III, even before its outbreak, assumes for them the selfsame guise.

Indicative of how profoundly the "official" labor movement has degenerated is its utter abandonment of the criterion of the class struggle not only in evaluating international policies but even in trying to justify its own extremely tortuous "tactical" line. If we wished to reduce to a common denominator present-day interpretations of policies by the Stalinists, by the Social Democrats and by the countless shades of centrists from the right or the "left," we might say that they, like the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie, operate with the formula of the struggle *between the major powers* as determining and dominating the social conflicts.

Let us note in passing that, significantly enough, it was in the *Spanish Civil War* that this profound modification in the "official" labor movement's method of thinking first became obvious. The Stalinists and the Social Democrats did not view it as a civil war at all. For them, it was rather "a defensive war by the Spanish people against the fascist aggressors." For their part, the ultra-lefts regarded this war as a "general rehearsal for the imperialist war, with the two contending sides representing the two future camps in the world war." Our movement, on the contrary, analyzed these events as expressing the civil war between the Spanish proletariat and bourgeoisie; and we assigned, quite correctly, only a secondary importance to the factor of "foreign intervention." For the sake of objectivity, let us add that the best-qualified representatives of the world bourgeoisie came to the same conclusion.

The forward march of the "progressive" forces is measured by the Stalinists in the main by territorial, strategic and economic expansion of the Soviet Union and its "buffer zone." The Social Democrats apply wholesale the converse theorem: The forward march of "democracy" is measured for them by the setbacks of "Stalinist totalitarianism." It must be conceded that the Stalinists, in their ideas, apply their theorem with greater consistency; and, moreover, unlike the Social Democrats, they do not chronically suffer from a case of bad conscience. But, in practice, the difference is trifling. These two main political forces in the labor movement today picture the social struggles throughout the world as if they were dependent upon each advance or retreat by either the "American" or the "Russian" camp. The different shades of centrists apply identical criteria; and while some of them refrain from taking their positions on the basis of such a criterion, it is usually, as in the case of the Shachtmanites, because they consider the camp of imperialist democracy "ineffectual" against the Stalinist menace.

Following Trotsky's method, the Fourth International

approaches the analysis of international policies in a fundamentally different way. For the Fourth International, it is the social contradictions which determine, in the last analysis, the international antagonisms and not the other way around. The great powers themselves—whom “official” public opinion and its huge suite of lackeys in the labor movement treat as independent entities—far from conducting a policy motivated by a “thirst for power,” disclose themselves instead as being impelled by contradictions inherent in their social system. Imperialist expansion of the United States and Stalinist expansion of the Soviet Union alike are for the Fourth International indices of the *social crisis* convulsing these systems. In most countries throughout the world the social contradictions, having been aggravated to an unprecedented extent, are precipitating one political crisis after another; and upon these *are grafted* international antagonisms, without ever depriving the social contradictions of their predominant character.

Two fundamentally different methods of analysis lead to diametrically opposite conclusions. It is by these end-results that the two methods are now being tested. Proceeding from formal, superficial and formalistic criteria, the noisy pack of petty-bourgeois journalists accepted the Finnish war in 1940 as proof of the strengthening of the Hitler-Stalin alliance. In their eyes, the “International United Front of Aggressors” was being consolidated on the blood-soaked fields of snow. On the basis of Trotsky’s correct analysis of this event, it was not at all hard to conclude just the opposite, namely, that the invasion of Finland was Stalin’s defensive reflex to his fears of Hitlerite attack. Ensuing events left no doubt whatever concerning the validity of this particular conclusion.

We have just passed through a similar experience. The “Prague coup” was taken by the professional Stalinophobes as “definitive” proof of the stabilization of Stalinism, of its drive for world domination, of the approach of war, and so forth. We never for a moment ceased to oppose to this impressionistic prognosis a perspective based on an analysis of the living social forces: The attempts of the Stalinist bureaucracy to “stabilize” its buffer zone were only a stage on the road to reaching a compromise with Wall Street; this compromise was imperative for Stalin because of his own internal weakness and because of the contradictions tearing apart the Stalinist bureaucracy. Once again, one can no longer question which method has proved correct on the basis of results.

The Instinctive Revolutionary Upsurge of the Proletariat

Trotsky transmitted to us the Marxist method, applying it with the hand of a master to the problems of our times. But he did more. He also left us the basic conclusion of this analysis: *the fundamental characteristic of our epoch*, lodged in the contradiction between the instinctive revolutionary upsurge of the proletariat and the profoundly and openly counter-revolutionary character of its traditional leadership.

Since the war’s end, countless critics, reflecting all the colors of the political rainbow, have subjected to violent criticism Trotsky’s central thesis and that of the program

of the Fourth International. Generally speaking, this criticism harmonizes with the obstinate refusal of its proponents to approach reality as a whole, to say nothing of their systematic distortion of the thesis they attack.

Let us begin by taking the second part of this thesis. The Stalinophiles (*Bataille Socialiste* in France, Nenni in Italy and others), on the one side, and the Stalinophobes (centrists of the Marceau Pivert type, Shachtmanites, ultra-lefts of various brands, anarchists, and so on), on the other side, vie with one another to demonstrate in the light of postwar events how revolutionary has been the action of the Stalinist leadership in relation to the bourgeoisie. The former regard it as progressive; the latter characterize this revolution as barbarous and reactionary (there is nothing self-contradictory for them about the idea of a “reactionary revolution”). An analysis of events, which is in the least serious, will permit us to assay this criticism for what it is worth.

Never in its history did capitalism find itself so close to complete collapse on three-quarters of our planet as was the case during the critical months of 1944-45. Never did any political movement, including fascism, contribute so much objectively in averting this collapse as did Stalinism during those days. One need only observe the unexampled degree of decay so characteristic of most capitalist countries to this very day, three years later, in order to understand how consciously Roosevelt had acted as the leader of his class when he reached at Teheran and Yalta an agreement with Stalin which permitted a “cold” liquidation of the world war. What is there so astonishing about the fact that the Stalinist bureaucracy demanded and received “compensation” for this colossal service it rendered to imperialism? We never pictured the Soviet bureaucracy, any more than the reformist bureaucracy, as altruistic or idealistically motivated servants of imperialism. So far as the reformist bureaucracy was concerned, its “compensation” took the shape of privileges inside the bourgeois state apparatus. There is nothing at all extraordinary in the fact that this same “compensation” in the case of the Stalinist bureaucracy, owing to its social character, took the shape of territorial expansion of its “sphere of influence.” Nor is it at all an unforeseen development that imperialism should desire, at the next stage, to regain positions it had previously surrendered in order to save “what is essential.” Finally, the case of Tito abruptly laid bare the extremely tenuous character of these famous “conquests.” One may twist and turn the issue as one pleases, but on a *world* scale the counter-revolutionary character of Stalinism is more apparent than was the counter-revolutionary character of the German Social Democracy after 1918.

When it comes to the first part of Trotsky’s thesis, we similarly encounter a symmetrical criticism by Stalinist agents and by the more hysterical Stalinophobes. The former, to justify Stalin’s policy, lecture us that “the proletariat has been caught up in the decay of capitalism”; that because of modifications in its social composition, the proletariat cannot triumph without the support of the middle class as a whole; and that it therefore follows (how? why? where?) that the Leninist strategy is no longer applicable and it is necessary instead to apply the

tactic of the "new democracy," etc. (See, for example, Gilles Martinet's article "From Trotsky to Burnham," *Revue Internationale*, No. 17, 1947. Paris.)

As for the Stalinophobes, in order to explain the mass support which the Stalinist movement continues to enjoy in most countries, they declare that the "decline of working-class consciousness" finds its reflection in the "inability of the workers to grasp" the phenomenon of Stalinism.

Both sides concur that the Trotskyist thesis has allegedly been invalidated by events "inasmuch as there has been no repetition of October 1917 on a grand scale."

In point of fact, Trotsky never predicted proletarian victories as a consequence of the war. Still less did he predict that the proletariat would tear itself free from its traditional leadership at the inception of the postwar revolutionary wave. On the contrary, Trotsky repeatedly stressed, especially in his final articles, that the initial revolutionary wave would still unquestionably occur under the leadership of the Stalinists. We find this forecast clearly formulated in the very last article he wrote, but never finished. This manuscript, a transcription of which was made by the Russian secretary from records dictated by Trotsky, was published in the October 1940 issue of *Fourth International*. Here is the corresponding passage:

May not the Stalinists turn out at the head of a new revolutionary upsurge and may they not ruin the revolution as they did in Spain and previously in China? It is of course impermissible to consider such a possibility as excluded, for example, in France. The first wave of the revolution has often, or more correctly, always carried to the top those "left" parties which have not managed to discredit themselves completely in the preceding period and which have an imposing political tradition behind them. . . (Fourth International, October 1940, p. 130.)

Far from refuting Trotsky's "schema," events since 1943 have brought a confirmation of the objectively revolutionary upsurge of the workers, despite the Stalinist leaders who doomed this first wave of revolutionary attempts to defeat. The argument that since the workers have followed the Stalinist leadership, it therefore follows that their upsurge was not revolutionary is nothing but a piece of sophistry. It is self-evident that the *instinctive* revolutionary upsurge of the proletariat is logically the direct opposite of a state of class prostration and is no way identical with a *conscious* revolutionary upsurge.

We have placed the main weight of our arguments precisely on the prediction that *even though* the workers would continue to follow their traditional leadership, they would, nevertheless, engage in *objectively* revolutionary actions—in attempts to take the factories and the state power into their own hands. He is a sorry revolutionist who permits himself to be led astray by a given *form* which the action of the masses may assume and who on this account fails to recognize the instinctively revolutionary upsurge of the masses, as for instance in the struggles of the Yugoslav and Greek partisans, with their committees, their equalitarian system of distribution, their fierce struggle against the native bourgeoisie. Or, to cite other instances, the Warsaw Commune, with its decisions on workers' militias and workers' control; in the mass

movements in France and Italy, with the arming of the workers and occupation of the factories; or, again, in the powerful movements in the Far East: the insurrection in the fleet in India, the committees in Indo-China, Indonesia, Korea and elsewhere, in each case accompanied by the arming of the masses. He is, indeed, a sorry revolutionist who fails to grasp this revolutionary upsurge in the magnificent action recently undertaken by the Italian workers in order to defend—oh, horror of horrors!—a Stalinist chieftain, in whose behalf, according to the counsels of our "cleverest" critics, it is not worthwhile even to lift a little finger. And how did the Italian workers do it? By occupying the factories, by seizing capitalists as hostages, electing genuine soviets, seizing railway stations and postal buildings, and so on. And they did all this of their own accord, spontaneously, without any kind of "conductor."

The whole period which was ushered in with the termination of World War II is characterized by this revolutionary upsurge of the proletariat. It is precisely this that enables us to envisage objectively the possibility of building the revolutionary party which will provide the workers with a new leadership. This is the conclusion which actually sums up the foregoing thesis of Trotsky.

The Famous 'Dilemma' of Trotsky

Here we come to the point where all our opponents and critics, regardless of coloration, assemble in serried ranks for an assault upon the celebrated quotation from Trotsky, which the forgers of the GPU have also seized upon. In September 1939, Trotsky wrote:

If this war provokes, as we firmly believe, a proletarian revolution, it must inevitably lead to the overthrow of the bureaucracy in the USSR and regeneration of Soviet democracy on a far higher economic and cultural basis than in 1918. In that case the question as to whether the Stalinist bureaucracy was a "class" or a growth on the workers' state will be automatically solved. To every single person it will become clear that in the process of the development of the world revolution the Soviet bureaucracy was only an episodic relapse.

If, however, it is conceded that the present war will provoke not revolution but a decline of the proletariat, then there remains another alternative: the further decay of monopoly capitalism, its further fusion with the state and the replacement of democracy wherever it still remained by a totalitarian regime. The inability of the proletariat to take into its hands the leadership of society could actually lead under these conditions to the growth of a new exploiting class from the Bonapartist fascist bureaucracy. This would be, according to all indications, a regime of decline, signaling the eclipse of civilization. (In *Defense of Marxism*, pp. 8-9.)

To fully grasp the meaning of the above passage, let us here adduce Trotsky's own clarification which he made in the very next article he wrote at the time, entitled, "Again and Once More Again on the Nature of the USSR" (October 1939):

I endeavored to demonstrate in my article, "The USSR in the War," that the perspective of a non-worker and non-bourgeois society of exploitation, or "bureaucratic collectivism," is the perspective of complete defeat and the decline of the international proletariat, the perspective of the most profound historical pessimism. (In *Defense of Marxism*, p. 31.)

To put it plainly, Trotsky makes it clear beyond the shadow of a doubt that the alternative he had posed in his first article was neither a long-term nor a short-term *prognosis*, but a *historical analysis* which may be restated in the following way: EITHER the proletariat would prove its instinctive revolutionary upsurge and then there would open up an era of revolutionary struggles in which it would be possible to forge new revolutionary leaderships; OR the proletariat would remain passive, permit itself to be reduced to slavery, and then it would be necessary to review the entire Marxist analysis of capitalism.

For us, there can be no doubt that this analysis has been completely corroborated and proved valid in the light of events. Gilles Martinet, theoretician of capitulation to Stalinism, thinks otherwise. For him, a mere admission of the "theoretical possibility" of bureaucratic collectivism constitutes by itself a revision of Marxism, converting Trotsky into a thinker spiritually akin to Burnham. Martinet is little concerned that his line of argument hits not at Trotsky so much as at Marx himself, who was the first to pose the dilemma "socialism or barbarism." The gist of Trotsky's foregoing passage is nothing but a restatement, rendered more precise, of this old dilemma of Karl Marx.

Inasmuch as capitalism finds itself in a condition of complete decay, and inasmuch as socialism cannot be installed except through revolutionary action by the proletariat, Trotsky, therefore, poses entirely correctly the following variant: *If* the proletariat should remain passive for an entire historic era, *then* barbarism would triumph. And then he immediately adds: We shall have no lack of opportunities to verify this apparent "dilemma"; we shall see whether the proletariat will remain passive after the war's end, and so on.

For every conscientious person it is clear that Trotsky's own perspective is based on a complete confidence in the revolutionary fighting capacities of the proletariat. Trotsky's confidence has been entirely justified, in the face of all the available evidence. Martinet, on the contrary, has lost confidence in these capacities of the working class. He tries to demonstrate that the bureaucracy is a necessary stage on the road to—socialism! After having in this way justified politically the role of the bureaucracy, Martinet uses it to accuse Trotsky, after the casuistic manner of Jesuits who discover a "justification" for religion in such scientific dilemmas as the following: "Either we shall ultimately succeed in creating living matter in the laboratory or we scientists shall have to admit that supernatural forces intervene in the creation of such matter."

Faithfully symmetrical to the criticism of the Stalinophiles, there comes anew the criticism of the Stalinophobes. For them, the above-cited quotation from Trotsky "limits" the revolutionary possibilities of the proletariat to the framework of capitalism. This is explained to us by Hal Draper in the December 1947 issue of *New Internationalist*.

According to this writer, the tendency toward socialism existed in a utopian form prior to the advent of capitalism. Under capitalism, this tendency acquired its scientific form. There is every reason to assume that it will retain this same form under a new exploitive society ("bureaucratic

collectivism"), concludes the author. Because, you see, involved here is a struggle for political democracy, and since the means of production are concentrated in the hands of the state, the conquest of the state by the masses would signify the socialist revolution. We can scarcely believe that the originator of this new theory still continues to consider himself a Marxist. Draper's reproach—like Martinet's—is aimed at Trotsky but hits in reality at Marx and the *Communist Manifesto*.

The whole of Marxist theory rests on the fact that *capitalism* prepares both the objective and the subjective conditions for socialism. The decay of capitalism into a barbarous society of a new type is unthinkable otherwise than as involving the destruction of all these premises of Marxism. Such a regime will be that of the decay of civilization, of the stagnation and decomposition of the productive forces, of the reduction of the masses to the status of totalitarian slaves, and their being, beyond a doubt, progressively ejected from the process of production. It is self-evident that if one starts from the hypothesis that the proletariat will prove itself incapable of taking advantage of capitalist decay in order to inaugurate socialism, when conditions for the solution of this task are the most favorable, then the inescapable conclusion is that it is utterly utopian to count upon any eventual capacities of totalitarian slaves for the building of a classless society.

These reasonings of a Martinet or a Draper may seem of little interest to our readers. However, they not only involve an evaluation of the greatest importance concerning the future prospects of mankind, but also have a direct bearing on the day-to-day activities of revolutionists. Obviously, Martinet and Draper alike count on the possibility (not to say, probability) that capitalism will vanish without receiving its *coup de grace* at the hands of the proletarian revolution. Where Martinet affixes a plus sign in front of the new regime, Draper puts a minus. The one like the other strives by means of incredible jugglery to demonstrate that a regime issuing from such a "bureaucratic revolution" would not close the doors to socialism. Both of them are equally compelled to revise the fundamental bases of scientific socialism. And to crown this truly remarkable symmetry, both Martinet and Draper conclude their "criticism" with attempts to pour ridicule on what they call our "faith" in the proletariat. Their own perspective is comprised in the perfectly vain hope that the bureaucracy will, one sunny day, abandon its privileges, "when society shall become mature for unified socialism," or that the "marvelous socialist dream" shall not have vanished from a society of slaves. To this sort of lucubrations, so utterly utopian, we are indeed able to counterpose, with increased confidence, our own criteria, grounded on the thousand-times-verified theses of scientific socialism!

The Social Nature of Stalinism

Till now we have run up, time after time, against the problem of Stalinism. What is there surprising about it? If all our critics—from the forgers of the GPU to the impeccable moralists of *Libertaire*—trace all our sins down to our original sin—"our position on the Russian question"

--then both logic and experience justify us even more in turning against them the converse proposition, namely: It is because they have long ceased to base their concrete day-to-day policies on the unimpaired revolutionary capacity of the world proletariat, that they are able to abandon themselves, to their heart's content, to such gratuitous acrobatics as their various "theories" on the Russian question.

For a program to be consistent, each of its component parts must lead toward the fundamental criterion. The application of the class criterion to international politics does not permit of denials that in most European and Asiatic countries the revolutionary aspirations of the *workers* have been expressed in their adherence to the Stalinist movement. The attitude of the revolutionary vanguard must, therefore, mirror the contradictory fact that the two basic tendencies of our era—on the one side, the instinctive revolutionary upsurge of the proletariat; and on the other, the openly counter-revolutionary policy of its leadership—are being, so to speak, *concentrated* inside these parties for an entire epoch. This phenomenon loses its strange and paradoxical appearance once we regard Stalinism as an expression of existing Russian reality, which combines in itself the products of the most audacious revolution in history with the fruits of the most abject counter-revolution. The contradiction which our critics strive to expose in our characterization of Stalinism and in our revolutionary perspectives happens to be a material contradiction which exists objectively. It lives in the events of our day. Attempts to make it disappear by denying it with words will prove of no avail.

On the other hand, if one views Stalinism as a social force alien to the proletariat—representing either an old or an allegedly new ruling class—then one cannot avoid the conclusion that the "lack of comprehension" by the world working class in the face of this *enemy* social force would constitute a grave sign of the extent to which the proletariat has degenerated. That is why the position of our enemies and critics is likewise not lacking in logic. It is the logic of pessimism and prostration. It is impossible to combine a social analysis of Stalinism with an understanding of the instinctive revolutionary upsurge of the proletariat, without taking as one's starting point the hypothesis that the Soviet bureaucracy has not yet severed the umbilical cord which ties it to the working class. However repelling this hypothesis may appear in view of the monstrous crimes of Stalinism, it nevertheless remains the only one consistent both with the general premises of Marxist theory and with the sociological, political and ideological conditions pertaining to the phenomenon of Stalinism. Herein we obtain, on the *ideological plane* as well, the greatest clarity concerning the fundamental contradiction inherent in Stalinism.

So long as Stalinism continues to base itself on a *falsification* of Leninism, no material power in the world can prevent thousands of Communist militants among the youth from learning the *true* nature of Leninism and breaking with Stalin. This experience is being repeated literally every day in countries where Communist parties enjoy a large mass following, as well as in countries where Stalin-

ism is for the moment the "official" ideology. It is not by accident that in these latter countries the "struggle against Trotskyism," even though it does not exist there as an organized force, has been placed permanently on the order of the day in all the Stalinist cadre schools!

The history of the young Albanian Communist Party, which we shall soon publish, will provide another proof of this. It shows how, twenty years after Stalin's victory, in a country completely bereft of Marxist traditions, under conditions of military control by the Stalinist machine, an entire generation of young Communist leaders has been brought—by their class instinct and by their education in Marxism, distorted though it was, received in the Stalinist schools—to a complete break with the policies and organizational methods of Stalinism. "When they used to accuse us of Trotskyism," we were told by their leader who has just joined the ranks of the Fourth International, "we did not even know what Trotskyism was, and we used to protest violently. Today I understand that at that time we actually were Trotskyists, without being aware of it. . . ."

How can words like these possibly fail to fill us with confidence in the destiny of our movement! Yes, Stalinism must inescapably continue to distil "Trotskyist deviations," so long as it fails to break organically with the militant workers, and with working-class traditions, and with the scientific terminology and basic writings of Marxism.

While our Second World Congress was in session, our critics stopped the clock of history and declared that the "forecasts of Trotsky concerning the instability of the Stalinist bureaucracy have been proved false." Three months later, the Tito case brings with it a striking verification of Trotsky's profound analysis of the centrifugal forces within the Stalinist bureaucracy. The ponderous totalitarian lid still hides from the world the powerful process of discontent with Stalinism among the young Russian Communist vanguard. The amateurs of fixed calendar dates would do well to understand the meaning of the lesson which events have just taught them. Sooner or later the hour will strike when the truth will likewise break through to the surface because of the growing political ferment within the ranks of the Russian working-class vanguard. On that hour, thousands of young Russian Communists will turn out to be "Trotskyists who were not aware of it."

The Building of the Revolutionary Party

The ideological heritage Trotsky bequeathed us thus stands forth as completely consistent. It weaves together indivisibly: a lucid comprehension of the tendencies of decay in modern society; the objective definition of those revolutionary forces which alone are capable of checking humanity's plunge into barbarism and assuring the ascent to socialism; the scientific study of subjective conditions indispensable for the revolutionary victory, among which is the exact knowledge of the nature of the treacherous leadership of the proletariat.

But for Trotsky this monumental unified system of ideas was never anything else but a means of expediting revolutionary *action*, of equipping this *action* with crystal-clear objectives which are historically justified. Nothing

is more alien to Trotsky and Trotskyism than fatalism, political abstentionism or passivity. In the case of the gross forgery of the GPU, as in the case of the subtler "interpretation" of Trotsky's ideas by a Martinet or by the Shachtmanites, the spirit which they seek to impute to him reveals itself as false, in the first instance, because it mirrors the profound demoralization of the authors themselves. It is in complete contradiction with the unshakable *revolutionary vigor* Trotsky personified to his very last breath.

At this point there reappears our old acquaintance, the individual with a stop-watch, mysteriously synchronized with the movement of history, in order to demonstrate, arguments in hand, that we have foundered in this task of construction. He had been expecting spectacular results, which Trotsky and all of us had promised him in a too brief space of time. And now he is disappointed. Alongside him there appears a whole swarm of newly-hatched gadflies, each of whom seeks to buzz in our ears his own pet panacea for solving this crucial problem. Fifteen years ago, there were the gentlemen of the "Sex-Pol," who are completely forgotten today. Now there are our friends of the ASR (the Socialist Revolutionary Action group in France) who explain to us that it is necessary to put aside our "unified" program and to dissolve ourselves in a much larger (and still non-existent) centrist movement. There is Martinet who lectures us on the niceties of "People's Front" policy as the way out; there are the Shachtmanites who call upon us to rally together, by means of a tactic of universal entryism, "all socialist forces which are non-reformist and anti-Stalinist"; and then there are the more naive ones who expound with considerable sincerity that we need only modify our position on the Russian question in order to obtain positive results.

The whole trouble with all these panaceas is that they have been tried many times before without yielding any results whatever. The whole trouble with our well-meaning advisers is that they have themselves tried many times to build parties along their own models and have each time failed lamentably. Their disillusionment with our movement is nothing but a rationalization of their own frustrations.

To evaluate correctly what has already been achieved it is necessary to discard every criterion of time on the scale of a human life-span. A different and far bigger scale is required for judging such historical tasks as the building of the revolutionary party. We have become accustomed to speak of the "organic growth" of the Social Democratic movement toward the close of the Nineteenth Century. As a matter of fact, after the collapse of the Communist League of Marx and Engels, a decade and a half had to elapse before the building of Lassalle's General Association of German Workers. The resurgence of the French working-class movement as an organized force did not come about until two decades after the defeat of the Paris Commune. And yet how trifling were the material obstacles of this past epoch in comparison with those facing us today!

In its turn, the resurgence of the revolutionary movement after 1914 assumes today, in the light of history, a form quite different from that which its contemporaries believed they saw. Actually, the masses that flowed into the various sections of the Third International were *instinctively* revolutionary masses whose degree of *communist* consciousness differed only quantitatively from those of today. The leadership of these parties was, by and large, a *centrist* leadership, among whom the number of genuinely Bolshevik elements was unquestionably smaller than the present number of militants in the Fourth International. Consequently, the fusion which was momentarily brought about by the *Russian Revolution* between the international revolutionary vanguard and the broad masses was only an *apparent* fusion on the whole. The years that followed proved this beyond any doubt. It was necessary to begin everything anew; the program had to be defined anew; new cadres had to be educated; it was necessary to penetrate anew into the masses. And all this had to be done during a period of deepest reaction. Is it astonishing that this task required more time for its solution than was reckoned upon twenty years ago?

In 1940 at the outbreak of war, our movement was reduced in all countries, with one or two exceptions, to tiny isolated groups of intellectuals, in emigration or under illegality, or in the best case, in conditions of semi-activity. Today we can take stock of the progress achieved since that time. We cannot list a spectacular gain in numbers. But our movement has become solidified in China and in many Latin American countries, where it has, after years of reaction and confusion, shed its old skin for an entirely new one, where shut-in circles and dilettante intellectual groups have been liquidated, where our movement has penetrated into unions and factories and has effectively commenced to regroup the vanguard of *workers* on a modest scale wherever this work is possible under the existing conditions.

Our movement has become solidified in France and in Italy by the emergence of a young generation of rising *Trotskyist worker-leaders*, the first of its kind since the birth of our movement. This has likewise taken place in India and in the United States where the Trotskyist cadres, after years of participation in the class struggles, have become genuine mass leaders in various sectors. Everywhere our movement is now taking root in its class, growing with its class, and its destiny is being bound so closely with that of the proletariat that in the end it must lead the proletariat to its historical destiny. This road is much longer and less spectacular than the one formerly envisaged, but it is the only road possible.

And the true testament lies in this: that throughout our epoch convulsed by revolutionary crises, the young cadres of the Fourth International must find their way—through multiple and successive combat experiences—to the high road of penetrating into and winning over the masses. It is this testament which we have started to execute.

August 1, 1948.

Yugoslav Events and the World Crisis of Stalinism

Statement by the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party

The open break between the Cominform and the Communist Party of Yugoslavia is the clearest expression to date of the deep crisis convulsing Stalinism. The Kremlin regime came out of the war seemingly strengthened at home and abroad: in the first instance, by the territorial gains of the Soviet armies; the revolutionary wave following the war likewise brought about an unexampled growth of Stalinist parties in Western Europe. But all this served merely to obscure for a while the unsolvable internal crisis of Stalinism.

The proponents of the theory that Stalinism represents a new class seized upon this territorial expansion of the Kremlin as "proof positive" of their anti-Marxist views. They argued that this expansion marked a definitive consolidation of a new class system; they hastily claimed it as a refutation of Trotsky's conception of Stalinism.

In reality the Yugoslav events have brought a confirmation of Trotsky's analysis and prediction concerning the nature and ultimate fate of Stalinism, the most unstable and crisis-ridden regime in history. Stalinism lacks an independent class base of its own and, in protecting its own privileges and interests, it invariably comes into sharpest collision, in every sphere, with the interests and needs of the masses. The Stalinist regime is nothing else but a historical episode, a parasitic growth upon the workers' state, a specific form of the degeneration of the October Revolution, the product of the isolation of the proletarian revolution in a backward country.

Resting on the property relations established by the October Revolution, the Stalinist bureaucracy collides, on the one side, with the imperialist encirclement, and, on the other, with the revolutionary masses. They have sought in the recent postwar days to overcome this twofold contradiction

by the method of territorial expansion, reparations and plunder.

The Yugoslav events provide definitive proof that the Kremlin's expansion, far from resolving the contradictions of Stalinism, actually projects beyond the Russian frontiers the internal contradictions which convulse the regime at home. No sooner are these contradictions of the Stalinist regime projected outwardly than they tend to assume their most aggravated forms.

Counter-Revolutionary Kremlin

The utterly reactionary, counter-revolutionary character of Stalinism has been most crassly expressed in the relations between the Kremlin bureaucracy and the Eastern European satellite states. Regardless of the existing capitalist property relations in these countries, the Kremlin seeks to integrate them with the Soviet economy, without the slightest consideration for the needs and interests of their peoples.

This places the satellite countries in an intolerable position. Severed from their traditional economic ties with Western Europe and the rest of the capitalist world, these countries of Eastern Europe find themselves today in an economic blind alley. They are being economically strangled. The Kremlin refuses to allow them the least degree of independence. Stalin has vetoed even the project of a Balkan federation, as a means of solving the existing difficulties of Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Albania.

The Kremlin's primary aim in the satellite countries is to exploit them and drain their resources for its own benefit, and in order to try to extricate itself from the difficulties of the Russian economy. This policy of plunder and naked oppression can be carried out only by the imposition of a ruthless regime of oppression utterly sub-

servient to the dictates of the Kremlin bureaucracy.

But instead of solving the problems confronting Stalin's regime, this policy itself gives rise to new contradictions.

On the one hand, the Kremlin finds itself compelled to eliminate the resistance of the capitalists in those countries who have the backing of Washington. Czechoslovakia is a good example of this. The Czech capitalists were strong enough to present a serious challenge to the Stalinist machine. The Kremlin was unable to cope with this challenge without a partial mobilization of the masses.

But, on the other hand, the moment the masses are mobilized, even if partially, the laws of the class struggle begin to assert themselves, driving the masses into conflict with the Kremlin. The case of Yugoslavia shows how correct the Kremlin is in fearing even a degree of independence. If grave difficulties arise for the Kremlin when the masses are set partially in motion, as happened in Yugoslavia in the course of the wartime Nazi occupation and civil war there, what would happen in a country where the masses started moving under a really independent banner?

Class Criteria

When one speaks of the effects of the Kremlin's policies on satellite countries, it is necessary each time to analyze the effects on the different classes, along with the manner in which each class reacts.

The satellite countries are far from homogeneous. They have not eliminated the class struggle. From the economic standpoint, Yugoslavia does not differ radically from Romania, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria or Albania. If Yugoslavia differs from them at all, it is in having advanced furthest along the road toward destroying capitalism.

The capitalist elements in Yugoslavia, as elsewhere, naturally look to Washington for salvation. And Washington, benefiting from the Stalinist policies, just as naturally tries to bring to bear every weapon at its command to draw Yugoslavia, along with the rest of Eastern Europe, back into the imperialist orbit.

But the Stalinist policies clash not merely with the capitalist elements in each satellite country, but also with the working class. Furthermore, they clash with the peasantry, in all its layers. However, the workers, smarting under the bureaucratic Stalinist regime of plunder and oppression, do not turn to Washington for salvation. The most conscious proletarian elements in Yugoslavia, as in other satellite countries, are striving for a socialist solution. These socialist aspirations of the working class likewise run directly counter to the interests and policies of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Precisely because the Kremlin is unable to permit the slightest degree of independence to any of the satellite countries, it can maintain its hold in Eastern Europe only by naked police-terror methods. For this same reason, it cannot tolerate in the party leadership or in the government anyone except puppets, completely dependent for their high positions not on any abilities or talents of their own, or their popularity among the masses, but solely upon their blind obedience to the orders of the Kremlin.

Peculiar Features

The peculiarity of Yugoslav developments has been such as to preclude the complete handpicking of puppets, along the customary Stalinist pattern. Indeed, the Yugoslav Communist Party has undergone an independent development, even though in its internal regime and policies it hewed as closely as it could to its Russian prototype.

To cite two outstanding features of Yugoslav developments: 1. Unlike the native Russian bureaucracy or most of the other Stalinist leaderships in Europe, the Yugoslav CP actually led a successful civil war, applying class-struggle methods, even if in a highly distorted form. 2. Under Tito, the

leading Yugoslav cadres gained domination not with the aid of Russian bayonets, but through the mobilization of the Yugoslav masses around a program of social demands, in many instances of a revolutionary character.

This independent course of Yugoslav development is one of the root-sources of the long friction — and now the open break — between the Kremlin and Tito.

Revolutionists can only hail this development — this first rift in the ranks of world Stalinism which must unfold in open view of the world working class.

It is especially welcome to us because it throws into the full limelight the reactionary nature of Stalin's regime, illuminating it in a manner which can be most easily understood by workers throughout the world, and in particular by the militants who are in the ranks of the Stalinist parties everywhere.

It brings out of the shadows and into the light of day the terrible internal contradictions of the Kremlin regime which are bound to lead to its downfall.

What is more, it confronts the rank and file of the Yugoslav CP and of Stalinist parties elsewhere with the need of reexamining the ideas and methods of Stalinism. Having said A, they must go on to say B. That is to say, they are bound by the logic of the situation to review and reexamine the entire past history of Stalinism, in the first instance, and of the quarter of a century of the life-and-death struggle of Trotskyism against Stalinism.

Events Favor Us

The course of events will work in favor of the revolutionists. The incumbent Yugoslav regime is caught in a vise. To be sure, Tito and his friends possess a certain amount of room to maneuver not only against the masses at home but also with respect to both the Kremlin and Washington. But the moment of decision for Yugoslavia cannot be postponed indefinitely.

The alternatives facing Yugoslavia, let alone the Tito regime, are to capitulate either to Washington or to the Kremlin — or to strike out on an in-

dependent road. This road can be only that of an Independent Workers and Peasants Socialist Yugoslavia, as the first step toward a Socialist Federation of the Balkan Nations. It can be achieved only through an appeal to and unity with the international working class. That is to say, it can be achieved only by Yugoslavia's rallying to the banner of the European Socialist Revolution, and calling upon the international working class to aid her in the struggle against both the Kremlin oligarchy and American imperialism.

For revolutionists, however, it is not enough to welcome a great opportunity. This is only the beginning for the next step, namely their *seizing* the opportunity and intervening, above all, in order to raise the conscious level of the world working-class militants.

The logic of the Stalin-Tito struggle is such that it is bound to impel the militants in Yugoslavia and elsewhere — not to the right but to the left. This will happen independently of whether Tito himself moves to the right, or whether he seeks to straddle the fence somewhere between the Kremlin and imperialism.

But the precondition for how far the masses will move to the left lies not in their own wishes or their spontaneous movements but in how ably and effectively the conscious revolutionary vanguard, the world Trotskyists, will intervene as a dynamic factor into the situation.

The Way to Begin

To intervene effectively, we must BEGIN by patiently explaining the political meaning of the Stalin-Tito rift; we must lay bare the root causes of Stalinism, its origin, its reactionary nature, its naked brutality. In this way, by introducing the maximum of political clarity into the situation, revolutionists will be able to intervene most swiftly and effectively and help the militant workers and peasants in Yugoslavia.

Far more than Yugoslavia itself is involved here. The Yugoslav events are only a component part of the unfolding international crisis of Stalinism. This is evidenced by the tremors already produced in Stalinist parties

the world over as a consequence of the Tito-Stalin rift. These repercussions are only the beginning. It is by no means excluded that the chain of events, whose starting point is represented by Yugoslavia, will continue to unfold until the Soviet Union itself becomes involved. Let us recall that

the Soviet masses have waited long and anxiously for help from the outside against the Stalinist despots.

At all events, the effective and vigorous intervention of the Trotskyists into the Yugoslav events and the maturing crisis of international Stalinism cannot fail to facilitate and speed

up the emergence onto the highway of the socialist revolution of the militant workers and peasants of Yugoslavia, of the rest of Eastern Europe and, consequently, of Europe as a whole.

August 3, 1948.

An Open Letter

To the Congress, Central Committee and Members of the Yugoslav Communist Party

Comrades,

At its last session the Cominform passed a resolution excommunicating your party and its leadership. This has deeply stirred the members of Communist parties and revolutionary workers throughout the world. How, indeed, could they fail to be stupefied by such an abrupt about-face by the Cominform leaders who suddenly compel them to disparage a country which only yesterday was proclaimed the best model of "People's Democracy." Only three months ago, *l'Humanite*, central organ of the French Communist Party, sang praises to the "land of Tito." Today, *l'Humanite* cannot find a slander too vile with which to besmirch your party.

Only recently, Enver Hodza, premier of Albania, declared at the fourth session of the Albanian People's Assembly:

Our people could neither enjoy the fruits of their war victories nor be assured of reconstructing their country and progress toward a better life, if it were not for the powerful, fraternal assistance accorded us in all spheres of life by the new Yugoslavia.

Today, the same Enver Hodza cynically says:

The Central Committee of the Yugoslav Communist Party and its chief-tain Tito have disrupted all the economic and political relations with our country. . . They aim to transform it into a colony of Yugoslavia. . . They have tried to suppress its independence. . . .

The servility with which most of the leadership of the Communist parties have carried out the orders handed down from above is surpassed only by their evident dishonesty. Your party is accused of "lack of democracy." At the same time your accusers set up a hue and cry in which your party is con-

demned without the Communist party members having been informed objectively about the existing differences, without affording you an opportunity to defend yourselves, without letting the members of various Communist parties become acquainted with the text of your reply to the Cominform resolution.

The double-dealing of these "leaders" is shown even more clearly by their refusal to accept your invitation to attend your Congress. This refusal means nothing else but that the leaders of the Communist parties refuse to acquaint their members with the real situation in Yugoslavia. They prefer to despicably deceive the Communist workers throughout the world rather than "disobey" an order sent by Russia.

These facts, coupled with the treatment you are receiving, illustrate the methods of "persuasion" used by the leaders of the Russian Communist Party. They intervene in the life of other Communist parties by means of brutal and ultimatic ukases; they arbitrarily impose their rule on all parties, without the least consideration for the traditions, experiences or sentiments of the respective party members. At the same time, the leaders of the Russian Communist Party jealously guard their own privileges, regarding as treachery the slightest criticism of their own policies, and arrogating to themselves the right to excommunicate anyone who balks at following slavishly the countless zigzags of their tortuous party line.

The evil you have suddenly discovered, however, has existed for a long time. It existed during the final decade of the Communist International as well as during the five years since its dissolution. The grave sickness of the Communist parties and the main cause of the innumerable setbacks and bloody defeats they have suffered are to be found in

the absolute control arrogated to themselves by the leaders of the Russian Communist Party. This control has led to a constant subordination of the interests of the socialist revolution, in one country after another, to the episodic needs confronting Russia.

Today the Kremlin is determined to force you to abandon your industrialization policy, just as in January 1945 it forced Thorez to disarm the French partisans for the benefit of de Gaulle. During the Spanish Civil War, when the workers seized the factories, the Kremlin forced the Spanish Communists to declare that this was "treason." It instructed the German Communist Party to follow the suicidal course from 1930 to 1933 which permitted Hitler to seize power.

But events each time proved that far from rendering the Soviet Union stronger in the face of the imperialist forces, the weakening of the international proletariat isolated the Soviet Union still more and permitted the imperialists to deal terrible blows, such as that of 1941.

Once again today, in order to maintain their absolute sway over the Cominform, the leaders of the Russian Communist Party do not hesitate to employ against your party, policies which play into the hands of American imperialism and which can be utilized by all the enemies of the working class against the Soviet Union itself.

Comrades, you yourselves have already raised the question of the reason for this non-communist conduct of the Russian leadership toward the Communist parties of other countries. In this connection you might indeed have used the term "degeneration" in your reasoning. One should not fear this word, nor its real meaning and content. The outstanding trait of a Bolshevik is his courage in approaching reality and see-

ing it as it actually is, no matter how bitter the truth, no matter how painful the examination of this reality may be. It is a crime for a communist to deceive the workers or his own comrades — and this happens to be the real crime that the Communist Party leaders of many countries have just committed once again. But it is an even bigger crime to deceive oneself through fear of the sad reality which one does not wish to accept.

It would be the grossest self-deception to assume even for a moment that a country, governed by a party whose conduct toward its sister parties is so utterly non-communist, can nevertheless play the role of the vanguard of socialism. It would be self-deception to assume that policies which led to crises in so many Communist parties can still remain Leninist policies.

Yes, the Soviet Union and the leadership of the Russian Communist Party have degenerated. Yes, they have ceased to represent the vanguard of the world communist forces since the time they subordinated the interests of the world revolution to their own interests. We repeat: They act in their own interests and not those of the Russian proletariat. The interests of the workers and the oppressed of all countries are one and the same, and the interests of communism are indivisible the world over. That is why the abandonment by the Russian leaders of the cause of communism beyond the Soviet frontiers proves beyond doubt that they have abandoned this same cause inside the Soviet Union itself; that is to say, their generation is profound.

CAUSES OF THE DEGENERATION OF THE SOVIET UNION

However painful it may seem to you, it is now necessary to put your finger on the social origin of this degeneration. In Lenin's time, and even after, Communist functionaries in both the party and the government strictly adhered to the rule that their salaries could not be higher than the average wage of a skilled worker. Non-Communist specialists and technicians, whom the young Soviet Republic sorely needed, were of necessity paid higher salaries, but they were placed under the strict control of the workers lest they should abuse those advantages which the state had been compelled to grant them. The workers remained the masters in the factories, in the soviets, in the party. Communist discipline was voluntary, arising from the enthusiasm for the class struggle

and the victorious revolution. The party's internal life, along with that of the Communist International at the time, was regulated by discussion, as impassioned as it was free. The most important decisions were reached on the basis of genuine conviction, that is to say, in accord with the experience and level of consciousness of the party members. The party was intimately tied to its class and through these ties brought the entire proletariat into participation in the running of the state and the economy.

Today all this is changed in the Soviet Union. The soviets are dissolved. The workers do not exercise the slightest control in the factories; instead they are completely at the mercy of the factory manager's every whim. The discrepancies in basic earnings are even greater than in capitalist countries. Communist functionaries collect salaries as high as those of petty-bourgeois *spetzes* (specialists). An abyss separates the living conditions of the working masses from those of the bureaucracy which runs the economy and the state. This bureaucracy has completely wiped out inner-party democracy; it has eliminated and murdered the Old Guard Bolsheviks; it has converted the party into a vehicle for protecting its own privileges; it has destroyed the party as the instrument of international communism.

This bureaucracy has today become a closed caste which guards its positions as jealously against the workers at home as it is doing against you.

One of your most remarkable accomplishments in Yugoslavia, just as in the October Revolution in Russia, is the extension of free high school and college education to all children of workers and poor peasants. You must be aware of the fact that as far back as eight years ago the Russian government abolished this enormously progressive development and reintroduced the system of paying for high school and college education, thereby in practice restricting such education to the children of functionaries and well-to-do petty bourgeois, and sentencing the overwhelming majority of children to semi-ignorance. Is this not the best proof that the leaders of the Russian state and party have stopped the forward march toward socialism, and in fact have gone into reverse gear toward an ever increasing social inequality?

The existence of these bureaucratic privileges in Russia, far from being combated by the leaders of the Communist Party of the USSR, is systematically

protected; this also explains at the same time the ideological form assumed by the degeneration of this leadership. In Lenin's time, the leadership of the Bolshevik Party and of the Communist International, even when directly engaged in negotiations with imperialist powers, openly declared to the world proletariat that capitalism and socialism are two incompatible regimes. Not for one minute did it suspend calling upon the workers of all the capitalist countries to overthrow the rule of their own exploiters, and actively preparing them for it. It always fitted the domestic and foreign policy of the USSR into the framework of the strategy of world socialist revolution, and considered its prime task to be that of giving maximum assistance to the Communist parties of other countries so that they could take advantage of every revolutionary situation which opened up before them for the overthrow of capitalism.

Of course Lenin and the leadership of the Bolshevik Party and the Communist International at that time, could not exclude the possibility, even the necessity, of temporary compromises with imperialism. Every sane revolutionist understands that every war, and certainly the social war of the working class against the capitalist class, is necessarily interrupted by periods of calm, of truces and of armistices. But as Lenin so lucidly explained in "Left-Wing" Communism: An Infantile Disorder, such compromises in the class struggle are allowed solely on condition "of knowing how to apply these tactics in such a way as to raise and not lower the general level of proletarian class consciousness, revolutionary spirit, ability to fight and to conquer." (p. 56.)

This conception of Lenin flowed logically from the doctrine of the Bolshevik Party and of the Communist International, according to which the socialist revolution can be only the work of the conscious and sovereign working masses.

RESULTS OF DEGENERATION

The social degeneration of the USSR has brought it to a complete revision of these fundamental principles of Leninism. Today it proclaims and makes all the leaders of the parties which follow it also proclaim that capitalism and socialism are two systems which can live side by side in complete peace and harmony. It categorically forbids the leaders of the Communist parties in bourgeois countries to speak of "revolution" or of the overthrow of capitalism in their countries. On the contrary it

orders them to restrict their propaganda to the "defense of the national independence" of their own capitalist countries! These same leaders who today accuse you of "misunderstanding the Marxist-Leninist conception of class and of the state" have themselves kept the communist workers of the capitalist countries in the darkest ignorance on these questions. They were not content only to enter the capitalist governments of France, Italy, Belgium, etc. from 1945 to 1947 and to forget everything that Lenin wrote against the reformist Social-Democracy on the impossibility of "conquering" the bourgeois state apparatus from within and on the necessity of destroying it and replacing it with a new workers' Soviet state apparatus. They have gone so far during this period as to forbid the workers to make use of strikes for improving their miserable living conditions, and this in countries which are the bastions of European capitalism!

All these maneuvers have not in the least deceived the imperialist bourgeoisie, as the emissaries and foreign agents of the leaders of the Russian Communist Party would have us believe. The bourgeoisie has not for a moment given up its view that the Soviet Union is a mortal enemy. But they have confused, disoriented and deceived the workers of the capitalist countries. Only yesterday the workers saw the leaders of the Communist parties opposing their class movements, whereas today such movements are abruptly and bureaucratically launched. Thus the workers have the impression of being the dupes of a policy which is foreign to their own interests and of being utilized solely as a "maneuverable mass" by their leaders.

This policy broke the revolutionary fervor of the masses which, in France, Italy and elsewhere in 1944, equaled the fervor you experienced in your country. This is explained precisely by the fundamental revision of the very conception of socialism wrought by the leaders of the Russian Communist Party. Whereas Lenin and the Communist International in its initial period considered socialist revolution in the capitalist world the product of mass action, the present leadership of the Russian Communist Party is preoccupied exclusively with the military, economic and territorial expansion of the USSR. Whereas Lenin and the Communist International in its initial period considered it their most important task to assist the Communist parties of other countries onto the road of revolutionary mobilization of the

masses in their own countries, the present leadership of the Russian Communist Party, contemptuous of foreign Communist parties and workers — as you know well from your own sad experience! — does not in the least hesitate to bar the revolutionary and socialist road to its fellow-parties when this is required by its own sordid considerations. This break with the Leninist conception of world revolution is the most conclusive ideological proof of the profound degeneration of the present leadership of the Russian Communist Party and of its complete rupture with the interests of the world proletariat.

Under these conditions, it seems particularly cynical for the present leaders of the Russian Communist Party and of the Cominform to accuse you of misunderstanding "proletarian internationalism" and of following a nationalist policy. This is said by those same Russian leaders whose chauvinistic propaganda during the war, in which they refused to draw a distinction between the German workers and their Nazi butchers, was chiefly responsible for the absence of a revolution in Germany, whereas in Yugoslavia the partisan movement was able to attract into its ranks thousands of worker-soldiers from the occupation armies. This is said by a Togliatti who did not hesitate to launch, along with the genuine fascists of the MSI (Movimento Sociale dell'Italia), a chauvinist campaign for the return of former colonies to his capitalist country. This is said by a Thorez whose nationalist hysteria on the question of reparations for imperialist France gives untold satisfaction to bourgeois politicians in the Poincare tradition. Really, these people are certainly in a very poor position to give lessons on internationalism to anybody.

It is no less true, Comrades, that the nationalism introduced into the Communist parties corresponds precisely with this same kind of degeneration which you now discern in Russia. No progress can be made toward socialism unless every trace of nationalism is extirpated from the thinking of communist militants. To fight for the right of self-termination of each nation, to struggle against national oppression, continually introduced and extended under imperialism in its decadent phase, is a primary task for the communist movement. And genuine communists are distinguished from petty-bourgeois nationalists precisely by the fact that they conduct this struggle in an internationalist spirit, always drawing a line between the bour-

geoisie and proletariat of the imperialist country, carrying on the struggle within the framework of the revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of capitalism in their own country. It is particularly necessary to eliminate from propaganda all appeals to a national tradition which can injure the workers of other countries, all attacks against nations as such, all territorial demands based on chauvinist arguments. The Austrian and Italian bourgeoisies are today hoping that the Communist parties of their countries, under the directives from the Cominform, will line up in the capitalist camp to "solve" the problem of Carinthia and Trieste in the interests of imperialism. You must understand that there is only one way to foil the infamous maneuvers of the bourgeoisie and of the leaders of the Cominform against your party: that is to appeal boldly to the international solidarity of the workers, to proclaim aloud the right of peoples to self-determination, and to propose solutions of outstanding problems along this line.

You have settled the national question in your country with some degree of success. A truly communist and internationalist attitude toward international problems would not fail to strengthen immeasurably your position in the consciousness and feeling of millions of workers throughout the entire world.

WHAT ROAD WILL YOU FOLLOW?

Comrades, your Congress which is about to meet, the delegates which will compose it, and the thousands of communist members whom they will represent, find themselves, on this day following the Cominform resolution against your party, confronting decisions of truly historical import. Three roads are open to you and you must choose one of them. Your choice will decide for years, if not for decades, the fate of your country and of its proletariat, and will exercise a profound influence on the evolution and future of the entire world communist movement.

The first road open to you would be to consider that despite the serious injuries dealt you by the leaders of the Russian Communist Party, it is above all necessary today, in the present world situation, to maintain a complete monolithic unity with the policies and ideology of the Russian Communist Party. There are certainly members in your midst who will propose such a course and will even suggest that it is preferable, under these conditions, to make a public apology and a declaration accepting the "criticism" of the Cominform, even to

change your leadership, and wait for a "better occasion" to defend your particular conceptions within the "big communist family."

Such a decision would be in our opinion an irreparable and tragic error and would do the greatest damage not only to your own party and your own working class but to the international proletariat and communist movement, above all to the workers in the USSR. You must by now know the methods and ideas of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party sufficiently well to understand that that body will never be satisfied by public declarations and political decisions. It will demand that all power in the party and the country should pass into the hands of its own "civil and military agents" and of those among you whom it believes it can manipulate like puppets. It will completely eliminate, along with your present leaders, all cadres which think independently, all members who dare raise their voices in protest. It will completely subordinate the interests of the workers and poor peasants of Yugoslavia to the needs of its own diplomatic maneuvers with imperialism. It will smash your party as an independent force and will deal a terrible blow to the socialist consciousness of the workers of your country. It will wind up by physically liquidating all those who dared resist for a moment. The tragic example of so many old Bolshevik leaders in Russia shows that it never pardons even a passing opposition, even when such pardon has been "bought" a thousand times by self-criticism and breast-beating of the most humiliating kind.

Such a decision would deal an even greater blow to the international communist movement. In all countries, the most courageous and independent Communist members, who are today stirred by your action, would be reduced to silence. The most servile elements would triumph everywhere. The pernicious principle that "whoever criticizes the Soviet government is an agent of imperialism," which has already cost the international Communist movement so dearly, would be more firmly entrenched than ever. Thousands of sincere revolutionary workers, who have with good cause been revolted by the anti-Leninist policies pursued by the Cominform leaders, would fall back again into passivity and scepticism, thereby increasing the isolation everywhere of the communist forces and thereby strengthening the forces of reaction and imperialism. The

road would be cleared for new defeats for the international proletariat.

A second road will certainly be suggested, consisting essentially of retiring into Yugoslavia, repelling the attacks and the eventual violence and provocations of the Cominform and its agents, and attempting to "build socialism" in your own country, while concluding trade relations with the powers of Eastern Europe as well as with those of the imperialist West. We will not conceal from you, Comrades, that we consider this second road just as pernicious as the first.

It is completely utopian to think it possible to "maneuver" during a whole period between the USSR and the USA without being subject during this same period to a growing pressure from these two giants. The success of "maneuvers" depends in the final analysis on the relationship of forces, and, on the plane of economic, political and military power, the relationship of forces is obviously not in your favor. American imperialism will gladly make some advances to you for that would increase the weight of its arguments in its conversations with Moscow. But what it is looking for basically is not to support you against the USSR but to conclude a compromise with Russia, if necessary at your expense. Not only would the present leaders of the Russian Communist Party have no hesitation about accepting such a compromise, but they would even work furiously to create the greatest economic difficulties for you so as to force you to capitulate or to surrender completely to Yankee imperialism, in order thereby to "demonstrate" to world working-class opinion that every rupture with Moscow signifies going over to the "American camp."

On the other hand, you must be aware that imperialism will rapidly become increasingly demanding toward you, especially if it is encouraged along this road by Moscow, as is to be feared. Its pressure will first be concentrated on your trade relations. Its first objective will be to include you in the Marshall Plan zone. In the course of putting this into effect, it will aim subsequently to destroy all the social reforms brought about in Yugoslavia in the past three years. To the extent that Russia will isolate you and that your economic difficulties will increase and imperialist pressure sharpen, reaction within your own country will lift its head. The kulak would attempt to make contact with the international market. American capital would penetrate through all the crevices in

your mixed economy in order to help them achieve this. Your days would be numbered.

Every policy set up on the basis of ignoring the international contradictions, which are the all-embracing framework in which all problems of Yugoslav policy are posed; every policy which would pose questions of industrialization independently of the problem of securing equipment by means of international trade, and consequently, independently of the pressure of the capitalist world market; every policy of this kind must be rejected forthright. Otherwise the work undertaken by your party can only meet with complete ruin. In view of the slanderous accusations of the leaders of the Cominform, it is imperative to be sharply conscious of the lurking danger of imperialist pressure, so that you will take no step without carefully considering the consequences on that score. Therein lies the main guarantee of genuine revolutionary and socialist progress on your part.

Finally, there remains the third road, the most difficult, bristling with the most obstacles, the genuine communist road for the Yugoslav party and proletariat. This road is the road of return to the Leninist conception of socialist revolution, of return to a world strategy of class struggle. It must start, in our opinion, with a clear understanding of the fact that the Yugoslav revolutionary forces can only become stronger and consolidate their positions thanks to the conscious support of the working masses of their own country and of the entire world. It means above all to understand that the decisive force on the world arena is neither imperialism with its resources and arms, nor the Russian state with its formidable apparatus. The decisive force is the immense army of workers, of poor peasants and of colonial peoples, whose revolt against their exploiters is steadily rising, and who need only a conscious leadership, a suitable program of action and an effective organization in order to bring the enormous task of world socialist revolution to a successful conclusion.

We do not presume to offer you a blueprint. We understand the tremendous difficulties which you must contend with in a poorly equipped country which has been devastated by war. We desire only to point out to you what are, in our opinion, the main lines through which to concretize this international revolutionary policy — the only policy which will enable you to hold out while waiting for new struggles of the masses,

to stimulate them and to conquer with them.

To commit oneself to this road means, especially in Yugoslavia itself, to base oneself openly and completely on the revolutionary dynamics of the masses. The Front committees must be organs which are genuinely elected by the workers of city and country, arising from a tightly knit system of workers and of poor farmers.

They must become genuine state organs and must take the place of the present hybrid organs which are relics of the bourgeois state apparatus. They must be the organs of Soviet democracy, in which all workers will have the right to express their opinions and their criticisms without reservation and without fear of reprisal. The right of workers to organize other workers' parties must be laid down as a principle, subject only to the condition that they take their place within the framework of Soviet legality. The present hybrid constitution must be revised and a new one, taking its inspiration from the Leninist constitution of 1921, must be set up by an assembly of delegates from the workers' and poor peasants' committees.

These decisive political changes must be conceived as the end result of a real mass mobilization, to be brought about by your party through carrying these Leninist ideas into the most distant villages of your country, explaining the differences between the Soviet state and other state forms, and the superiority of the former type. That is the way Lenin did it in 1917, with the greatest simplicity. A vast campaign of reeducation must be started, together with a period of discussion and of unhampered expression of opinion by the workers. The latter will express their criticisms of the present state of affairs in their assemblies. The party will finally know, directly, what the real aspirations of the masses are, and will obtain the constructive suggestions of the working-class masses, whose vast creative energy is the surest guarantee of socialism. Your party has nothing to fear from such a development. The confidence of the masses in it will grow enormously and it will become the effective collective expression of the interests and desires of the proletariat of its country.

It will not be enough, however, to reestablish the complete sovereignty of the committees, to change the standing army into a genuine workers' and peasants' militia, to replace appointed judges with those elected by the masses, to reestablish and firmly maintain the prin-

ciple of payment of functionaries on the basis of the average wages of a skilled worker. The problem of the revolutionary transformation of your country is essentially an economic one, in which the question of the peasantry takes first place.

There is but one Leninist way to approach this problem: to seek support from the poor and exploited layers of the country and to be careful not to violate the laws whereby your economy functions, but on the contrary to utilize them in the interests of socialism. The land must be nationalized and a struggle waged against the concentration of income and property in the hands of the kulaks. But these measures cannot be made solely by administrative means, neither by decrees nor by force. What is necessary is that the immense majority of the peasants must view it as in their own interests. For this, a review of the Five Year Plan and the relations between agriculture and industry is necessary. The plan for industrialization must be able, above all things, to guarantee a growing quantity of consumer goods for the peasants. By means of stabilizing the dinar and a strict system of dividing industrial consumer goods, the state can offer more to the small and middle peasant than the kulak will be able to give him. It is necessary at the same time to give the utmost support to the freely formed cooperatives of the small peasants, to reserve all modern working equipment for them, grant them cheap credit, and to establish such conditions for them that they will live better and earn more than the middle peasants who continue to work their lands as individuals. This will prove to be the surest method of isolating the kulak in the village and of developing and accelerating voluntary cooperation locally.

Progress of this kind will be realizable only by changing the method of drawing up and verifying plans. No group of spetzes can ascertain mathematically the real equilibrium between the needs of the workers, those of the peasants, and the capital needs of the economy, upon which equilibrium depends the harmonious planning and development of the country. It is essential that the masses be induced to participate as actively as possible in the work of planning, that the greatest heed be paid to their complaints, and that the needs expressed by them be the primary factor in planning.

Complete sovereignty of the factory committees must be established in the plants, and genuine workers' control of production must be instituted. The trade

unions must be granted their real function, which is to defend the interests of the workers, even against the Soviet State if necessary, as Lenin repeatedly asserted. In a word it is necessary to give the workers and poor peasants the clear feeling that they are the masters in the country, and that the state and the progress of the economy are in direct correspondence with their own interests.

We do not at all conceal that such a policy will encounter very great obstacles in your country and even in your own ranks. A complete reeducation of your cadres in the spirit of genuine Leninism would be necessary. Still less do we conceal that world imperialism and the present leadership of the Russian State would furiously attack your policy, for it would appear to them a mortal threat to their acquired positions. But if you will apply the same Leninist principles in your foreign policy, you can be sure of powerful support from the workers and the oppressed of the entire world, and your cause cannot lose.

You would have to make a sharp break with all the practices of traditional secret diplomacy and return to the revolutionary diplomacy practiced in the time of Lenin; you would have to become the champion and active supporter of all colonial peoples revolting against their imperialist masters; you would have to proclaim to the world the conditions for a just peace, without annexations or reparations; you would have to demand the immediate withdrawal of the occupation troops of all the great powers from all occupied countries, and strict application of the right of self-determination of peoples in all disputed questions. With one blow you will gain the sympathy of the Austrian and German masses who today feel themselves deceived and betrayed by all parties. You would have to develop and sharpen your propaganda in favor of the Danubian Federation by giving it its classical communist form and by launching the slogan for the Balkan Federation of Soviet Socialist Republics among the workers and poor peasants of neighboring countries, who would take it up with enthusiasm. And finally it would be necessary to incorporate this propaganda within the concrete framework of propaganda for the SOCIALIST SOVIET UNITED STATES OF EUROPE; to convoke a conference at Belgrade of the trade-union and workers' representatives from all the countries of Europe, including Germany and Austria; to draw up with them a plan for the economic reconstruction of the continent on a socialist basis, in op-

position to the Marshall Plan, and to make this socialist plan the central axis for revolutionary propaganda in Europe and in the world.

Your possibilities for action along the road of genuine Leninism disclose themselves to be enormous. But your historical responsibility far surpasses everything which has been outlined above. Millions of workers throughout the world are today profoundly disgusted with the policies and methods used by the present leaders of the Cominform. Unwilling to pass over into the imperialist camp in any guise whatever, they vainly seek a new pole of attraction, a new political leadership. Only the vanguard of this mass has at this time found the road toward our organization, the **FOURTH INTERNATIONAL**. You can become the mobilization point for this mass of revolutionary workers and thus, with a single blow, completely change the present condition of paralysis within the world working-class movement, the stranglehold of the agents of Washington and of the degenerated Russian bureaucracy. The social struggles which are developing and will develop within all countries will thereby be given the opportunity for a successful revolutionary conclusion. The Third World War, which threatens to throw the USSR and all of Europe into an abyss, can be prevented. The socialist future will unfold in all its glory before humanity.

Comrades, we address this letter to you because we are conscious of the terrible dilemma in which you find yourselves; because we understand exactly the tremendous responsibility weighing upon you, and because we consider it our communist duty to assist you in resolving the present crisis in communism along proletarian and Leninist lines.

We have many and important differences with your past and recent policies. We are in complete disagreement with the theory and practice of "People's Democracy" for we do not believe in any other road from capitalism to socialism than the dictatorship of the proletariat. We believe that the use and propagation of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ways of living (servants, livery, titles, officers' stripes, decorations) can only serve to demoralize real communists. But we are conscious of the enormous difficulties involved in a discussion between us, in view of the separation in activities which has existed between us for so many years. For this reason we consider it our duty to convey our ideas to you in a long and fruitful discussion, in the course of which we can each advise the

other of our experiences in the revolutionary struggle and can clarify our differences in a spirit of genuine proletarian and communist fraternity.

Our organization, the Fourth International, originated in the Left Opposition of the Bolshevik Party, which 25 years ago already saw the germs of the degeneration of the Russian Communist Party which you are discovering today. Hunted, persecuted, expelled, the Left Opposition fought nevertheless for ten years for reintegration into the official Communist movement. Only when the present leadership of the Russian Communist Party surrendered the German proletariat to the executioner Hitler without a struggle, and thereby opened a period of bloody defeats for the world working class, did our movement come to the conclusion that a new revolutionary International had to be built. Since then, the bureaucrats who now lead the Russian State have poured a ceaseless stream of vile slander over our International and no crime has been too sordid for them in their attempts to destroy us. Just as today they call you "agents of imperialism," so they have labeled us "fascist spies," when in reality hundreds of our best cadres and leaders gave their lives in the struggle against fascism. Just as today they are organizing the assassination of your leadership, so did they manage to assassinate Leon Trotsky, organizer of the October victory, creator of the Red Army, the greatest leader of the Communist movement since the death of Lenin — Trotsky, who just a few days before his death, expressed his unshakable devotion to communism and to the real Soviet Union of the workers and peasants in his moving "Letter to the Soldiers of the Red Army."

But all these crimes did not succeed in smashing the **FOURTH INTERNATIONAL** because nothing can smash genuine Leninism! Today it has sections in 35 different countries on all continents, consisting of battle-tested and experienced revolutionary Communist members who stand for what is best in their class. Although weak in material resources, its Second World Congress, held last April in Paris, demonstrated that it was strong in political cohesion, in program, and in its clear understanding of present-day reality. Today it is launching in all countries a vast campaign protesting against the bureaucratic measures which the Cominform has taken against you. It appeals to communist workers of all countries to send their delegations to Yugoslavia, in order to make a spot check of the real policy

followed by your party. Tomorrow it will make your documents known in 20 different languages — for workers' democracy is not just an idle phrase to the Fourth International, and a communist cannot permit a member to be judged without a hearing. It asks that you allow a delegation from our leadership to attend your Congress, in order to establish contact with the Yugoslav communist movement and to set up fraternal ties which can serve only the interests of the world communist revolution.

Comrades, the cause of communism, of the revolutionary emancipation of the proletariat is invincible. No force in the world can prevent the genuine communists from ridding themselves of slanderers and would-be assassins so that they can go forward boldly toward their revolutionary goal. The quicker this task is done, the faster will the world revolution triumph.

YUGOSLAV COMMUNISTS UNITE FOR A NEW LENINIST INTERNATIONAL! FOR THE WORLD VICTORY OF COMMUNISM!

The International Secretariat
of the Fourth International.
July 13, 1948

Resolution on Latin America

Adopted by Second World Congress

The World Congress instructs the International Secretariat, in collaboration with the delegates from Latin America, to elaborate immediately after the Congress a text of general political orientation for Latin America.

This text, accompanied by various amendments presented by certain comrades of Latin America, will serve as an introduction to the discussion among all the organizations of Latin America.

Resolution on Cyprus

Adopted by Second World Congress

After hearing a report on the activity of the International Communist Party of Cyprus and its request for affiliation, and receiving assurance that it is a functioning organization adhering to the program and principles of the Fourth International, the World Congress recognizes it as an official section of the Fourth International at Cyprus and grants a mandate to its representation at this Congress.

Opening Address

Delivered at the Second World Congress of the Fourth International

After declaring the Congress in session by order of the International Executive Committee and International Secretariat, and greeting the delegates, the International Secretary spoke as follows:

Comrades: Today, two years after the April 1946 Conference, there are assembled in this hall the representatives of 22 sections and organizations of the International, who have come from Europe, North America, South America, Africa and Asia. This assemblage, which has been achieved under the terrible conditions prevailing throughout the world since the end of the second imperialist war, and especially in face of the enormous difficulties confronting our international movement on every side, is in itself a remarkable feat. The reality and the vitality of our movement find their most striking demonstration in the holding of this Congress.

We have here the most representative international gathering that has ever been called together by our international movement since its founding. In a magnificent spirit of revolutionary internationalism, the organizations of our International have overcome tremendous difficulties to send their representatives here.

This Congress has come together at an especially critical moment in the international situation. The present period is marked by an acute sharpening of the antagonism between the two main world powers—the United States and the Soviet Union—and by the advanced polarization of the social antagonisms. And this raises again, in the event of defeat of the world socialist revolution, the specter of fascism and atomic war, that is, the decomposition of capitalist society into the most appalling barbarism.

This Congress, moreover, has come together at a critical moment for the development and future of our movement, which is feeling the pressure of the heavily fraught objective situation. We will have to oppose the tendencies, expressed within our ranks, which would revise our program and liquidate our movement. We will also have to give clear and positive answers to the problems and questions which, in this unprecedentedly complex situation, are quite justifiably being posed by the members of our international movement.

In meeting this twofold task—defense of our program and our movement against revisionist and liquidationist attacks, and the outlining of clear perspectives and concrete tasks which will assure the further development of our movement—let us recall that our Congress is meeting on the 100th anniversary of the *Communist Manifesto* and the founding of that scientific socialism which enabled the

working-class movement to build its revolutionary activity on the rock of Marxist theory, of which we today are the sole continuators.

The death agony of capitalism has reached its final stage, and threatens all humanity with destruction and barbarism. The socialist solution becomes more imperative than ever.

The world proletariat and the exploited masses in the capitalist countries, the colonies and the semi-colonies have already given and continue to give proof of their profound determination to have done with this system which, by its contradictions, has brought humanity to the brink of destruction and threatens to wipe out all the progress hitherto achieved. The crisis of humanity takes concrete form in the crisis of the revolutionary leaderships of the workers' movement. The role of the Fourth International is to work out the solution to this problem. We are firmly convinced that we shall accomplish this task. For the entire political and theoretical heritage of revolutionary Marxism, coming down to us through the work and teachings of Marx and Engels, Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, Lenin and Trotsky, lives and takes action in our international movement.

For these reasons, the role of this Congress is one of profoundest importance. And we open the Congress with fullest confidence in its success.

Now, as our sessions are about to commence, our thoughts turn toward the innumerable members of our International who, both during and after the second imperialist war, have paid with their lives for their devotion to the cause of the international proletariat.

Our thoughts turn to our irreplaceable teacher, Leon Trotsky, and to our other leading comrades, Leon Lesoil, Widelin, W. Held, Peters, Marcel Hic, Pouliopoulos, Blasco, Chen Chi-chang, Ta Thu Than, and their many comrades in struggle. And I ask you to honor their imperishable memory by standing for a moment of silence.

Our Congress also sends its warmest greetings to Comrade Natalia Trotsky, to Comrade Cannon, and to the imprisoned Trotskyist comrades in Greece, India, the Viet Nam, Bolivia, China and elsewhere; to the Trotskyists in the USSR, in Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Germany and Austria; to all the members of our International; and to the colonial peoples and the workers of the entire world, wherever they are now struggling for their national and social emancipation.

Comrades, our Congress is now opened.

Oil and Labor

By JOHN FREDERICKS

II. Economic Structure of the Oil Industry

Study of any one industry is bound to reveal certain trends common to all industry, trends that lay bare the insoluble problems of capitalism as a whole. This study of the petroleum industry, technologically the most advanced, brings into sharp focus the scientific advances which clash with the production relations. Part I, which was published in the May issue of our magazine, analyzed the process of production. It dealt with the three major stages in the development of oil refining—kerosene, gasoline, and catalytic cracking—and traced the changing role of the worker. Part I concluded with a study of capital investment and the rate of profit as well as with capital expansion and government interference. Part II, published below, analyzes the economic structure of the oil industry.—Ed.

* * *

The economic structure of the oil industry is comparable to other basic American industries: steel, auto or electrical manufacturing. Only the giant or dominating company in the field controls the manufacturing process, the source of raw materials, transportation and distribution to the consumer. Such companies are known as wholly integrated companies.

The oil industry contains more wholly integrated companies than any other industry. Yet many of these seemingly independent companies are linked together by secret agreements, patent control, market agreements, etc., in such a manner that 20 major companies, acting as a unit, control nearly two-thirds of the assets of the entire industry and collectively determine its basic policies.

Although there are 13,000 oil companies in the United States, the 20 major companies own 89% of the pipeline mileage; produce 60% of the crude oil; own 87% of the tanker tonnage; hold title to 96% of the stocks of refined petroleum; own 80% of the daily crude capacity, 85% of the cracking capacity, 93% of the finished stocks of gasoline and lubricant; own 96% of gasoline pipeline mileage, and control 80% of domestic gasoline sales. Ten of these companies own over half the proven oil reserves of the nation.

The growing concentration in this industry can best be seen in the decade prior to 1938, when the control of the 20 companies over crude production increased from 46 to 53%, finished products from 76 to 94%, refining capacity from 66 to 76%, gasoline production from 71 to 84%. The war and postwar years have accelerated this process at a tremendous rate. The Standard Oil empire is the fullest embodiment of this growing centralization of capital.

I. Standard Oil and Monopolization

Standard Oil Company of New Jersey is the largest single unit in the oil industry. The history of this company is the story of John D. Rockefeller, too lengthy to repeat here. But even in bare outline his story is that of big capital, unscrupulously wielding power over labor and small capital. Rockefeller entered the infant industry about three years after its birth. At that time he was a

modest commission merchant with no more than \$20,000 capital. Within eight years he and his partners formed Standard Oil with \$1,000,000 capital. *No additional capital has ever been added to the company since!* The record of capital accumulation follows:

1862	\$ 1,000,000
1870	2,500,000
1875	3,500,000
1882	70,000,000
1887	90,000,000

Even these figures are underestimates of the true capital accumulation of Standard Oil in that period. The president of the company testified before the N. Y. State legislature in 1888 that "the company is worth not less than \$148,000,000."

The process through which the expansion and consolidation of this capital took place was through the destruction of competing capital, rather than through consolidations and absorption of competing companies. Through price wars, terrorism, discriminatory rail rates and shipping rebates this company was able to smash thousands of weaker companies, amassing billions in the process.

Technological improvements in every branch of the industry—exploration, drilling, transportation and refining—made it possible to undersell competitors and ruin them. The elimination of serious competition in the early days made later high prices and the resulting huge mass of profit possible. The consolidation of capital that followed has ensured the present position of leadership enjoyed by Standard Oil.

Early rates of profit were phenomenal. The company earned 15% on invested capital in the decade 1882-92; then jumped to 21% in the year 1892-1900; then rose again to 25% for 1900-6. The earnings from 1876 to 1881 were \$55 million. In the next six years \$50 million was paid in dividends alone. 1903 profits were \$81 million; 1904 profits, \$61 million; 1905 profits, \$57 million.

Rockefeller was the first individual to establish a complete monopoly over a segment of American industry. His monopoly by 1885 was complete and remained unchallenged until 1911, when the parent company was dissolved by Supreme Court decree. At that time Standard Oil owned 33 corporations and the court order split it into 33 parts. It is clear today that the court order had little meaning, since Standard Oil of N. J. owns 255 corporations and has a controlling interest in 300 others today! Before dissolution its shares were worth \$663,793,000, while a month after the dissolution they were worth \$885,044,000. Rockefeller's personal share had increased in value by \$56 million through the court decision.

Considering that the entire capital structure started with an investment of only \$1 million, that "philanthropies" have consumed over \$700 million, the Rockefeller interests

are worth today no less than \$6.6 billion! The rate of accumulation becomes more clear. It was in the early years that the great rate of profit made the monopoly flourish; monopoly in turn assured consolidation and continuation of great profits.

2. Monopolization, Profits and the Government

The Texas Co., which was organized as late as 1926, has grown into fourth place among the major companies, but only at the expense of obtaining constant new capital from outside the company. Its growth is linked with the Standard Empire. Standard Oil of California and the Texas Co. jointly own Aramco, the company which operates the rich Saudi Arabian oil fields.

The position of the major oil companies, in relation to the smaller producers and refiners, has improved enormously during the war. A study of the process of monopolization in the oil industry in 1938 reported that "through the practical denial of the use of pipe lines, through the operation of the proration system, through practical denial of the use of patented processes, through the refinery price squeeze and through practical denial of the use of compounds and products necessary to bring his run of refinery gasoline up to standards fixed by the major oil companies, the smaller producer has been squeezed out" (TNEC report).

The government, having greatly accelerated this process of monopolization and profiteering during the war, turned about after the war and "exposed" the concentration and centralization of capital prevailing. (See, Report of the Smaller War Plants Corporation: *Economic Concentration and World War II*, p. 169.) On October 21, 1947 twenty leading oil companies were charged before the Senate War Investigating Committee with rolling up \$59,856,000 excess war profits. Roland Larrabee, chief administrator for the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, told the committee that these companies had made \$259,943,000 total profits on their war contracts with the government. He demanded the return of a mere \$59 million as "excess profit." But even this modest demand has been ignored.

Profits for the first postwar year, 1946, show that every oil company has increased its mass of profit over even the lush war year:

	1945	1946
The Texas Co.	\$51,856,928	\$71,089,267
Standard Oil (Calif.), (9 mos.)	48,990,458	66,544,580
Socony Vacuum (9 mos.)	36,000,000	66,000,000
Gulf Oil Co. (6 mos.)	26,746,013	42,510,375
Continental Oil Co.	15,142,870	27,607,645
Tide Water Oil (6 mos.)	7,683,663	10,013,899
Richfield Oil Co. (6 mos.)	2,458,339	5,453,708

1947 saw the still greater accumulation of profits. A study by the National City Bank of New York, covering the 21 largest oil companies, shows a rise in total profits of 69.1%, after payment of all taxes, for 1947; over total profits for 1946. At the same time the authoritative *Petroleum Refiner* (May 1948) reports that production for 1947 increased only 6.9% over 1946.

Despite the charges before the Senate War Investigating Committee of super-profits in the industry, the industry

has little to fear from the government. On the contrary, the green light provided by Public Law 395 assures them immunity from prosecution under the Sherman Anti-Trust Laws.

Not only that, but foreign operations have netted them super-profits. With the help of the American government, the industry is assured that this will continue. For example, Aramco offered to sell to the Navy oil at 40 cents a barrel, on condition that the financial demands being made on them by King Ibn-Saud be satisfied by the United States government. First the government refused, whereupon Aramco raised its oil price to \$1.05 per barrel. (It should not be forgotten that they were selling to the Japanese government for only 70 cents a barrel!) Then it turned out that the wartime demands of King Ibn-Saud were such that the government paid him \$81 million, while it continued to pay the premium price for its Navy oil!

Aramco, which owns and operates the Saudi Arabian fields, was organized in 1933 with a capital investment of \$80 million. It was owned, 50% by Texaco and 50% by Standard Oil of Calif. In 1946 a deal was made that permitted two other American companies to buy a 40% interest in Aramco. Standard Oil of N. J. bought 30% and Standard Vacuum the remaining 10%. The purchase price was \$200 million. Of this, \$85 million was in cash, \$50 million in 10-year notes, and the remainder in oil produced from the field at 12 cents a barrel. And here lies another tale: Today's market price for crude oil is as exorbitant as \$2.50 a barrel, but the 12 cents per barrel stipulated in that agreement reflects the true production cost! Since 1933 Aramco paid no dividends, using all income for capital expansion. Its first dividend in 1947, however, amounted to \$22 million. Its underground oil reserves are conservatively estimated to be worth no less than \$20 billion!

In 1948-49 these fields will absorb \$375 million of American capital; in 1947 more than \$138 million was invested in Saudi Arabia and in 1946 it was over \$73 million. While American production of crude oil increased only 6.9% in 1947, the Saudi Arabian field increased its production by 30%.

Finally, the American companies who control these fields have elaborated still one other device by which to coin profits. They set up "foreign" oil companies to sell the product. They thus avoid payment of any taxes whatever to the United States government. Thus, the Bahrein Petroleum Co., organized as a Canadian corporation, is owned by the same firms as Aramco. On an investment of \$100,000 it has reaped profits of \$92,186,107. On these fabulous profits they paid not a cent in taxes. Another "foreign" firm, Caltex (California Texas Co.), owned entirely by Texaco, is organized as a Bahama Islands corporation. The total investment of \$1 million has paid off profits of \$25,386,573. Again, these patriotic Americans paid not a cent in taxes to the United States government. Although these facts were brought to the attention of senatorial committees, the lucrative fraud is still in operation and no attempt is being made by the powers that be to end the lush untaxed profits of the oil monopolists. On the contrary, the collaboration between the oil monopoly and the government grows closer with each passing day.

3. The State and the Oil Industry

a. INTERNATIONAL RELATION

Ever since World War I the struggle for control of the world's supply of oil has become the province of governments rather than the exclusive business of rival oil monopolies. The individual capitalist was supplanted by his government in the process of striking bargains for a share of the world's oil pools and markets. The oil fields of Iran and Iraq, for instance, were taken over by the British Admiralty.

As a bourgeois paper expresses it: "There is no country which is so thoroughly geared to the power supplied by petroleum. Yet, thanks to the mixture of unsupported argument, official reticence and sheer hypocrisy which befog the subject, there can be few peoples so poorly informed of the global implications of oil production and distribution as the American." (*The New York Herald Tribune*, March 23, 1948.)

In World War II Iran was occupied by England, Russia and the United States as a supply line for lend-lease. At the end of the war Soviet Russia sought oil concessions in Northern Iran that reached from Afghanistan to Turkey, close to the Baku fields. This act was necessary to the Soviet Union since oil production had fallen from 31 million tons in 1940 to 23 million tons when the devastation of war was over. Although Premier Ghavam made the concession asked for, it was rejected by the Iranian Majlis (parliament). Raymond Daniels writes: "There is no known source from which Russia can obtain additional oil except from the Middle East." (*New York Times*, Dec. 14, 1947.) The Iranian dispute only draws into sharp focus the pressing need for Russia to obtain oil for normal industrial production.

The estimated needs of the USSR are 60 million tons annually. Since Stakhanovite methods are quickly depleting not only the Baku fields, but also the Zisterdorf fields of Austria, and the war-ruined Polesti fields of Roumania, and since the projected target for the Fourth Five-Year Plan is only 35 million tons annually, oil will remain of pivotal importance. The most notable field to be discovered in the last decade is the Saudi Arabian field, which is the world's richest and contains 40.9% of the world's known oil reserves. These fields are the exclusive property of American capital, however. The nation which controls their future production holds the key to future industrial and war production.

Nothing so clearly brings out the key importance of oil as the present stepping-up of the preparations for World War III. It caused the quick reversal of the United States government on the question of Palestine partition. Before this, the United States had met the earlier objection of the Arabs to the American pipe line terminating in Haifa, Palestine, by changing its plans so that the pipe line is now to be located in all-Arab territory, and terminate in Sidon, Lebanon. Now its own imperialist state interests demand a more rapid completion of its plan, since the above pipe line to carry oil from Saudi Arabia to Sidon would take about two years to complete. Therefore it has now been decided to rush to completion a branch of this

line at Ras Tanura on the Persian Gulf, which can be done in only four months. This means that there is no time to bargain with the Arabs. It is more advantageous to "surrender" since this is in accord with American imperialist interests.

b. GOVERNMENTAL "RESPONSIBILITY"

A great many "oil experts" went into the government during the war. The 20 monopolistic companies, which were "regulated" by a self-appointed board before the war, succeeded in having their own board appointed as a government regulating board for the duration of the war. In this way they were able to secure the abrogation of the anti-trust laws for the duration. Numerous handpicked individuals, whose first loyalty is to the oil industry, were placed in key war posts. Charles Rayner, long an oil company man, was appointed Petroleum Adviser to the State Department. Max Thornburg, an official of the Standard Oil Co. of Calif., received \$29,000 per year from 1941 to 1943 from his company, while holding down the post of Petroleum Adviser to the State Department.

The most notorious oil "expert" on the government payroll is Edwin Pauley, friend of General Marshall. His posts during the war included those of Assistant Secretary of the Navy, and Assistant Secretary of War. When he was nominated for Assistant Secretary of State, Congress had had to balk, and rejected the nomination after his oil deals had been exposed. He is now treasurer of the Democratic Party and chief lobbyist for the oil interests in the Tidelands Oil Bill. His presence with General Marshall in Bogota, Colombia is not accidental. "Oil experts" are an essential part of every diplomatic mission abroad. Needless to say, these men were selected from, and owe their prime loyalty to, the oil companies from which they were "borrowed."

A man who has not received such notoriety, Bruce K. Brown, is of greater importance. A vice-president of Standard Oil of Indiana, he holds the post of Chairman of the Military Advisory Board on Petroleum.

Oil deposits in Saudi Arabia are of such importance that the government dare not leave their direction in private hands. On Jan. 29, 1948 Secretary of Defense James Forrestal stated before the Senate War Investigating Committee that "Some arrangement should be made to be certain that in times of emergency our armed forces could depend on the Middle East depot, even though this would doubtless bring upon the United States a hostile propaganda clamor charging imperialism." When Senator Brewster asked how this ideal condition could be brought about, Forrestal declared, "The Government could simply buy into the private companies, although this would be a question of high national policy which would have to be determined in Congress and would immediately raise strong objections against government in business."

Previous precedents exist. All the oil deposits in the Middle East, Iraq, Iran, etc., with the exception of the American fields in Saudi Arabia are owned by the British government. American oil companies participate with the British government in the Anglo-Iranian Oil Co. (Standard Oil 40%, British Admiralty 60%) and in the Iraq Petro-

leum Co. where Standard Oil owns 23%. The American share in these fields was obtained for Standard Oil through a treaty negotiated in 1927 between the British government and the American government!

At the beginning of the war the American government sent a special economic mission to the Middle East. The report of the commission recommended that "In the Middle East governments are competing for the control of the production and distribution of oil. It is therefore amateurish, as well as ineffective, for the American Government to allow private American companies to compete with each other for the same concession or to expect a private company to get on with only the traditional good offices support from our local diplomatic representatives." The government was equally realistic in its policy on the home front.

Responsibility for determining the combined military and civilian needs, supplies and methods of producing oil rested primarily with the government, not with private companies, as we can see from the following: "For it was always the role of government to determine the plans and policies, to direct and supervise operations requisite to their fulfillment, and to assume over-all governmental responsibility for all aspects of the oil program." (*A History of the Petroleum Administration for War*, p. 2. US Government Printing Office.) Since 65% of the total overseas tonnage during the war was oil, it is easy to see that oil was *the* indispensable material.

Ties between the government, as represented by the State Department, the Army and Navy, and the monopolistic 20 companies who own the oil industry are so close it is difficult to find where the one ends and the other begins. While industry spokesmen are constantly concerned with their "independence" from governmental controls, they would at the same time like an even closer understanding with the government that would permit the abrogation of the anti-trust laws. Public Law 395 has been passed to accommodate them in this respect and Attorney General Clark has assured the industry of immunity from prosecution.

At the same time the industry fears outright nationalization. M. J. Rathbone, president of Standard Oil of N. J., stated on Oct. 14, 1947 before an industry group that "Those who urge legislation upon the oil industry would see that the result would be the ending of private industry in the petroleum industry. . . . Modest and apparently harmless in its infancy, it develops into partial statism or government control in its adolescence, and into full nationalization in its adulthood. We see its grown-up stage evidenced on all sides of us in the Western Hemisphere—in Mexico and Bolivia and in some Canadian provinces. Familiar to you also is the situation in Europe, where the industry is wholly or in part nationalized in Spain and in Portugal, in France, Italy, and elsewhere." He continued that "the same situation could develop in this country," and warned against the "approaching dangers of nationalization."

The House Interstate Commerce Committee began hearings on March 4, 1948 on legislation that states "It is the government's responsibility to see that a synthetic

oil industry is created in this country. . . . First step as spelled out in the bill—Authorize R.F.C. to lend up to \$400 million for private industry construction of commercial size plants to produce synthetic oil from coal and shale by three specified processes. If industry does not take up the option within four months, R.F.C. is to build the plants itself and hire operators to run them. Krug and Forrester are sponsoring the program. Their argument: Government cannot sit idle and permit industry to pass up development of vital natural resources just because there isn't a profit in sight." (*Business Week*, Feb. 28, 1948.)

This bill, H.R. 5475, introduced by Rep. Wolverton (R.—N. J.) would build three plants of a capacity of 10,000 barrels each on the following lines:

1. Hydrogenation of coal.
2. Synthesis of liquid hydrocarbons from coal gas.
3. Oil from shale deposits.

The more profitable Fischer-Tropsch process, captured from the Germans, has been turned over to Texaco and improved so that the yield is increased by one-third and the cost of production reduced to one-quarter. Synthetic oil produced by this process is able to compete favorably today with natural oil, at today's crude prices.

The interlocking relationship between the state and industry was, of course, most conspicuously demonstrated in the atom bomb project and the atomic energy plants. What is not so well known is the fact that the government built a billion-dollar synthetic rubber industry during the war and turned it over to the oil industry, which now owns it.

The \$9 billion synthetic oil proposal therefore is not without precedent, but is the most ambitious project in government-financed industry ever undertaken. The effect on labor can be gauged only by studying the role of the union in this industry and the social conceptions of the workers in the industry.

Part III of "Oil and Labor" will analyze the role of the trade unions—the Oil Workers International Union (CIO), and the so-called Independent Union of Standard Oil—and the social conceptions of workers engaged in a semi-automatic industry. At the same time, the concluding section of Comrade Fredericks' study will draw some parallels between the worker living at the time the COMMUNIST MANIFESTO was published and the worker of today.—Ed.

Socialism or Barbarism

"The present slaughter shows that Europe has reached the point of capitalist saturation, that it can no longer live and grow on the basis of the private ownership of the means of production. This chaos of blood and ruin is a savage insurrection of the mute and sullen powers of production, it is the mutiny of iron and steel against the dominion of profit, against wage slavery, against the miserable deadlock of our human relations. Capitalism, enveloped in the flames of a war of its own making, shouts from the mouths of its cannons to humanity: 'Either conquer over me, or I will bury you in my ruins when I fall!'"

"All the evolution of the past, the thousands of years of human history, of class struggle, of cultural accumulations, are concentrated now in the sole problem of the proletarian revolution. There is no other answer and no other escape."

— Leon Trotsky, Sept. 1917

Resolution of the Second World Congress on the Committee Abroad of the Internationalist Communists of Germany

1. The Committee Abroad (AK) of the Internationalist Communists of Germany (IKD), whose political position had been denounced as revisionist by the April 1946 International Conference, was invited by this Conference to collaborate with the IEC and the IS in the task of reorganizing the section in Germany.

2. Immediately after this Conference, the AK of the IKD publicly declared that it did not recognize the authority of the IEC and the IS elected at the Conference, and that it would conduct itself with regard to their recommendations and directives accordingly. All communications sent by the IS to the AK with the aim of getting their members to participate in the international work in Germany remained unanswered.

3. In spite of this, the IEC wished to give the AK of the IKD an opportunity to defend its position in the international discussion preceding the World Congress, and at its October 1946 session invited the AK to participate in the discussion as well as in the Congress itself. At its March 1947 session, the IEC even went so far as to repeat the invitation, despite

the fact that the AK had refused in advance to accept the discipline of the World Congress.

4. Despite these invitations, and despite the fact that all communications and circulars which went out to the regular sections of the International were sent also to the AK, the latter failed to make any reply, or to express its views on the Congress, or to send to the Congress a delegate or even a letter. Their only participation in the international discussion has been to send a lengthy two-year-old document, which the IS published in French and in English. This document repeats that "the AK will continue to ignore completely the IEC and the IS and their discipline," etc.

DISLOYAL FACTIONAL METHODS

5. During this period the AK of the IKD continually engaged in public activities outside the control of the International and without even informing the International leadership. These activities were and are entirely at odds with the political orientation of the International. Moreover, these activities included constant public attacks against the program,

policies and leadership of the International. The AK had previously collaborated with the Workers Party in a phantom "Committee for the Fourth International," which vainly tried to break up and destroy our international organization. When these efforts failed, the AK continued, by secret and disloyal faction methods, to try to break up the various sections of the International and its world organization.

6. Drawing the balance sheet of this entire experience, the World Congress declares that the Committee Abroad no longer has the right to speak in the name of the IKD. The AK, as a body recognized by the International, is declared dissolved. As individuals its members can remain in the International only if they accept the discipline of the new German leadership or the leadership of another section, and if in their public organs they carry out the political line adopted by the World Congress. Under such conditions, they will continue to enjoy the same rights that minority tendencies in the International have always fully enjoyed.

Resolution of the Second World Congress on the Reorganization of the German Section of the Fourth International

1. In 1933, the Committee Abroad (AK) of the Internationalist Communists of Germany (IKD) was recognized as the official leadership of the German Section of the Fourth International. In April 1946, the International Conference directed the IEC to reorganize the German Section in collaboration with the AK of the IKD. The AK made no reply to the repeated communications of the IS on the matter. Meanwhile, the comrades of the IKD in Germany effected their organizational regroupment with the assistance of the IS and the IEC. The World Congress, therefore, provisionally recognizes the comrades in this regroupment as the German Section of the Fourth International. Furthermore, the Congress recognizes for the present the provisional national leadership which will be elected by the first National Conference as the only provisional political and organizational leadership of the German Section. After the first National Conference of the IKD, the IEC will definitively recognize the German Section.

2. All comrades who accept the political discipline of the International and its leading bodies, who work under the discipline of the national leadership, whether in Germany or abroad, and who are ready to collaborate actively in building the German Section, are members of the German Section. Until the coming National Conference, the German Commission of the IS is assigned the task of coordinating the work of the comrades abroad and those in Germany.

3. Until conditions are such as to permit regular activity of a unified national leadership, the central national leadership shall consist of two political bureaus, one in the Eastern zone and the other in the Western zone.

4. The IKD will call its National Conference not later than _____ (date to be specified). After the national leadership has been elected, it will assume responsibility for all the work. The comrades abroad, together with the German Commission of the IS, must make every effort to send a delegation to this

National Conference.

5. A comrade abroad will be elected as a regular member of the national leadership. Insofar as possible, he should attend the meetings of the national leadership. His functions will be defined by the National Conference.

6. The paper of the German Section of the Fourth International will temporarily be published abroad. Until the national leadership is in a position to appoint a permanent and regularly constituted editorial board, the editing of the paper will be entrusted to five members (three in Germany and two abroad), who will be designated by the IEC and whose nomination is to be confirmed by the coming National Conference. The editorial board is to be under the control of the IEC.

The paper will be a propaganda organ, and will have the task of making known to the vanguard of the German working class the political line of the International and its analysis of the important questions of German and world politics

both present and past. It will serve at the same time to educate the German comrades. On those questions on which the World Congress has not taken a position, the paper will express the political opinions of the national leadership.

The existing German publications will become special and local papers.

7. Under present conditions in Germany, the building of the German organization can be done only in illegality. But the German organization, in order not to become fixed in the habits, both organizational and political, of sectarianism, must take into consideration the difference between the conditions of illegality under fascism and those existing today. The situation in the Western zone

makes possible certain forms of semi-legal activity there, such as fraction work in working-class parties and youth organizations, the building of an organized left wing in the unions, the organization of discussion groups on a fairly broad political basis, and penetration into the centrist organizations. All such possibilities must be carefully explored and widely utilized.

8. The most important present task in Germany is the building of solid political and organizational cadres of the Fourth International. This goal will be reached if the comrades in Germany succeed in a relatively short time in closing up the ideological gaps resulting from

the isolation of their political life under fascism; if they succeed in clarifying the principal new political problems; and if they participate intensively in the international discussions, at the same time giving a basic education to all the new elements who come to the movement.

9. This ideological clarification must go hand in hand with active participation in all movements which express revolutionary aspirations against the powers that be. Through propaganda and agitation and in action, the comrades of the IKD, as well as the IKD itself as an organization, must strive for leadership of these movements in every field of social life.

Resolution on the Partito Operaio Comunista (POC) of Italy

Adopted by the Second World Congress

1. The Partito Operaio Comunista (Communist Workers Party), present section of the Fourth International in Italy, was formed by the merger of the Puglia Federation, led by Mangano, and a group of Trotskyist comrades under the leadership of Bartolomeo. This was an unprincipled merger on a purely organizational basis, without any prior discussion to determine a common platform. It is this dubious origin which has weighed heavily on the party since its formation and has kept it in a permanent state of crisis. The crisis has been characterized by open and ever-growing hostility between the two groups, whose merger had been of a purely formal character.

This hostility provoked a factional struggle which ended in seizure of the POC leadership by the Puglia Federation. Since that time, the policies followed by the POC have been in fundamental opposition to the policies of the International.

2. The principled differences:

a) The present leadership of the POC considers that the decisions of only the first two World Congresses of the Comintern are valid for the Fourth International. (IV Internazionale, Oct. 5, 1947: "The degeneration of the Third International unfortunately began immediately after the Second Congress; consequently, only the first two Congresses are valid as a guide for the Fourth International.") To the position thus taken is added the rejection of the Leninist theses on the national and colonial questions.

b) The present leadership of the POC considers the traditional parties of the

working class as left parties of the bourgeoisie ("sinistra borghese"). They write as follows: "The forces of the right and those of the so-called left are not antagonists; both of them strive, though by different methods, for the same objective function, that of restoring bourgeois society." ("Draft Theses," *Internal Bulletin of the International Secretariat*, Vol. 2, No. 17, Aug. 1947.)

c) The present leadership of the POC considers the USSR an imperialist state of the same type as the United States. (IV Internazionale, June 15, 1947: ". . . and the position of the working class must not be confused with the imperialist position of Truman or of Stalin. . ." "The cold war between Anglo-American and Russian imperialisms. . .")

A FANCIFUL ANALYSIS

d) The present leadership of the POC analyzes the present period in a completely fanciful way: "The economy of each country — victor as well as vanquished — is in a state of suspension. The state of suspension is not a prelude to revolutionary crisis. The suspension in this case precedes the prelude. The development of class consciousness will take place together with the passage from a war economy to a peace economy." ("Draft Theses.")

The accumulation of these differences, which take on the form of a different program, makes the policies of the POC incompatible with those of the International.

3. The political differences:

The present leadership of the POC has been unable to apply even its own

general principles in concrete action or to formulate them into a program of action for the party and into a concrete analysis of the developing situation. Although it is difficult under these conditions to make a complete evaluation of the daily policies of the POC with the same clarity as in defining the principled differences, we can summarize the political differences in the following points:

a) The present leadership of the POC rejects the concept of the Transitional Program in its entirety, and substitutes for it a combination of immediate demands and statements of general principles used as agitational slogans. (Headline of IV Internazionale, July 16, 1947: "To the Marshall and Molotov Plans, the World Proletariat Must Oppose the Marx Plan — Social Revolution!")

b) The present leadership of the POC makes a caricature of the few slogans from the Transitional Program which it occasionally uses, advancing them in an abstract and adventuristic way, without relating them to the specific requirements of a given moment or linking them in a logical way to the general propaganda line developed by the party. (Headline of IV Internazionale, Sept. 1, 1947: "To Solve the Crisis of High Prices, the Palliatives Adopted by the Government and the Platonic Protests of the CGIL [United Italian Trade Unions] Are Worthless. What's Needed Is the General Strike.")

c) The present leadership of the POC considers that the international political situation today is entirely and exclusive-

ly dominated by the contradictions between two imperialisms: Russian and Yankee. Every struggle or social conflict is a direct consequence of this general conflict, in which the workers have no stake whatever. (IV Internazionale, July 16, 1947: "While on the one hand America aids the Maximos government, the Stalinist governments of Albania, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria aid the partisans. Thus the Greek workers are being exhausted in a struggle bearing the hallmark of the ruthless struggle between the Russians and Anglo-Americans.")

FALSE TRADE UNION POLICY

d) The present leadership of the POC is following an adventurist and unprincipled policy in the trade union field. Although stating that it favors trade union unity, it has set up a "Soviet" at Foggia which in practice duplicates the work of the local trade union organizations of the CGIL.

e) The present leadership of the POC has a sectarian attitude on the questions of the united front and united action. It regards united action as taking place solely in the trade unions, and it particularly avoids calling for the establishment of a united front for physical struggle against fascism, in defense of workers' rights, etc. . . ("Draft Theses": "The tactic of the united front and of People's Fronts (!), as laid down by the Third World Congress of the Third International, must be considered as counter-revolutionary. . .")

f) The present leadership of the POC holds a sectarian position on democratic slogans and has refused to put forward the slogan of the Republic against the Monarchy. (IV Internazionale, June 15, 1947: "The workers know that under the capitalist system a republic is the same as a monarchy. . . and that. . . only the socialist revolution. . ." And, with regard to the recall of Troilo, the Prefect of Milan, which had provoked a workers' uprising in that city: "Evidently the workers of Milan, or rather of the province of Milan, believe that one prefect can be better than another, and that there may be prefects who are not in the service of the government. . .")

g) The present leadership of the POC has no policy on the agrarian question — despite its influence in an essentially agricultural region; nor on the question of the soldiers, the youth, and so on.

4. Differences on organizational principles:

Principled differences between the

present POC leadership and the International are not limited solely to the programmatic and political domain but extend also to organizational principles.

a) The present leadership of the POC advocates, as against democratic centralism, "revolutionary centralism," the twin brother to the "organic centralism" of the Bordighists. In practice, this consists in denial of the right of organized tendencies to exist within the party and, indeed, gives the leadership absolute power over the entire membership. (POC Internal Bulletin, No. 7: "In all other parties, one is allowed to discuss, to set up factions, to be undisciplined. In revolutionary parties, what counts is the will of the majority expressed through the revolutionary centralism exercised by the leaders. . . To allow members to play the game of tendencies, to set up organized factions, in short, to create 'air-tight compartments' in the party by reason of an empty and false democratic conception, is to betray the interests of the proletariat.")

But, on the other hand, in its relations with the International Secretariat the present leadership of the POC claims for itself the greatest autonomy. (See the letters of the Political Bureau of the POC to the IS, International Bulletin of the International Secretariat, Vol. 2, No. 17. These letters are confirmation of what Trotsky wrote in the Transitional Program: "They (the sectarians) live in a state of perpetual exasperation, complaining about the 'regime' and 'the methods' and ceaselessly wallowing in petty intrigues. In their own circles they customarily carry on a regime of despotism.")

"ANYTHING GOES"

b) The present leadership of the POC is inspired by the slogan: "All means are good." It applies this principle both in its relations with its members and in its relations with the leadership and majority of the International. Thus, after having passed a resolution at the POC Congress pledging itself to defend the policy of the International in its paper, it did not actually carry out this resolution. At the next meeting of the Central Committee of the POC, at which a delegate from the IS was present, Comrade Mangano justified himself by declaring that "all means are good" for remaining temporarily in the International.

c) The present leadership of the POC uses this same "tactic" toward the working masses. Thus, after having engaged

many of its groups to prepare for participation by the POC in the Italian elections, and then having to give it up because of insufficient material means, the POC leadership presented this "forced abstention" as a "political abstention," and in its paper spoke of the elections as an "electoral circus." (IV Internazionale, March 10, 1948: "We wash our hands of the electoral struggle. . . On April 18, the voters will be called upon to vote for war, for the third world conflict, and their only right will be to choose between fighting on the side of American imperialism or on the side of Russian imperialism.")

5. The Italian situation and the importance of our work in Italy:

Since the "liberation," Italy has shown itself to be the most favorable soil for the growth of a Trotskyist policy and Trotskyist movement. It has been the laboratory for a whole series of experiences of the working class and its vanguard. Such slogans as the sliding scale of wages, or the call against layoffs, and for workers' control, have been assimilated by hundreds of thousands of workers in Italy. The special situation of the country, with its millions of unemployed and the profound crisis of the capitalist economic structure, presented a favorable opportunity for systematic propaganda for the Transitional Program by a Trotskyist movement.

From the political point of view, a vast ideological ferment is going on in Italy. The hold of Stalinism on the working class is far from absolute, and the proletariat of the cities and country does not blindly follow the "tactical" turns of the CP. Moreover, the PSI, majority Socialist Party of Nenni, is still linked with the working class by its Maximalist tradition, and might therefore offer possibilities of work for a revolutionary minority.

That is why, in the course of the past years, we have witnessed the formation of various oppositional currents within the traditional parties or outside them. If these currents have not crystallized, it is in a large measure owing to the fact that the section of the Fourth International, because of its political positions, stood completely aside from the workers' struggles and especially from the ideological ferment taking place in the workers' vanguard.

Many comrades who left the traitor parties are still outside them today, and the problem of regrouping them around the program of the Fourth International is on the order of the day.

FRUITLESS EFFORTS

For over two years the International Executive Committee and the International Secretariat have endeavored, through democratic discussion, to convince the POC leadership of the erroneous character of its policies, and have meticulously abstained from any kind of organizational intervention, despite the expressed wishes of the POC minority which supports the program of the International. It is now of vital importance to the International to direct all its efforts in an attempt to regroup around the political program and ideological positions of the Fourth International, those who have broken with the traditional parties.

6. The task of revolutionary regroupment:

The present leadership of the POC does not understand the importance of the task of revolutionary regroupment and has chosen to withdraw into a sterile sectarianism which, if continued, will lead to the complete failure of Trotskyism in Italy. Today the policy of the POC is an obstacle to any serious effort

to establish a revolutionary party in Italy. This is the result of the discreditment which the POC casts over Trotskyism in general, and of the negative and abstentionist attitude which it takes on the problem of regroupment in particular (for example, the communication threatening expulsion of any comrade who attempted to turn his activity in this direction).

Nevertheless, the basis for the work of regroupment has been formulated by the IS with the assistance of the Bolshevik-Leninist minority of the party. Considerable progress has been made, and the first steps on this road will be concretized by the publication of a Trotskyist magazine around which will gather those comrades who are determined to defend the fundamental principles and policies of the Fourth International.

THE INESCAPABLE CONCLUSIONS**7. Conclusions:**

The World Congress —

Decides to draw the organizational conclusions from the existing state of affairs in Italy, as outlined above.

Declares that the party which is called

the Partito Operaio Comunista is no longer the Italian Section of the Fourth International, and that the Italian section still remains to be built.

Calls upon all the comrades of the POC to gather around the magazine which is shortly to appear, with the object of building a genuine Trotskyist organization in Italy.

Points out, nevertheless, to the other members of the POC, that if they wish to maintain relations with the Fourth International, they may request the status of sympathizing organization of the Fourth International, which the IEC will grant after a trial period of six months on condition that they carry out the political and organizational decisions of the World Congress. If they meet these conditions, they will have the right to appeal on the question of disaffiliation before a subsequent meeting of the IEC.

Instructs the IS to continue with the work of revolutionary regroupment in Italy, under its own direct responsibility, this task having been entrusted to the IS by the IEC at its October 1947 meeting.

Resolution of the Second World Congress of the Fourth International on the Expulsions from the French Section

1. The split in the former leadership of the French Section is the end of a long and extremely sharp tendency struggle. Those who have today broken with the International Communist Party (PCI) have for two years followed a political orientation leading them further and further away from the International. The deviations of this tendency, twice characterized by the International Executive Committee as opportunist petty-bourgeois deviations, have now led them to abandon entirely the perspective of building at the present stage a Bolshevik-Leninist party in France based on the program of the Fourth International; and to substitute for this the building of a centrist party "corresponding to the objective situation." This is the meaning of their entry into the Revolutionary Democratic Rally on the basis of defending certain "key values."

DISCIPLINE VIOLATED

2. The Central Committee decided upon the expulsion of these individuals after their open violations of the organizational and political discipline of the PCI:

a) They entered upon their activity of building the RDR without any attempt at serious discussion inside the organization, without presenting, either to the French Section or to the International, a statement of political orientation to motivate such a grave decision. Only after they had already acted did they present to the CC a letter from Demazières as a political resolution.

b) After they had made their line clear and began immediately to carry it out, the CC gave them a fifteen-day period within which to change their position and to carry out the decisions of the CC, which had explicitly condemned their orientation. They were given a clear warning that, should they continue on this road, they would place themselves outside the party.

c) Far from taking advantage of this opportunity offered them by the PCI leadership, they publicly joined the RDR immediately after the CC session, and called upon all PCI members to do likewise. They have attacked the policy of the PCI and its leadership, publicly and in the press, and have — to say nothing of their breach of discipline — dealt

serious injury to the good name of the party.

For these reasons, the World Congress considers the expulsions entirely justified, and rejects any appeal on the matter.

3. The World Congress rejects the arguments of those expelled, who cite their "non-recognition" of the present PCI leadership, elected at the Fourth Congress of the party, as a justification for their attitude toward the decisions of the CC concerning them. The participation by their tendency in the CC meetings following the Fourth Congress clearly shows that they had, *de facto*, agreed to respect the discipline of the party's leading bodies which had been established at the Fourth Congress. The absence of any written appeal to the International Secretariat or the International Executive Committee, which have met since then, and the absence of any campaign by them on this question within the party, confirm this. Moreover, even if the tendency of those who have been expelled did not recognize the leadership established at the Fourth Congress, any serious organizational or political step on their part should have been taken within the framework of the leading bodies of the International. The fact that they decided to join the RDR, and actually did so, without consulting or informing the IS, without even giving

it an explanation of their position, clearly proves that their *post facto* argument is purely formalistic, and that what is involved on their part is an actual break with the policy and the organization of the International and its French Section.

A FALSE ORIENTATION

4. The World Congress in no way excludes the necessity of work toward revolutionary regrouping with organizations which, like the ASR (Socialist Revolutionary Action group in France), have broken with the traitor parties on a class basis. On the contrary, it considers such work to be of vital importance for the French Section, as for most of the European sections. But the Congress carefully distinguishes between activity of this kind and the opportunist and unprincipled fraction work which, instead of bringing the centrist elements toward the revolutionary program, adapts the program to centrism. It also distinguishes between the task of revolutionary regrouping, which must aim at bringing together around the revolutionary program those elements (such as the ASR) who are moving toward us — and the kind of work carried on by the expelled elements which throws them backward toward the building of a centrist organization (the RDR). That is why the Congress explicitly condemns the policy of building the RDR, as an

attempt to liquidate the Trotskyist organization. Entry into the RDR would have meaning only if the organization already had a genuine mass base and if it were a question of thus bringing new layers of radicalized workers to the Fourth International. But contrary to this, the orientation of those who have been expelled is to build the RDR with those elements who were on the point of joining our own movement.

5. On the basis of this orientation toward the task of revolutionary regrouping, as defined above, the World Congress offers those who have been expelled a final opportunity to reintegrate themselves in the International, and fixes the following conditions:

- a) Explicit recognition of the political and organizational decisions of the World Congress;
- b) Acceptance of the above-defined orientation for the task of revolutionary regrouping;
- c) Work under the direct leadership and control of the IS;
- d) Strict abstention from any public attack on the PCI and its leadership, and retraction of public attacks that have already been made.

A FINAL OFFER

6. The expelled comrades who accept these conditions may, after a probation period of three months, ask for readmission into the PCI and the International.

The Congress guarantees to them, under these conditions, their full rights as members of the PCI, and their participation with full rights at the Fifth Congress of the party.

If, on the other hand, these conditions are rejected, the Congress definitively confirms the expulsions pronounced by the Central Committee of the PCI, and rejects any proposal for organizational compromise not based on political principles.

Resolution on South Africa

Adopted by Second World Congress

The World Congress takes note of the fact that the FIOSA (organization of the Fourth International in South Africa), which bases itself on the programmatic position of the Fourth International, has tried to achieve unity in South Africa through fusion with the Workers Party, and has not succeeded up to the present time. In the absence of a programmatic base able to justify the existence of two groups in South Africa, the World Congress charges the International Executive Committee with establishing a united section in South Africa, and to this end, empowers it to disaffiliate, if necessary, the organization failing to apply its decisions and to reconstitute the South African Section of the Fourth International.

Greetings to *4a Internazionale* and *Die Internationale*

The appearance of two new publications of the Fourth International in July is fresh testimony of the growing strength of the Trotskyist movement and the capacity of the ideas of revolutionary socialism to survive the most ferocious suppression.

The first issue of *4a Internazionale*, an Italian "magazine of revolutionary Marxism" published in Rome, arrived here almost at the same time as the first issue of *Die Internationale*, official organ of the German Section of the Fourth International, published in Amsterdam.

Die Internationale is the first Marxist theoretical organ to appear in the German language since the rise of Hitler to power, while *4a Internazionale* is the first to be published in Italian since Mussolini smashed the labor movement in that country.

The launching of these two theoretical magazines shows that revolutionary socialism is on the march in these two lands after decades of fascist darkness. In face of all the financial and other difficulties faced by the editors, they are hopeful signs of the times. We hail their appearance and the revolutionary developments they portend.

The first issue of *4a Internazionale* contains a short history of the Fourth International, an article by Leon Trotsky on the Socialist United States of Europe, articles on Italian politics, Palestine, the crisis of the Social Democracy in France, the Second World Congress of the Fourth International, and the presidential election in the United States.

Die Internationale contains an analysis of the elections in Italy and Czechoslovakia, a resolution of the Second World Congress of the Fourth International on the present situation in Germany and the tasks of the revolutionary socialist movement there, a compilation demonstrating the profound difference between Stalinism and Leninism on vital issues facing the German people, an article on the reactionary policies followed by Moscow in Eastern Germany, a review of Fritz Sternberg's book, *The Coming Crisis*, and an article on Marxism today in Germany in the light of the experiences of the revolutionary movement at the beginning of World War I.

Copies of the two magazines can be obtained by writing to Pioneer Publishers at 116 University Place, New York, N. Y. The cost is only 25 cents each.

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