

Fourth International

Truman Doctrine Means War

—An Editorial—



The Jewish Question Since World War II

By E. Germain

The Conflict in Indo-China

By R. Dassac

France Under the Fourth Republic

By P. Frank

April 1947

25 Cents

Manager's Column

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL's three-month campaign for 1,000 new readers closed March 15 with subscriptions still coming in from the field. The total subscriptions obtained by the branches of the Socialist Workers Party is 790. Although this is only 79 per cent of the goal, the attainment of 790 new readers is a noteworthy achievement for FOURTH INTERNATIONAL.

* * *

The scoreboard shows the subscriptions and percentage of each branch:

SCOREBOARD

	Quota	Subs	Per Cent
St. Paul	20	29	145
Milwaukee	15	21	140
Pittsburgh	10	14	140
Minneapolis	50	66	132
Youngstown	30	39	130
Boston	20	23	115
Reading	10	11	110
Cleveland	15	16	107
Flint	30	32	106
San Francisco	40	41	103
Newark	40	41	102
Allentown	5	5	100
Calumet	5	5	100
Connecticut State	10	10	100
St. Louis	5	5	100
Chicago	80	71	89
Detroit	70	58	83
Seattle	30	25	83
Oakland	15	11	73
Akron	20	12	60
San Diego	10	6	60
New York	200	111	55
Toledo	30	15	50
Buffalo	40	16	40
Portland	5	2	40
Rochester	5	2	40
Philadelphia	40	15	38
Los Angeles	120	34	29
Bayonne	15	2	13
Tacoma	10	0	0
Texas	5	0	0
General	..	52	..
TOTAL	1000	790	79

* * *

The first branch prize goes to *Youngstown*. This branch sent in the highest number of subs per member, based on the 1946 Convention membership record. The award is a bound volume of FOURTH INTERNATIONAL for 1946.

A like award goes to *St. Paul Branch* for reaching the highest percentage. They top the scoreboard with 145 per cent.

The prize for the highest individual Pace-Setter in the country

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Managing Editor: E. R. FRANK

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goes to *Shirley Carlson of Minneapolis*, who has 21 subs to her credit in this campaign. Comrade Carlson's outstanding work has won for her a bound volume of NEW INTERNATIONAL for 1934-5-6, an extremely rare volume that can no longer be purchased for any price.

The prize for the second highest individual Pace-Setter in the country goes to *E. Kennedy of Detroit*, who has 17 subs to his credit. Comrade Kennedy will be awarded a bound volume of FOURTH INTERNATIONAL for 1946.

* * *

The subscription that put *St. Paul* in the lead was received as we were about to make up the final scoreboard. "This gives us 29 subs, 145 per cent, which isn't bad," says *Paul Shell*. "We find that we received about 35 per cent returns on our method of sending F.I.'s to MILITANT subscribers and calling back for subs."

Comrade Shell set the pace for *St. Paul* with 9 subs. *Winnie Nelson* followed with 7.

* * *

The branches who finished the campaign with 100 per cent are proud of their achievement, and justifiably so. The going wasn't easy.

Dick Carlson of Minneapolis, who has never managed a campaign before, directed this one like a veteran. In his latest report he says: "I am sending you 5 more subs. This brings our total to 66. I think I will be able to send you two more within the next two days."

San Francisco's Organizer, Bob Chester, reports for the branch: "These subs should put us over the top, and accomplish a near miracle for S.F. I never thought that we could make it—but we did!"

* * *

Youngstown achieved its goal in a 6-week whirlwind campaign, according to *Harry Braverman's* report: "We had to hold up our campaign for F.I. subs until the national campaign was almost over because we had our large and important Lenin Memorial Meeting to build up. Actually, we could only run a 6-week campaign. But the branch did a bang-up job as you can see from the results. Subs are still coming in. We expect important political returns from this increase in F.I. subscribers in our area."

* * *

"Our final score in *Milwaukee*," reports *Virginia Barrett*, Campaign

Manager, "is 20 subs. The Pace-Setter for the branch is *Robert Henderson* with 7 subs. Of course, we don't know whether *Sam Taylor*, our *Madison* comrade, has sent in any additional subs. We have him down for four. If he has sent in anymore, please credit him. We are happy that our branch is over the top in this campaign, but we had hoped for even better results. However, campaign or no campaign, you can be sure that the *Milwaukee* comrades are always on the alert for prospective subscribers to FOURTH INTERNATIONAL."

* * *

Latest reports from the branches promise more subs. For instance, *Harry Smith of Reading, Pa.*, writes: "This sub puts *Reading* in the 100 per cent column, and the promise of more subs."

Likewise *Boston* in *F. Daniel's* report, which states: "With these four subscriptions our quota of 20 has been filled. However, I expect we can dig up a few more in the next few weeks. All in all, I'm glad we made our quota."

* * *

Letters from those branches that were not able to complete their quotas on schedule show a determination to continue getting subs until their goals are reached.

Seattle Branch is one of these. "As you can see," writes *Clara Kaye*, "our F.I. campaign really gathered steam this last week. This brings our total to 25. If you give us another 10 days we'll definitely hit that 30 mark."

Clara Kaye is *Seattle's Pace-Setter*. She has 6 subs to date.

* * *

Detroit is also determined to hit its goal. *E. Brent* sent in 8 more subscriptions and wrote: "We were slow in getting started but are now in full swing. This batch will bring us up to 58. *E. Kennedy* and *D. Darnell* are leading in *Detroit*. Comrade *Kennedy*, who is determined to win the top prize, is leading with 17 subscriptions. *Darnell* is trailing with 11 subs. Both have promised additional subs for this week."

* * *

Chicago will not stop getting F.I. subs until it reaches its goal. "We are going to extend the campaign another week," states *Miriam Roberts*, "and get the remaining 9 subs which would make up our quota of 80. *Frank R.* won local first prize with 8 subs—a bound volume of FOURTH INTERNATIONAL. *Belle* won local second prize with 7 subs—\$2 in literature."

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REVIEW OF THE MONTH

New Foreign Policy in the Light of Previous Developments—Three Obstacles in the Way of Wall Street's Plan to Subjugate the World (1) The Revolutionary Masses Throughout the World—(2) The Labor Movement at Home —(3) The Soviet Union—What Will the Kremlin Do?

The Truman-Marshall Doctrine Means World War III

THERE IS NO PEACE!

President Truman's speech to Congress on March 12 marks a new stage in the preparations of the American imperialists for World War III. The decisive section of the U.S. capitalist class are evidently resolved to be deterred by nothing in order to install themselves once and for all as the unchallenged rulers of the terrestrial globe, and, in the first instance, of Europe. The full implications and meaning of this new stage can be understood best in the light of preceding events.

The interval since the termination of hostilities two years ago may be divided into four distinct phases.

First came the phase of "amicable" collaboration between Washington, London and Moscow. It was a direct continuation of their wartime collaboration. The "unity" of the Big Three reached its culmination with the secret agreement of Potsdam in July-August 1945. The wartime "allies" vied with one another in assuring the peoples of the world that their alliance would endure indefinitely; that with the crushing of Germany and Japan, mankind had at last passed the threshold to lasting peace and prosperity; and that, in any case, the United Nations Organization would guarantee the establishment of "one world," forever abolishing war.

The Kremlin and all its foreign agencies shouted the loudest. On September 2, 1945 Stalin solemnly proclaimed: "*Now we can say that the conditions necessary for the peace of the world have already been won. . . . The long-awaited peace for the nations of the whole world has come.*"

Only one dissenting voice was then heard amid the din of deception and falsehood; it was the voice of Trotskyism. We alone warned that there was and there could be no peace under capitalism. The projected United Nations Organization was even more fraudulent and reactionary than the moribund League of Nations, and would prove even more impotent, we said. The danger of another global war could be averted only by the socialist revolution. We explained that the threat of atomic destruction was not a relatively dim prospect but a fearsome reality.

HEADING FOR WAR

Events corroborated our analysis and predictions far more swiftly than anyone could have anticipated. The period of harmonious collaboration of the "Big Three" quickly began to turn into its opposite. The second phase began in September 1945,

the very month in which Stalin saluted a world-era of peace. No sooner did the diplomatic conferences begin—in Paris, in London, in Moscow, etc. etc.—than the "allies" found themselves deadlocked. Washington and London reneged on their secret wartime commitments and pressed to scrap the Potsdam pact which left Eastern Europe under Stalinist domination; the Kremlin flatly refused to comply.

Deadlocks gave way to temporary "agreements" which left the major issue unresolved and which led only to sharper diplomatic clashes. This second phase was in reality a diplomatic armed truce. The Anglo-American imperialists refrained from an open rift with the Kremlin, because they still urgently required its services. The first post-war revolutionary wave that swept over Europe had not yet subsided. In virtually every country in Europe it was necessary to restore the capitalist state machinery, especially its police and military branches, from the ground up. It was still necessary to destroy the organs of dual power set up by the masses, and to disarm the workers. Without the aid of the Stalinist parties in Western Europe and of the Red Army and the GPU in Eastern Europe, this could hardly have been accomplished. The Stalinists everywhere lined up unconditionally on the side of the counter-revolution.

Furthermore, all the victorious belligerents were confronted with the critical period of demobilizing their armed forces and reconverting home economy to a "peacetime" basis.

When this was achieved and when Washington and London became convinced that the first revolutionary wave had been beaten back, more quickly and successfully than they expected, they began moving toward a showdown with the Kremlin. Their purpose at that time was not so much to invite a head-on collision as to prepare public opinion, especially in the United States and England, for war against the USSR.

DIPLOMATIC ARMED TRUCE

The diplomatic armed truce, in the course of which the Kremlin diplomats spoke and acted so self-confidently, and almost truculently, was superseded by a third phase, which may be characterized as a diplomatic "war of nerves." The curtain was rung up by Winston Churchill on March 5, 1946 when he delivered his famous Fulton, Mo. speech. It coincided with the formal launching in the United States of the UN. In his speech Churchill brought out into the open the conflict that had been developed behind the scenes during the secret diplomatic conferences.

Churchill called for the "grand pacification of Europe." The first necessary condition for this was the destruction of the

Kremlin's sphere of influence in Eastern Europe, or the lifting of the "iron curtain," as he grandiloquently put it. His proposals boiled down to two: first, an Anglo-American military alliance, i.e., joint policing of Europe, and secondly, the consolidation around this axis of an anti-Soviet bloc for the eventual onslaught against the USSR itself. Truman demonstratively sat on the platform. This was a flat notice that the Kremlin's services were no longer required, or at all events, they were not worth the asking price.

Faced with this brutal challenge, the Kremlin kept a stunned silence for almost a week. It was not until March 11, 1946 that *Pravda* summoned up enough courage to denounce Churchill as a warmonger and to correctly point out that "All you need to complete the picture is a frank formula for a 'cordon sanitaire' against the USSR." This omission was to be rectified by Washington itself almost exactly one year later.

Pravda's comment followed the lines of Stalin's own first and bold declaration at the time. However, the Kremlin and all its foreign branches pretended that Churchill really spoke for no one but himself, or at most, for small reactionary groups in England and America. While the American and world capitalist press was busy preparing public opinion for the next phase of war developments, the *Daily Worker* continued to beat the drums for "unity of the Big Three." A few weeks after his bold denunciation of Churchill, Stalin summed up the situation, March 22, 1946, in the following timid words:

"I am convinced that neither the nations nor their armies are striving for a new war." He then added for good measure that the UN was an additional safeguard, "a valuable instrument of preservation of peace and international security." By spreading illusions of this kind the policy of Stalinism invariably plays into the hands of the capitalists, whether "friendly" or hostile.

WAR OF NERVES IS LAUNCHED

Now, with Truman's March 12 speech, the fourth phase begins. The diplomatic "war of nerves" and the first period of preparing the American

people for war is being replaced by brazen moves to consolidate strategic positions, to mobilize the forces in Europe, and to intensify the war propaganda.

Truman's speech dotted all the "i's" and crossed all the "t's" in Churchill's speech of a year ago. The Anglo-American military alliance had already been established *de facto* through the so-called standardization of arms agreement. Europe would be policed jointly by England and the U.S. Wherever England moves out, the U.S. moves in. (England's "evacuations" in Greece or anywhere else, should not be taken too literally. It is promised that by August English troops will withdraw, but "British military training and supply missions, on the other hand, *will not be withdrawn*" from Greece (*New York Times*, March 17). They will function side by side with American "military training and supply missions.")

But Truman went beyond Churchill. To be sure, he did not use the formula "cordon sanitaire" preferring instead Roosevelt's formula of "quarantine the aggressor." Which means exactly the same thing. Furthermore, Truman did not wait four years to implement it as did Roosevelt. Instead Truman immediately proclaimed the policy of lend-lease to any and all governments that line up with Wall Street; and in addition, he moved to consolidate the first bastions in the new "cordon sanitaire"—Greece and Turkey.

By moving into these countries, Washington will immediately flank not alone the Soviet Union but also its Balkan buffer

zone. The American Navy will keep the Soviet Union bottled up in the Black Sea. The winged formula of Admiral "Bull" Halsey to the effect that the American Navy goes where it "damn pleases," has been supplemented to read it will stay there as long as it "damn pleases," too.

MOSCOW STIFFENS ITS UPPER LIP

Several weeks have elapsed since the proclamation of this policy, but not a single prominent Moscow spokesman has yet uttered a sound. The official Russian press whimpers that peace is being threatened, that the UN has been by-passed, and so on. The *Daily Worker* hides behind the redoubtable Henry Wallace. But neither the Kremlin (nor Foster-Dennis) have dared even to demand that the issue be raised in the UN, this "valuable instrument of peace," as Stalin called it only a year ago. And when on March 28, Warren R. Austin, presented some face-saving phrases on this subject in the name of Washington, Soviet delegate Gromyko took the floor merely to mumble that this was a "new issue" and therefore he needed time to study it. He awaits orders from the Kremlin which itself does not yet know what to do or what to say. Wall Street's decision to force a showdown has apparently come as the greatest shock precisely to the Kremlin, which had advance knowledge of it, but kept hoping against hope that it would turn out just another "bluff."

To be sure, war will not come overnight. No one knows and no one can tell just when and where the shooting war will start. But whereas, prior to the actual hostilities before World War II the exact alignment of the belligerent camps remained in doubt (leaving the Kremlin ample room for sudden maneuvers and shifts), this time the main protagonists are clearly delineated in advance (leaving room only for retreats). But most important of all is that events will henceforth unfold not under the sign of peace but of war. The Truman doctrine expressing the war plans of U.S. imperialism becomes the dominant factor in world politics, unless the proletarian revolution intervenes.

HYPOCRITICAL SUBTERFUGE

Austin's belated declaration to the UN Security Council to the effect that the new U.S. foreign policy is "emergency and temporary" is a hypocritical subterfuge that fools nobody. Neither Washington nor the capitalist press has bothered to conceal that Truman's March 12 speech marked a sharp and lasting turn in foreign policy. On the same day that Truman spoke, the *New York Times*, mouthpiece of the dominant section of the American monopolists, declared that Truman "will ring down the curtain on one epoch in America's foreign policy and begin a new chapter." This candid statement has one meaning and one only. It means that the ruling circles in this country have committed themselves to a course from which they will not be diverted of their own volition.

When it comes to the real content of this "new chapter" in U.S., foreign policy, frankness ceases, of course, and the maximum of deception begins. The propaganda now emanating from Washington and filling the columns of the press and the air-wave channels harps on a single note. As the *Times* editors put it, "the new policy is designed not to 'declare war' but to prevent it." The cloak of "peace" has served all the warmakers—even Hitler. Peace was never yet maintained by shipments of war equipment and maintenance of military missions. These assurances are needed to throw sand in the eyes of the American people and to dragoon them all the more easily into another war.

WHO IS MARSHALL?

To judge just what these assurances are worth, suffice it to recall that the co-author of the new foreign policy is none other than General of the Army Marshall, incumbent Secretary of State. This five-star General drafted all the U.S. plans for World War II and participated in all the important "Allied" conferences. As Secretary of State he is in charge of implementing this new policy in action. Like all military specialists, he firmly believes in the inevitability of war. Marshall has not kept this conviction to himself. Before retiring from his post as Chief of Staff, he presented the Biennial Report to the Secretary of War. This document written in October 1945 is the timeliest of timely commentaries on Washington's real plans. It is nothing less than a blueprint of U.S. military preparations for the next world war. In it Marshall contemptuously dismisses the prospect of peace in the following unmistakable terms:

If man does find the solution for world peace it will be the most revolutionary reversal of his record ever known.

Marshall is in a better position than anybody else to know that the next global war must begin where the previous one ended—with radio-guided supersonic planes, long-range rockets, bacteriological missiles, radio-active gasses. If the military mind never excludes war no matter how slight might be the chances of civilization and mankind itself to survive it, it is precisely because the one thing that is excluded is—peace. The new and cataclysmic means of destruction signify to the military mind that decisions must be reached under a new set of conditions, that military operations and plans must be adjusted accordingly, and nothing more. Any other course would constitute "the most revolutionary reversal."

THE PHILOSOPHY OF MILITARISM

Even a cursory reading of the text of Truman's March 12 speech shows that it is the chemically-pure product of this school of thought. Shorn of its diplomatic equivocations, the Truman-Marshall doctrine speaks the language of unbridled militarism. There is a deadly parallel between this doctrine and the doctrines of all militarists in modern times. It reproduces point for point the kind of foreign policy practiced not so long ago by Japanese statesmen. From their lips, too, came cool justifications of every act of intervention on the ground that it represented a positive step toward the "maintenance of peace and order" in their Asiatic "co-prosperity sphere."

Let us recall the classic, if not subtle, explanations of Baron Hiranuma. As the then prime minister of Japan, he presented Tokyo's intervention in Manchuria as proof of "the desire of our nation to maintain peace and stability in the Far East." Wherein does this differ from the Truman-Marshall explanations for U.S. intervention in Greece and Turkey? The difference is that the Japanese spokesman was more modest. To get the gist of Truman-Marshall's explanations, one must add Europe (and the rest of the world) to the Far East specified by Baron Hiranuma.

Militarists, whether ensconced in Washington or Tokyo, know no other language, and they even express themselves in the same words.

The end-result of Japan's foreign policy is quite well-known. But it might perhaps be forgotten that it was the Japanese militarists who by moving into Manchuria started the series of undeclared wars (Mussolini's move into Ethiopia and Albania, the Rome-Berlin intervention in Spain, etc.) which ultimately led to the outbreak of World War II. Is then another series of

undeclared wars in the offing? The Truman-Marshall doctrine guarantees it on a world scale. This is not a matter of speculation but of fact. The American militarists will at once take their place alongside of England in waging the undeclared war against the Greek people. By moving into Turkey, they announce in advance their intention to wage war against the Turkish people for the sake of maintaining the despotic regime of Inonu. Similar "aid" is projected for the reactionary puppets in Korea. And all this, as Truman affirmed, is only the beginning.

In view of these facts, it cannot be repeated too often: Henceforth events will unfold under the sign of war. Failing the intervention of the Socialist revolution, the Truman-Marshall doctrine is henceforth the dominant factor in world politics.

U.S. TARTUFFES DROP MASK

The Truman-Marshall doctrine divests American imperialism of its former disguises and lays bare its authentic bestial fangs before the whole world.

For many decades Wall Street's foreign policy assumed a defensive, "idealistic," almost philanthropic mask. These latter-day Tartuffes strove to avoid any public appearance of aggression.

Under Roosevelt, U.S. diplomacy actually conspired to force the imperialist rivals, in particular Japan, to strike the first blow, gladly paying the price of Pearl Harbor for it. So traditional has this hypocrisy become that nine days before Truman was to publicly discard the mask of "non-aggression," he made a speech in Mexico City, swearing to remain "faithful to the letter and the spirit" of the policy of non-intervention which he then went on to define as "part of the basic international law recognized by all American republics" (*New York Times*, March 4).

The old policy sufficed so long as the century-old balance of power created by Great Britain remained more or less unaltered on the world arena. Under the former conditions there was no need for Washington to assume the initiative militarily. It could bide its time before throwing at the last moment into the scales the full weight of its industrial and financial superiority. Now that the world has become polarized into two huge power blocs, with the U.S. in unchallenged command of the imperialist bloc opposing the Soviet Union and its satellites, such a policy is no longer realistic. From the standpoint of American imperialism it has nothing to gain and everything to lose unless it presses forward aggressively in all spheres, political, economic and military alike. Precisely because the new policy represents a sharp tactical break with the past, it must be advanced, as it is and will be, in the most resolute way both at home and abroad.

One of the first tasks of the American imperialists is therefore to blot out illusions which they themselves have so elaborately created. One is that they are in any way committed not to intervene permanently in European affairs; another is that they are irrevocably pledged to the peaceable establishment of a "world community." These were among chief foreign policy planks of Woodrow Wilson, Franklin D. Roosevelt, the forgotten Willkie and the rudely discarded Wallace.

LIBERAL CREDO OR LOST ILLUSION

The only ones who remain committed to this junked policy are the impotent liberals. Their views are excellently summarized by Dr. Arnold Wolfers, former Director of the Institute of International Studies, at Yale University. This scholar wrote just the other day:

The realistic and the idealistic lines of American foreign policy merge in a passionate desire to prevent the breaking up of the world into two hostile blocs. The idealistic current should not be underestimated or disposed of as sheer hypocrisy. *No American Government would at this time dare present its people with a policy exclusively designed to match or to check Russian power.* That would appear as a counsel of sheer despair and defeatism. It would be interpreted to mean that the American people were asked to bury their dream of a better and more peaceful world, to resign themselves to another round of power politics and a third world war. The emphasis will continue to be on the United Nations (*International Affairs*, No. 1, January 1947, pp. 25-26. Our emphasis).

The Truman government has done precisely what the learned Doctor and all the American liberals were so certain "no American government would dare" do. Events have shattered another of their happy dreams. Today they utter cries of sorrow and despair which are destined to be replaced with patriotic cheers in the future. So far as the decisive section of the American ruling class is concerned, however, they have definitely committed themselves to the policy of dividing the world into two irreconcilably hostile camps. This is the necessary condition for isolating and later destroying the USSR. The laws of the class struggle, which Stalin was sure he could forever cheat, have broken out into the open and imperiously asserted themselves. The irreconcilable antagonism between the Soviet Union and its nationalized property forms on the one hand and the capitalist encirclement on the other is taking shape in the form of a mailed fist planted beneath Stalin's nose.

TWO WORLDS OR NONE

In drawing the dividing lines, Wall Street will tolerate no neutrals. Whoever fails to line up with them, will be treated as a present or prospective foe. Nor will they hesitate, at a propitious moment, to discard the UN, or more accurately, to unceremoniously kick out the Kremlin and any of its remaining supporters. Truman will undoubtedly find a convenient parallel in the expulsion of the Kremlin from the League of Nations before the outbreak of the last war.

Truman's by-passing of the United Nations was not a careless oversight but a thinly veiled warning to all governments, including UN members, that now they had to choose between tagging along with U.S. imperialism or passing into limbo.

By ignoring the UN, Truman dealt its prestige an irreparable blow. By failing itself to raise the issue, that is, by ignoring itself, the UN has expressed its anxiety to remain subservient to Wall Street. By ducking the issue in the UN, the Kremlin served advance notice that it will continue desperately to cling to this flimsy reed, just as it did to the League of Nations.

The immediate cause for the proclamation of the new foreign policy was the Moscow Conference, to which it was carefully synchronized in order to bring maximum pressure on the Kremlin. But Wall Street's most authoritative spokesmen look far beyond concessions in Eastern Europe. They aim at opening the territories of the Soviet Union itself to capitalist penetration. That is why they are so warlike in their talk. The newspapers even more so than Truman. On the day after his speech, the *N. Y. Times'* editors compared it with Roosevelt's 1937 "quarantine the aggressor" speech and then went on to characterize today's circumstances as being "analogous to 1937." Correspondent Louis Fischer, who has access to reliable information, quotes a prominent American diplomat as estimating that today "is the 1931 or perhaps even the 1935 of the World War III. Greece is Manchuria. Turkey conceivably is Abyssinia." (*The Progressive*, March 24). These are highly important symptoms

of the mood now reigning among American ruling circles. It is an indication of how determined they are to press for a solution as swiftly as possible.

WALL ST.'S SECOND UNDECLARED WAR

The Soviet Union is not the only target of the Truman-Marshall doctrine. Economic and military intervention in Greece and Turkey signifies that U.S. imperialists intend to remain permanently in Europe and to intervene politically whenever and wherever they choose on the old continent. In addition to altering rapidly and drastically the relation of forces on the European arena, where up till now the Kremlin has been the dominant military power, they will also serve as the pole of attraction for and as the mobilizing center of all reaction. On the Asiatic mainland and in the Far East they propose to play exactly the same role. What the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo axis failed to achieve, the consolidation of a solid reactionary bloc in Western Europe and in Asia, lies within the grasp of Wall Street.

The real obstacle in the way is not the Kremlin—it only facilitates the moves of Anglo-American brigands—but the insurgent masses of Europe and of Asia. In his speech Truman made no mention of them, let alone the masses of Latin America, any more than he made direct reference to the Soviet Union. But it goes without saying that they are not omitted from the calculations of the master strategists of the American bourgeoisie.

Their task is to "organize" not only Europe but the whole world, that is, to set up everywhere a system of vassal capitalist states on the basis of rigidly allotted American rations. As the Kremlin moves out, Wall Street proposes to move in, either directly or through puppet regimes.

This "grand pacification" of Europe and the whole world requires stable and strong governments. Even with the aid of the most powerful microscope it would be difficult to locate any strong and stable political regimes in Europe today. These cannot and will not be achieved on a "democratic" basis.

The situation in the colonial countries, especially in the Far East, is even more critical. Here despite the unremitting services of the Kremlin, it proved impossible for the imperialists to dam up the first post-war revolutionary upsurge of the oppressed colonial people.

FAR EAST IN FLAMES

The Indonesian and Indo-Chinese peoples, misled and betrayed as they have been, continue to deal paralyzing blows not alone to their Dutch and French overlords but to the entire system of world imperialism. The civil war in China still rages. India is on the verge of explosion.

With all their capitalist rivals lying prostrate, the U.S. imperialists are still unable to pluck the prize of prizes, the colonial East. This is an intolerable state of affairs.

It is impossible to "pacify" the Orient so long as the situation in Europe remains unresolved. Intervention in the Near East paves the way for successful intervention in the Far East.

Worst yet, in their own backyard, in Latin America, the insurrectionary fires are flaming. The aroused colonial peoples must be crushed, but it is impossible to really deal with them until the European masses are completely subjugated.

For this task, the Stalinist parties are not only an aid but also a hindrance, especially in those countries where either the majority or a large section of the working class has rallied to their banner.

The first post-war revolutionary wave was dammed up and channelized in Europe thanks above all to the counter-revolutionary aid of the Kremlin and its respective national sections

that still masquerade as "communist" parties. But while the masses in Europe have been held in check, nowhere have they been decisively defeated, not even in Greece, where one civil war was already fought and lost owing to the Stalinist treachery and where a second is now in progress.

Stalinism has spurned the masses for deals with the imperialists and now finds itself driven to maneuver with the masses, or lose its only remaining field for maneuvers. This is rendered all the more compulsory by the fact that if they disregard the masses, the movement may at any time pass over their heads completely. All this tends to undermine political stability.

NEED OF THE HOUR: STRONG REGIMES

Politically, European capitalism cannot be stabilized except by the rule of blood and iron. But no European power is today in opposition to the Stalinist parties. Wall Street is moving into Greece and Turkey because, once it succeeds in bolstering up the tottering dictatorial regimes there, reaction throughout Europe will have more stable props and will receive the required assistance far more systematically than has been the case up till now. Let there be no illusions on this score. Once they are assured the backing of American capitalism, the various European bourgeoisies will be emboldened to organize and unleash an offensive against the working masses that will surpass in savagery the offensive under Mussolini in Italy and Hitler in Germany.

DILEMMA OF EUROPE'S RULERS

But until at least the first bulwarks of reaction are firmly fortified on the continent, the European bourgeoisie must proceed with caution. They cannot rule without the aid of the Stalinists. On the other hand they still recall very vividly that both in Western Europe and in the Orient, the most severe revolutionary shocks consequent upon the First World War came not immediately after its termination but several years later (in 1923 Germany was in the throes of revolution, in 1926 England was gripped by the General Strike, in 1925-27 the Chinese Revolution erupted, in 1931 the Spanish revolution began, and so on). What will happen in Europe when it is engulfed by the second revolutionary wave? The French, the Italian, the Belgian and other European bourgeoisies must continue to maneuver with the masses in general and the Stalinists in particular until and unless the American bourgeoisie proves to them that it is able to cope with the situation, that it can forestall the coming revolutionary wave, or, failing this, drown it in blood. In this sense, the Truman-Marshall doctrine will prove the most potent immediate factor for sharpening the class struggle throughout the world.

Finally, to achieve the goals set forth by their new foreign policy, Wall Street must completely subjugate the American working class and the American people as a whole. This is the meaning of the unprecedented wave of reaction, the anti-labor drive, the red-baiting campaign, the moves to suppress elementary civil liberties under the guise of outlawing the Stalinists, and so on. This unbridled reaction at home is a component part of the Truman-Marshall doctrine which sets forth Wall Street's plans for world conquest.

THE NEMESIS AT HOME

U.S. imperialism is thus heading for war on three fronts: against the Soviet Union, against the insurrectionary peoples of the world and against the giant working class at home. But with all their colossal resources and power, these

power-drunk warmongers are far from omnipotent. They are plunging ahead under the most unstable political and economic conditions at home and internationally history has ever known.

They confront insuperable economic difficulties. Two years of "peace" and reconstruction booms find the crisis gripping not only the economy of strongest capitalism in Europe, Great Britain, but also most of the other countries as well. In England, in France, in Italy and elsewhere the living conditions of the masses have dropped below the levels maintained even in wartime.

Nor is all well at home. The storm signals presaging another economic debacle are multiplying so fast that alarmed Washington and the most conservative business men are asking themselves not whether there will be a crisis, but how soon it will erupt and how long it will last.

In the final analysis it is this critical economic condition of decaying capitalism that has dictated the Truman-Marshall doctrine, just as it previously led to the two world wars.

The unfolding economic crisis will spur the masses at home, in Europe, in Asia, throughout the world to ever fiercer resistance to the attempts by American capitalism to saddle them with all the burdens of decaying capitalism.

SOCIALIST WORLD —OR NONE!

The American imperialists believe that the time has come for them to "organize the world." They proudly boast that this is "the American Century." But they will no more successfully consummate their Truman-Marshall doctrine than the German imperialists were able to achieve the far more modest task of "organizing Europe," or than the Japanese imperialists were capable of "organizing Asia." These atom bomb statesmen are capable only of blowing up the world, or being blown up by the proletarian revolution.

Instead of conquering the world, they will detonate revolutionary explosions at home and in the world. In these coming battles against Wall Street's dictatorship the American working class shoulder to shoulder with their international brothers will forge the alliance with the colonial peoples. This century will see the burial of capitalism and the birth of the world Socialist community.

The Kremlin's Reaction to Wall Street's Offensive

STALIN IN SEARCH OF EGRESS

That the Kremlin will retreat rather than venture a head-on collision with Washington is a foregone conclusion. In point of fact, Moscow has been retreating all along the line ever since Stalin issued his conciliatory statement in October 1946. Stalin's diplomats have already yielded on three issues on which they have hitherto been the most "adamant": Iran, Trieste and the Dardanelles. They gave way on opening up the Danube for international commerce, on the question of the economic unification of Germany and several others.

In its characteristically grovelling manner, the Stalinist oligarchy has in recent days expressed its eagerness to placate American imperialism. (It is obliged at the same time to reassure the Soviet masses who are most sensitive to the resurgence of the war danger.) This was the purpose of Molotov's "surprise" disarmament plea before the United Nations. Molotov's double-talk was supplemented, a few weeks before the Moscow Conference, by Stalin's demonstrative withdrawal from the post

of Minister of the Armed Forces. Appointed in his place was General Bulganin, an obscure military figure. In addition, wide publicity was given to cuts in projected Soviet military expenditures, reduced to 18 per cent of the new budget as against 24 per cent for 1946.

A few days before Truman spoke, and obviously timed for the occasion, Stalin employed another of his favorite devices. He went out of his way to underscore that "retreat under certain conditions was correct tactics" not only militarily but from the standpoint of "Marxist-Leninist" politics. This was done in a letter he ostensibly wrote in reply to an inquiry by Colonel E. Razin who wanted to learn about Lenin's views on Clausewitz and on military strategy in general. Stalin's "Razin Letter" was published on March 8 in the *Bolshevik*, theoretical organ of the Russian Communist Party, and therefore intended "solely" for domestic consumption.

ECONOMIC QUICKSANDS

Apart from all other considerations, the critical domestic situation leaves the Kremlin despot no alternative other than to stall as long as possible before grudgingly retreating. In his placating public remarks of last October, Stalin mentioned, as if in passing, that it would take six or seven years and even longer to achieve the reconstruction of Soviet economy. In other words, the Fourth Five-Year Plan, which was calculated to accomplish this and more by 1950, will fall far short of the officially set goals (unrealizable to begin with).

Production in the former Nazi-occupied areas of the USSR, containing the heart of Soviet industry, still lags at levels below half of the pre-war. This was acknowledged officially several weeks ago. Last year's drouth and its disastrous consequences still affect agriculture, especially in the Ukraine, the Soviet granary.

The unfolding economic crisis finds its expression, as usual,

in a vast purge that has been in progress since the termination of hostilities. Blows have begun to fall on members of the inner ruling circle. The hitherto immune Khrushchev, "Stalin of the Ukraine," has been dismissed from his post as head of the Ukrainian CP and replaced by Kaganovich. Zhadanov, another top-ranking bureaucrat, frequently mentioned abroad as a possible candidate to replace Stalin, has been removed from his post as Chairman of the Supreme Soviet. The shake-up in the ministries continues, with the Minister of Health as the latest victim. All this adds up to an incipient crisis at home, which may readily assume major proportions as the international offensive against the USSR deepens.

The unstable internal position of the Kremlin, coupled with the grave economic difficulties, undoubtedly plays an important part in the calculations of the American imperialists. They feel confident that they can force the Kremlin to retreat. They need immediate successes of this kind in order to publicly justify their new policy on the grounds of its effectiveness.

PAYING THE PIPER

But retreats by the Kremlin can only postpone the head-on collision. They will not avert it because the question is not how far Stalin is willing or able to retreat, but how far Wall Street wants him to go. The more Stalin retreats in Eastern Europe, as he must, the greater will be the demands made upon him. The American imperialists will not long remain satisfied with anything less than an all-out effort to bring the Soviet Union back into the orbit of capitalism.

Whatever else may happen, it will prove impossible for Stalin to restore even a semblance of an unstable equilibrium on the international scene. In turn, this excludes the possibility of the regime stabilizing itself internally. The next period will therefore at the same time usher in the historic crisis of Stalinism. It is hardly likely that Stalinism will escape the steel jaws of history this time, too.

France Under the Fourth Republic

By PIERRE FRANK

Following the collapse of the Third Republic in 1940 and the termination of World War II, the year 1947 was supposed to inaugurate the definitive era of the Fourth Republic, with a Constitution adopted by referendum, with a Chamber elected by universal suffrage, with a Council of the Republic, a President of the Republic, a French Union embracing the colonies with or without their consent, and a Monnet four-year plan for the reconstruction of French economy.

But this "definitive" era has had very precarious beginnings. It is much easier to elect Deputies and Councillors of the Republic than to form a government; the French Union is being realized in life by plunging the Viet Nam in fire and blood; the application of the Monnet Plan presupposes many conditions, none of which is present.

Whither is France heading? On the day after the world war the economic situation is literally disastrous. The material losses are huge, as the most optimistic admit; and the setback cannot be recouped, for the day of small countries with limited national economies is over; the productive forces of the last century no longer suffice for the maintenance of a colonial empire. There is no way out for France.

Moreover, French capitalism, in assaying its own perspectives, entertains no illusions about its real capacities. The Monnet Plan—whether it will be realized or not—does not set high objectives; on the contrary, its goals are comparatively modest. In the report submitted by Blum to the United States in order to obtain a loan, it is stated:

France will devote all her efforts to modernize her industry and agriculture in order to attain by 1950 this level (25 per cent above that of 1929, if possible).

Even this will raise the consumption of energy, in terms of tons of coal per capita, only to 2.9 as compared with 4.15 for Great Britain and 5.1 for the United States. This would bring the per capita production of steel only to 240 kilograms as against 285 for Great Britain and 351 for the United States in the depression year 1937!

In brief, French capitalism, feeling too old to plunge into adventures, clings to its "Maginot Line" mentality; it would be quite content if it is able to preserve the larger part of its inheritance from the previous generations, which would enable it to present a fairly respectable figure on the international

scene and which would justify its having a small folding chair alongside the large arm chairs of the "Big Three."

But even these modest ambitions are far from being assured. The year 1946 was supposed to be a special year, not included in the plan, during which the economy was to be reconverted on a peacetime basis and the levels of 1938 would be regained. (Let us recall that 1938 was a depression year for French economy.) But to obtain these results, a great deal is still required. In an article devoted to the importation of coal, *le Monde*, November 16, 1946, arrives at the following conclusions:

. . . Despite a rather bad situation, which is undoubtedly temporary, our industry, while far from attaining the necessary rate of expansion, will nevertheless be able next year to stabilize itself at an average rate of approximately 80 per cent of 1938; but this effort can probably be sustained only by maintaining severe restrictions on home consumption and by utilizing in large measure the second-grade coal which is being extracted since the war from our mines.

The Monnet Plan pretends to ignore the international conjuncture. But in reality it is based on the hope that there will be no crisis in American or world economy before 1950, and that by that time French capitalism will be in a condition to sustain such a shock. But for several months the economists and business circles in both England and the United States have become rather dubious that American and world economy can avoid a crisis before 1950. There are various ominous signs (declines in commodities such as cotton, accumulation of inventories among manufacturers, wholesalers, and so on).

Monnet Plan

A few weeks ago the English Minister of Foreign Trade declared in the House of Commons that he expected a "crisis of readjustment" in 1947, which, according to him, would be like that of 1921, brief and of no great depth. The price-cutting experiment, introduced by Blum, which is a temporary measure primarily designed to divert the demands of the workers (for higher wages), is itself a speculation in part on an eventual decline of world prices sometime in 1947. But a drop in prices, bound up with a world "readjustment" crisis, would confront France with new problems and would probably entail the gravest consequences.

One of the conditions for the realization of the Monnet Plan is the stabilization of currency. The leaders of world finance, notably the directors of the International Monetary Fund set up at Bretton Woods, apparently consider the exchange rate of the franc as too high. About a week before it hailed Blum's experiment, *le Monde* had the following to say both about prices and currency:

It appears that a rise in the rate exchange can be avoided only by the introduction of lower prices. But no matter from what angle we approach the question, the solution remains unclear. The prices of manufactured commodities, which are virtually the only ones concerned in exports, lag far behind agricultural prices, which are not permitted to decline out of political considerations and because of the impotence of economic controls. Any lowering of industrial prices, assuming this were technically possible, would therefore aggravate still further the imbalance of French economy. . . . Finally, it ought not to be forgotten that the rise which we have been experiencing without interruption for 11 years and which has recently become accelerated, cannot be checked at a single stroke. A great deal of courage coupled with favorable circumstances is required to curb it little by little.

But the factor that dominates the whole situation in France, both as a consequence of the economic decline and as an ele-

ment aggravating this decline, is the social and political condition of the country.

The patient's temperature can be easily charted. There was a succession of elections and referendums. More than a year after the "liberation" and a few weeks after the war ended, in October 1945, the first elections to the Constituent Assembly took place. The majority was gained by the Socialists and the Communists. As a parliamentary force, these two parties were practically equal. The old bourgeois parties had collapsed; the reaction did not dare show its face; the Radicals were in full retreat. In order to achieve the mobilization of all those who recoil from socialism and communism, big capital built the MRP, with any kind of material. This party masqueraded as socially minded (its leaders participated in the Resistance movement, accepted nationalization and announced their readiness to collaborate in the government with the workers' parties).

Electoral Fever Chart

By means of a referendum held on the same day and thanks to the compliance of the Socialists, the powers of the Assembly were limited in relation to the powers of the government. De Gaulle, still wearing the halo of "liberation," saw himself entrusted with the leadership of the government. But with the termination of the war, in the struggle between the tendencies of the bourgeoisie toward a strong regime and the aspirations of the masses after all these years of suffering, the advantage was not on the side of the bourgeoisie. There was a growing clash between de Gaulle, who personifies the tendencies toward a strong regime, and the parties who distort and misdirect the aspirations of the masses. The parties did not bring their differences into the open; they issued no appeals to the country; they showed no militancy. But de Gaulle, finding no solid ground under his feet, walked out himself in January 1946, slammed the door behind him, bade farewell to politics, received the homage of all parties and retired to the provinces, there to wait and prepare, while the existing parties disintegrated, for a favorable moment to install the strong regime.

With the departure of de Gaulle, the three-party coalition continued under the leadership of the Socialist, Gouin. The Stalinists, who secured the disarmament of the militias and the dissolution of the committees, launched an appeal for increased production and extolled the wage-freeze, while the MRP started opposing any measure that might adversely affect capital in the slightest degree. To the right of the MRP there was constituted the avowedly and traditionally reactionary PRL, which is the culture medium for fascist elements, but which is not an actual party of fascism.

The friction within the three-party system kept growing, as the date for the Constituent Assembly drew closer. After obtaining numerous constitutional concessions from the SP and CP, the MRP—without leaving the coalition government or being forced by the other parties to leave it—repudiated the draft, and with the aid of the entire reaction succeeded in the May referendum in defeating the draft of a bourgeois constitution that had been already adopted by the Communist and Socialist deputies. Then came the June 2 elections for a second Constituent Assembly. Big capital, forcing the PRL to withdraw in many electoral districts, gave its backing to the MRP, which succeeded in taking the lead among the three major parties. The Socialist Party—which compromises itself on each occasion in its role as intermediary in the three-party coalition—lost as much on the right as it did on the left, despite the jingling dollars of the Blum loan. The CP made gains in the countryside,

but stagnated or lost ground in the large industrial centers, although it came out in favor of removing wage controls three days before the elections.

Henceforward the formation of a government proved difficult. Workers' demonstrations multiplied and it was impossible to leave the CP out of the government. Following its defeat, the SP tried to make itself as inconspicuous as possible and left the direction of the government to the leader of the MRP, Bidault. The three-party regime was brought back again. In the interval between June 2 and November 10 the crisis of the three-party regime deepened. Prodded by the PRL, by the Gaullist Union and by de Gaulle himself, the MRP became more and more exacting in its demands. The SP and CP made more and more concessions on the Constitution (on the issues of the President of the Republic, Second Chamber, and so on), as well as on the workers' demands. The discontent of the masses found a pitiful expression at the Convention of the SP where the left wing did not know what to do with its majority. On the other hand, it found a virile expression in the mass movements that rolled over the heads of the trade union leadership (strikes of the postal and Treasury employes, and so on). The CP, while continuing to call for increased production and while continuing to engage in the most systematic class collaboration, resorted to all sorts of artifices in order to unload the responsibility for the three-party system on the Socialists and to pose as champion of the workers' demands (demonstrations for the 25 per cent wage increase, demonstrations against the high cost of living, and the like).

The Impasse

The draft Constitution, supported this time by the three major parties, was adopted only by a slim majority. In the November 10 elections, despite the repeated elections, the number of absentions, although on the increase, was not, however, very considerable. The polarization became accentuated. The center parties lost while the extremes benefited. In the bourgeois camp the MRP lost to parties on its right, while the leading political circles of French imperialism pushed the petty bourgeois masses toward the MRP.* We witnessed a shift of half a million petty bourgeois to the right, but at the same time we saw the inability of the big bourgeoisie to exploit this shift for the benefit of a more reactionary policy. On the other hand, the SP suffered a complete rout, losing about 750,000 votes and being literally ground to pieces between the MRP and the CP. The latter gained 250,000 votes, not only continuing to make further gains in the country as in June, but also regaining the lost ground in the great industrial centers. This is the way in which the desire of the working masses for a change finds its expression; they cast their votes for a party which under the existing conditions appears to them to be in the best parliamentary and governmental position to satisfy their demands.

What have we witnessed since these elections? The party, which in its press and in the Parliament advances demands for the Presidency of the government, finds itself refused not only this post, but all other important functions in the new Republic. This party, whose capacity for action is so great, is made the target of a veto so far as key ministerial posts are concerned. The French bourgeoisie is not powerful enough to hold the working masses in check with its own forces. But since the

* This became even more apparent two weeks later, when on the occasion of elections to the Council of the Republic, everything possible was done to regain for the MRP the position of "first party of France" which it lost to the CP during the November 10 elections.

November 10 elections, the CP has not dared to call upon the masses to intervene even in the same limited way, quite harmless to the bourgeoisie, as it did last June in connection with the decontrol of wages.

Post-Election Developments

The governmental crisis has unfolded solely within the framework of a struggle at the top. It has involved such grave political problems as the defense of the franc, cuts in the budget, new burdens, maintenance of the French Union in Indo-China. But on these questions there were no fundamental differences between the parties, including the Stalinist party. The government crisis, which is officially scheduled to reappear after the election of the President of the Republic, will not involve any basic differences in program. But the tension becomes obviously acute when it comes to permitting the Stalinists in the government and assigning portfolios to them. However, the French capitalists are aware that the presence of the Stalinists in the government has been a valuable asset to them during the last two years; they know that under the existing relation of forces, it would be impossible for them to govern in opposition to the CP and the CGT which is under CP control. Finally, they understand very well that the CP is no longer any threat at all to the capitalist system.

In the Chamber, Jacques Duclos—falsely identifying his party with the class he is betraying—complained that the workers were good enough to die in battle and to produce but not to govern. True enough, the bourgeoisie knows how to assay the ability of the CP to impel the workers to produce or to fight for them, but they will avoid, if they can, giving it places in the government, because they know that the CP leadership, while respecting private property and the capitalist regime, just as the traditional reformists do, is a tool of the ruling Kremlin bureaucracy. In the key international questions, the interests of the Moscow bureaucracy are placed by the CP leadership above the interests of French capitalism. A glance at the international situation suffices to understand how important this consideration is in connection with the composition of the French government. The fact that the CP holds the position of the most extreme chauvinism on the German question counts for little, inasmuch as there is no assurance of the constancy of these views. The SP which holds a much more moderate position toward Germany merits far greater confidence. Blum has just demonstrated that he will not hesitate to hold his own views while preparing the annexation of the Saar as a "loyal director" of French capitalism.

The preparations for the coming Moscow Conference unquestionably are a dominant consideration in the composition of the French government. While she lacks the authority of the three partners by whose side she sits, France can, by casting her vote either on the side of the United States and England or on the side of the Soviet Union, swing the compromise one way or the other. Let us recall how eagerly Thorez sought to reassure the Anglo-American capitalists by his statements in the press and to the British news agencies on the day after the elections when the CP advanced his candidacy for head of the government. Supporting this candidacy in the Chamber, Duclos pointed out that the comments in the English and American press were not "unfavorable." The United States and Great Britain who follow the developments in France very closely, did not fail to exert considerable pressure to eliminate or reduce the participation of the Stalinists in the government.

Despite the existing difficulties, "national unity"—in one

guise or another—is excluded. It must be kept in reserve for much more serious situations. A government simultaneously in opposition to both the CP and SP is impossible; the MRP itself would not countenance this right now. An anti-Communist government with the Socialists participating, is equally impossible, for the SP cannot allow the Stalinists to remain in the opposition. The three-party system or its extension through the inclusion of other “left” parties presents very great difficulties. So far as normal solutions are concerned, the Parliament that emerged from the November 10 elections cannot maintain a government. But if they do not wish to resort to the “strong state” (they cannot do so as yet), if they wish to avert troubles which may in one sense serve Bonapartist ends but which may also develop in just the opposite sense, then they must at all costs find a solution by which some time can be gained. The trick consisted in replacing an impossible coalition of the major parties by the weakest party, leaving nothing of the coalition except its hinge, already considerably worn out, and thus forming a government composed exclusively of the party which emerged the most enfeebled from the elections. This solution, in its own fashion “extra-parliamentary,” presents some advantages for all.

A Tricky Solution

Blum is assuredly favorably regarded by Washington and London, who know that he will not lean internationally toward Moscow. From the domestic standpoint, it permits the two big parties, the MRP and the CP, to avoid the three-party system and all governmental collaboration and this is useful to both of them with regard to their respective clientele: they can offer Bidault without Thorez, and Thorez without Bidault. The bourgeoisie is enabled for a while to have a government *without* the Stalinists, without its being a government *against* the Stalinists. As touches the CP, despite its repeated declarations in favor of a “united” Republican government, the Blum solution does not displease it too much; for it is thus enabled all the more easily to pluck the Socialist fowl and to appease the malcontents within. It is likewise enabled the better to retain its control over the masses, by remaining, if not in the opposition then at least outside the government. This set-back may even permit it a little later on to return with even greater demands as the pressure of the masses increases.

But how do matters stand from the standpoint of Moscow's interests? In the first place, a party wielding such influence over the masses, cannot follow the Kremlin's directives as automatically as a weaker party which is able to shift positions without any major repercussions. When Moscow executed a certain left turn among the Communist parties in 1945 and 1946, the French CP was actually the last one to engage in it and did so with greater reservations than any other. It is very difficult for it to move leftward, because behind it is the majority of the French working class and while it disposes of a rather large field for maneuvers, it cannot permit itself everything. However, since the end of November 1946 we have witnessed a retreat by Moscow on the international field. Beginning with Stalin's declaration, it became manifest during the last days of the conferences in New York. It was seized upon by the Turkish and Iranian governments who immediately employed repressive measures against Moscow's supporters in these countries.

Will this retreat have an effect upon the policy of the Stalinist parties? We have no exact indications as yet, but it is quite likely. Right now, it is already noticeable that while the ques-

tion of the government is still being posed, how reluctant the CP leadership is—whether directly or indirectly through the CGT [Confederation of Labor] leadership—to put forward any workers' demands and how it abstains from any demonstrations to force the hand of the bourgeois parties.

As for the SP, up to the last minute of its existence it continues to show itself as the “loyal manager” of capitalism. Defeated at the last party Convention, Blum nevertheless retains the leadership and ignores the program that was adopted. Defeated in the elections, as they were inside their party, the leaders of the SFIO set what the left Seine Federation calls an “example of courage” by adopting the program of Schuman and creating a ministry that one journalist has described “as homogeneous as the SP.” The post of Minister of State was entrusted to a leader of the “left” in order to associate him in all the services rendered to French capitalism.

Is Stabilization Possible?

Can the present unstable situation be ameliorated in the sense that there will be a marked increase in production, an improvement or even stabilization of the franc, and so on? Nobody really believes in such a development which would offer the SP a chance to save itself. On top of all the already existing difficulties has been added the Indo-China affair. It prevents cuts in the military budget, necessitates the use of transports, diverting ships from commerce with the rest of the world, to carry reinforcements and arms against the Viet Nam. And finally, it is not at all certain that French imperialism possesses sufficient military forces to enforce a compromise more favorable than the March 6 agreement, signed by people more compliant than Ho Chi Minh. The experience of the Blum “kiss” may defer for a while the working class actions which are threatening, as Tanguy-Prigent, the Minister of Agriculture, believes. But barring a miracle, conditions do not exist in France for even such temporary results as were obtained in Belgium; there are no stocks on hand and no possibilities of large-scale imports, the Belgian franc was not threatened, nor was the Belgian government at the same time constrained to undertake substantial increases in transport, gas, electricity, postal services and so on.

In spite of all the assistance afforded by the treacherous leaders, the bourgeoisie is in no condition to impose its solutions on the working masses. The bourgeois parties, especially the largest ones, are merely artificial structures doomed to fall apart under strong social tension. Their great man, de Gaulle, after a few brusque remarks, has confined himself to a short declaration in betaking himself to his winter headquarters. The three-party system has been cleverly exploited, the SP has been deflated and will not be reinflated again. But it is still necessary to utilize the Stalinist party and to exhaust the working class before the bourgeoisie, whose champion is de Gaulle, can dream of assuming the initiative.

Neither the bourgeois parties nor the SP nor the CP nor the CGT wish to pass through the experience of a government by the workers' organization. The leaders who flatter themselves as representing the working class dream only of combinations with bourgeois parties on the basis of bourgeois programs. The Stalinists have insisted in words on a government of “Republican Defense,” a second edition of the People's Front. But the situation continues to develop in a direction different from the one they desire. They found themselves compelled to take up, and at the same time to distort, one slogan after another ad-

vanced by the French section of the Fourth International. After slandering the Trotskyists for months as agents of the corporations for their advocacy of wage raises, the Stalinists were forced on the eve of June 2nd to declare themselves in favor of lifting the wage controls. After shouting that a wage victory had been won, and after issuing appeals to struggle against price rises, they were driven to take up the slogan for a minimum living wage. They set this at a ridiculous figure of 84,000 francs, which, however, was accepted as reasonable by *le Monde*. And they did so in face of the fact that the sum of 120,000 francs is far closer to the actual needs and corresponds even to the calculations of the CGT made in February 1945 and adjusted to the official rise in living costs since that time. The Stalinists have denounced the slogan of the sliding scale of wages, but they are now compelled to play cunningly with this slogan by declaring themselves in favor of "re-examining" the minimum living wage in view of changing living costs. For their fictitious "struggle against price rises," they have set up supervisory committees which have at the most embarrassed a few petty merchants in the local markets. After all the battles that have been waged and all the "victories" that have been won, the living conditions of the working class are such as make necessary the adoption of workers' control of production, as the Trotskyists advocate.

Two years after the "liberation," we are approaching an experience with Stalinism, stripped of those circumstances which have hitherto provided the Stalinist leaders with alibis. Parallel with this, or more accurately leading toward this experience, there impend struggles which will tend to pass over the heads of the Stalinist leadership. In 1946 we witnessed only skirmishes (printers, postal and treasury employes).

The traditional organizations and leaderships have been by-passed only to a very limited degree and in isolated instances. But these skirmishes have certainly not been without a profound effect. This is certainly true of the movement of postal employes, with its central and local strike committees, all elected in the course of the struggle, despite and against the official leadership of the Postal Federation.

Revolutionary Perspectives

If from the standpoint of world economy France lags lamentably, then her role in revolutionary politics can be of first-rate importance in Europe. Her working class movement, despite its glorious revolutionary traditions, has known the most abject opportunism. But since 1934 France has once again tended to become the classic country of political struggles, a country where these struggles are carried through to the very end.

Since the victory of the democracies, the European countries are confronted more than ever before with an alternative. They can choose to be engulfed by decaying capitalism, under a "strong state" installed to the detriment of the masses, amid an increasing Balkanization of Europe which would facilitate the outbreak of World War III, ending up literally in the annihilation of the continent. Or they can choose the victory of the masses who, despite their old treacherous leaderships, will smash the iron chains of capitalism and assure prosperity and peace through the establishment of the Socialist United States of Europe. Europe's choice will in large measure depend on the development of the class struggle in France and on the French proletariat's ability to reorient itself in the course of these battles around a new leadership, that of the Fourth International.

However weak the PCI may still be, the encouraging indication is that the PCI has been able to make considerable progress

during the last two years, in spite of the handicap of virtually having to renew its ranks during the war. The unification of the Bolshevik-Leninist ranks in France; the conquest of legality for the Party and its press, despite the Stalinist Ministers; its participation in almost one-fourth of the country in two electoral campaigns within the space of six months; the results gained which attest to the existence of a class-conscious revolutionary minority in the big industrial centers and even in the countryside; the rise of a revolutionary trade union minority that rallied the votes of 1,200 unions at the April 1946 Congress of the CGT; the steady progress recorded by the Party in recent months; the growth of an independent organization of International Communist Youth—all this is evidence that the maturing of the revolutionary crisis in France has not failed to find a conscious expression to a degree unknown in France as well as in other countries since the creation of the international faction of the Bolshevik-Leninists.

January 7 1947

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P.S. After this article was already set up, news came of the formation of the Ramadier Ministry, which is predominantly Socialist, and into which the Stalinists, the MRP, the Radicals and independents have entered. The frailty of this combination and the reasons for it are given in the following comments of *le Monde*, which at the same time confirm the importance of the international problems referred to in our article:

Everyone knows that one of the reasons, if not the main reason, for the creation of this government, as well as its chance for survival, if not the only chance, lies in the approaching Moscow Conference. The economic experiment could be carried out without the MRP, which, moreover, has great reservations on this score. It could be carried out with far greater difficulty without the Communist Party. But neither the latter nor the former wished or was able to retire from the scene at the hour when the future of Germany and Europe is to be decided.

Translated from *Quatrième Internationale*,
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Jewish Question Since World War II

By ERNEST GERMAIN

The following article is the concluding chapter written by Comrade Germain for the book *The Materialist Conception of the Jewish Question*, by A. Leon. This book (published in French, but still unpublished in English) was completed in December 1942. A. Leon, the author, was the national secretary of the Belgian Trotskyist party. The Gestapo arrested him in June 1944 and he died a martyr's death in the Nazi concentration camp at Auschwitz.—Ed.

* * *

Years of incessant persecution and indescribable humiliation, the life of hunted beasts as the "normal" form of existence, deportations, "death trains," gas chambers, crematoriums, anti-tank ditches filled with corpses; massacres in which not a family was spared and a balance sheet frightful in its clarity: 5 million dead out of 6 million European Jews—that is what the Second World War has meant for the Jewish population of the old continent.

Human imagination, quick as it is in grasping the horrible, has difficulty in picturing concretely the meaning of this balance sheet. It is impossible to compress this unprecedented crucifixion of millions of human beings into a few vivid images.

Separated from the overall picture of a world in agony, the fate of the Jews not only appears cruel, it seems unbelievable. Reason refuses to admit that material interests could have coldly dictated the extermination of these countless defenseless beings. The fanaticism of the SS, their blind submission to orders of their leaders are called upon for aid in giving the semblance of an explanation for the tragedy which Europe has just lived through. But the interpretations do not even approach the horrible reality. They are based on the assumption that the destruction of European Jewry constitutes a sudden and unique catastrophe in the troubled history of this people. Lack of understanding of the past is transformed into illusions about the future, and all this while a new and terrible threat already hovers over the surviving Jews in the entire world.

The Fate of the Jews Is a Symbol of the Fate of Humanity

Although the Jews have been stricken more sorely than any other people, they have lived these most tragic hours of their history in a period when all humanity is struggling through a frightful crisis which threatens like a tidal wave to engulf everything that Twentieth Century civilization has so slowly constructed. Alongside of five million murdered Jews are sixty million victims of imperialist war. The barbaric treatment of the Jews by Hitlerite imperialism is only an extreme expression of the barbarism of the general methods of imperialism in our period.

As against the Jewish deportations we now find the deportation of millions of Germans from Poland and Czechoslovakia. As against the return to the yellow star we now find the branding of all Germans by external markings in many countries in Central Europe. The death trains have again begun moving but this time in the opposite direction and with a different human freight. The burning of books has been renewed by the Americans. All the atrocities of Nazism, from the execution of hostages up to the burning of entire villages

"as reprisals" have been faithfully reproduced by the emissaries of Anglo-American imperialism, whether it be in Indonesia, the Philippines or Korea.

Far from being a phenomenon isolated from the destiny of humanity, the tragedy of the Jews is only the herald to other peoples of their coming fate, if the decline of capitalism continues at its present rate. Maddened by the blood of its millions of victims, world imperialism has progressively brought entire social layers to a point of barbarism where human life no longer has the slightest value and where corpses are as common a sight as pedestrians crossing a street in a great city. This rapid transformation of human reflexes has nothing to do with the specific explanations generally made for it.

The calm of an SS officer playing chess while thousands of women and children are being burnt a few hundred feet away in crematoriums is identical with the calm of a British officer as he steps over cadavers cluttering the road to his night club in Calcutta. The American "reporter" filled with curiosity, rushes to the ruins of Hiroshima in search of sensational headlines for his paper, but isn't stirred for a moment by the idea that he is walking over the pulverized remains of 100,000 human beings who disappeared into thin air in a few seconds. . . . Humanity has gone a long way since the days when it was outraged by the fate of the victims of the Crimean War.

Responsibility of All Governments for the Fate of the European Jews

It is not alone the methods of cruel oppression on the part of American imperialism and the barbaric mentality resulting from it that bring it closer and closer to those of Nazi imperialism. The very fate of the Jews of Europe was determined as much by the calculations of American imperialists as by the direct massacres of Hitler. For months hundreds of thousands of Jews could have been saved: in Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary and the unoccupied French zone. These hunted unfortunates had their eyes turned towards the only road for escape: across the seas. To every voice which condemns the crimes of Hitler must be added the voices of those who accuse London and Washington. While these governments knew what was being prepared against the Jews and exploited it for their propagandistic ends, they did not make the slightest gesture to help those who could have been saved, but on the contrary bluntly refused to grant them passage across the ocean.

Against the few thousands who were able to escape—the rich, those who had "connections" in the United States—there are hundreds of thousands against whom the door was slammed shut, who were driven back from Palestinian shores and were returned to the Nazi hell.

If Hitler constructed the trap for the Jews, it was the Anglo-Americans who sprang it. The blood of the innocent falls on their heads as well as upon the Nazis.

But the responsibility of the imperialist governments goes far beyond this simple refusal of direct aid. An American diplomatic mission remained in Germany up to the end of 1942. The Red Cross regularly sent its trusted agents and inspectors into German prisoner-of-war camps. Despite numerous cases of violation of "international law," there can be no question

that in a general way the lot of war prisoners of all nations, excepting Russia, was "tolerable" in Germany and was very close to that of German prisoners in the United States and England. That is particularly true in regard to the lot of officers. (The class nature of society is nowhere expressed so sharply as in camps.) The imperialists observed the rules of the game insofar as they themselves were involved. *Why was this rule of reciprocity not invoked for the Jews?* Why didn't the British and American governments, allies of the Polish government, make the German government understand that reciprocity would also be invoked in the case of civil internees, of whom the Germans in Allied countries numbered in the hundreds of thousands? The truth is that in practice the Anglo-Saxon imperialists completely washed their hands of the fate of the unfortunate Jews of Europe, viewing them only as a propaganda subject at the opportune time. They did not even try to exert any one of the great many pressure levers at their disposal in behalf of the Jews.

The epic revolt of the Warsaw ghetto is painted up by the whole democratic press of the world. But in the last appeal that the Warsaw fighters made to the world, they accused the British, Polish, and Soviet governments, they accused the "official" leaders of the Polish national resistance movement of *having deliberately refused them weapons that they had been demanding for weeks for the continuation of their struggle against the SS hangmen.* Let their last pathetic words: "Brothers, all the governments are guilty," be engraved in the heart of each Jewish worker, of every class conscious worker in the world. The responsibility for the massacre of the Jews is borne, equally with Nazism, by all the governments of the earth, by all of imperialism, by the entire regime of capitalism in its death agony as it plunges into barbarism.*

The Tragic Lot of the Survivors in Europe

After the terrible ordeal it has just experienced, European Jewry is reduced to less than a million beings. Of these 900,000 Jews, at least half have lost everything in the tempest: jobs, property, means of existence, families, homes. The vision of these people is clouded forever. The war has brutally cut all the roots that nourished them in their social environment. If they cannot develop new roots elsewhere, these people are condemned to perish.

Those who have been lucky or courageous enough to return to their homes or to come out of their individual hiding places feel themselves surrounded by hidden hostility. It would be ridiculous to hold Nazi propaganda responsible for this. Certainly the latter has left traces in the primitive minds of many layers of peasants and backward workers. But the basis of anti-Semitism, lucidly etched in its social contours and traced back

*At the final minute, prior to their total annihilation, the last survivors of the Jewish people of Poland issued an appeal for aid to the entire world. It has not been heard. "We know that you, Jewish workers of Palestine and elsewhere, are suffering cruelly for our incredible martyrdom, unparalleled in the annals of history. But let those who had the means of helping us and failed to do so know that we are thinking of them. The blood of three million massacred Jews cries for vengeance and they will be avenged. And the punishment will strike not only the Nazi cannibals but also all the powers who did nothing to save a people condemned to complete extermination by the Hitlerite criminals. They limited themselves to a few hypocritical phrases. We who are the last to die will never forget that and will never forgive it. May this last voice out over the abyss reach the ears of all humanity." (*The Extermination of the Jews of Warsaw*, p. 58, published at Brussels by E. Botte.)

to its historical origins in this book of A. Leon, continues to persist more than ever after this war which has been so devastating for the position of the petty bourgeoisie. "The elimination of Hitler can change nothing essentially in the position of the Jews. A temporary improvement in their lot will in no wise affect the continuation of all the profound roots of Twentieth Century anti-Semitism." These prophetic words written by Leon in 1941 have just had their confirmation in the uninterrupted series of pogroms which have rocked Poland, Hungary and Slovakia since "liberation," in which more than 20,000 people have already fallen victims.

After having momentarily "softened" the terrible crisis in which "Aryan" artisans and small business men found themselves in Central and Eastern Europe, by the closing of Jewish businesses, these strata were in their turn hard hit by monopoly capitalism. "Mobilization for total war" led to the suppression of several hundred thousand small businesses. Deportations of the entire labor force to Germany uprooted millions of petty bourgeois. Restrictions, red tape, constant contraction of the free market in raw materials and consumer goods, the disastrous effects of inflation—all these contributed during the last years of the war and the first post-war months to make the position of the artisans and small businessmen of Central and Eastern Europe more precarious than ever. But the more precarious their position becomes, the more fiercely do they resist the return of their former Jewish competitors. The newspapers recently reported that all the small shops in Budapest were forced to close their doors because they no longer could withstand the vertiginous inflationary spiral. Is it astonishing that under such conditions their hatred against the small Jewish businessmen is exacerbated when the latter, upon returning from the concentration camps, attempt to reopen their shops and thereby to compete with them for the already too meager share of the national income? The general stagnation of economy since the war, accompanied even by a slight de-industrialization, robs the surviving Jews of the possibility of proletarianization or of passing into other professions, at the same time that it prevents any resumption of their former positions. There is no way out for them. If the high clergy, the dispossessed provincial nobles and other reactionary elements are successful in arousing great layers of the Polish, Slovak and Hungarian population against the Jews as "Communists" and "Russian agents" it is solely because the social base of anti-Semitism remains intact.

"On the Planet Without a Visa"

The surviving Jews in Poland, Hungary, Slovakia, are desperately seeking a way out of their misfortune far from the land which has witnessed tragedy for their families. Even worse is the situation of more than 100,000 Jewish fugitives in Germany who, *one year after their "liberation," continue to live under the infamous conditions of concentration camps,* and are subjected to a thousand and one frauds on the part of the military authorities. This has created a scandal reaching right into the bankers' circles in New York; and the government of the United States has been compelled to send a Commission for an on-the-spot investigation. The Commission has come and gone, its report has been read and discussed, but the 100,000 expatriated Jews who do not want to return to Poland continue to remain in the German camps suspended between a horrible past and an unknown future. The problem of the surviving refugee Jews urgently demands a solution: the imperialist governments haven't even broached the problem.

When military aims were involved, 48 hours was more than

enough in an imperialist staff to decide upon the voluntary or forced displacement of millions of human beings. But a year has not been enough for the "specialists" of capitalism to find some place on earth where several hundred thousand victims of Nazi barbarism can reconstruct their lives. For every government the cause of the surviving Jews is becoming a shameful instrument of blackmail against a rival power. England and America invite each other to show hospitality by opening the doors of the countries which they control to refugees. But in the calculations determining imperialist policy, the solution of human problems does not occupy the thousandth place.

But this problem also has great economic and social importance. Under present conditions it is excluded that the survivors will regain their former professions. The question is posed of their professional re-education. But it can be posed from the economic standpoint only in countries which are industrially very advanced, in which the integration of two or three hundred thousand men into the process of production is a rather usual matter. If barbaric capitalism refuses to "take the risk" because of the threat of unemployment, it is for the proletariat, for the workers' movement of these countries, to advance this demand of elementary humanity: "*Open the doors of the United States, of Canada, of Australia, of the five continents to the victims of Nazi persecution!*" The working class, struggling against the plague of unemployment by demanding the reduction in working hours, will have no difficulty in integrating several hundred thousands of Jews. On the contrary, it will thereby make of them very valuable allies for the general struggle against capitalism which is responsible for their fate and for the blind alley in which all humanity finds itself.

The development of anti-Semitism, the result of definite social and historic causes, is producing the spread of Zionist nationalism among the despairing and declassed petty bourgeois Jewish masses. The brutal equalization of Jews of all strata in the extermination camps sharpened nationalism even among Jewish workers, in the degree that international solidarity remained too weak on the part of the workers of other nations. It is up to those who find themselves in a favored position as compared with the Jewish workers to take the leadership now and bring about freedom of immigration into their countries for the survivors. This is the best way to win the Jewish workers from the Zionist utopia.

Palestinian Immigration Is No Solution

If thousands of Jews in Europe are now demanding the right to migrate to Palestine, the primary reason for this is that the doors of the rest of the world are closed to them. It is also the product of the incredible persecutions of these past years and of the relative passivity of the world proletariat.

The war caused a brief period of uneasy prosperity in Palestine, as it did in the whole Middle East, as a result of the isolation of these countries from the world market and their transformation into vast military arsenals of the Eighth Army. Wartime "prosperity" in the United States gave birth to the illusory plans of Messrs. Wallace and Company, who forecast at least "60 million jobs" for Americans; similarly, the ephemeral prosperity experienced by Palestine has been the starting point for an ambitious plan aiming to install a system similar to TVA and to make the country habitable for one and a-half to three million new inhabitants. But no sooner has the war ended than the forecasts of Leon on this subject have been verified point by point. The problem lies not in the elaboration of plans for rendering the deserts of the world

habitable, but in carrying out these projects, in bringing about such new and enormous development of productive forces under the conditions of decaying capitalism, with a world market already surfeited by permanent overproduction, with great international monopolies ready to crush every new competitor no matter where he raises his head. Within one year after the war, the "prosperous" industry of Egypt is already experiencing a relatively greater degree of unemployment than in the most industrialized countries in the world.

Every little step ahead that Palestinian economy would make while conditions on the world market are not yet normal, would be transformed into a supplementary source of economic crises. The central concrete problem for Palestinian economy in the coming years will not at all be that of "making the country able to absorb 100,000 men per year," it will be the problem of assuring a livelihood to hundreds of thousands of Palestinians who will be victims of the economic crisis. We confidently predict that despite the artificial influx of American capital, even this problem will prove insoluble.

If solution of the problem of the Jewish survivors of Europe by immigration into Palestine is impossible from the economic point of view, it is even more so from the socio-economic point of view. The forces opposing this immigration have a crushing superiority over the Palestinian Jews and over world Zionism. Consistent Zionist leaders feel this strongly themselves and precisely for this reason have entered upon the desperate road of terrorist guerrilla action.

We must re-read the prophetic paragraph in which Leon analyzes these obstacles to Zionist plans in order to understand how thoroughly events of the past months confirm what he wrote. "In Palestine, Jewish nationalism collides with Arab nationalism; economic development of the country produces the growth of the Arab population, its social differentiation, the growth of a national capitalism." Let us note that whereas the different Arab feudal parties in Palestine succeeded with great difficulty in putting their mutual differences in second place in order to unite before the Jewish "common enemy," it is the Arab bourgeoisie of Egypt, of Lebanon, of Syria, and even of Palestine which is beginning to take increasing leadership of the anti-Zionist movement and giving it unity and cohesion. Every new economic development in the Near East can only aid in the formation of an Arab bourgeoisie firmly united by common interests and make the obstacles to the creation of a Jewish state more insurmountable than ever.

The illusion of building a prosperous country in the midst of a world in decline becomes the absurd illusion of building a "Jewish state" in the midst of an Arab nation twenty times as populous and in process of reaching the same state of advancement.

In the past the Zionists counted, even during the war, upon the support of British imperialism. In reality, the latter "merely uses the Jews as a counterweight to the Arab threat, but does everything to raise difficulties for Jewish immigration." No one today can doubt the exactness of this analysis. At the moment when the position of the British empire in the Arab world—decisive link between India and the Mediterranean—is threatened at one and the same time by American imperialism and the Soviet bureaucracy, it is a matter of life and death for the City to have the Arab factor on its side. Inevitably British concessions to the Jews will tend to diminish, not to increase. Neither in the name of "justice," nor in that of "past promises," nor because of terrorist threats, will the British risk losing their control of the Suez Canal and of their last oil fields.

Disappointed by the English, the Zionist leaders are turning to the Americans, and are prepared even to throw themselves tomorrow into the arms of the Stalinist bureaucracy for a temporary support. Vain attempts. If American imperialism pretends to support the Zionist cause now, it is far less because of the electoral calculations of Truman than as a factor of the systematic penetration carried on by Americans in the Near East. Already strongly entrenched in Saudi Arabia, the oil magnates have likewise turned avid eyes on Iraq, Trans-Jordan, and the entire Arab world. They are ready and willing to gain entry there on the back of the Zionist movement. They are ready and willing to raise difficulties for the British on the Arab side by forcing them to act contrary to the interests of the native population. But their goal is not that of favoring the Zionist cause but that of competing with the British for the "friendship," that is to say the right of exploitation, of the Arabs. In a general way, the same thing may be said of the Soviet bureaucracy. The choice between 20 million Arabs and less than a million Jews is in no way doubtful. For every great power, temporary "help" to the Zionists is only a wedge for gaining entry into Palestine only to obtain the support of the Arabs at the next stage. On the international chessboard, the Zionist cause is lost in advance.

The Working Class Movement and the Palestine Question

So long as Arab society remained in a primitive state, the domination of British imperialism appeared to be safe. Here the City had a favorable arena for demonstrating its classic and clever art, the product of centuries of experience, of exploiting the differences between various royal dynasties, between various families of landed proprietors, between various religious sects and various desert tribes. Unity of the Arab world against imperialism was never realizable in pre-capitalist society.

The rapid industrialization of the Middle East and the creation of an Arab bourgeoisie have overturned the conditions of the problem. Imperialism must withdraw to new positions. The demonstrative departure of imperialist troops from Egypt and Lebanon are a clear indication of what is in process of change in this part of the world. But if the Arab bourgeoisie is able to achieve unity as against Zionism, it is far from being able to do so as regards imperialism. It finds itself in its turn suspended between British rule on one side and the rise of the young proletariat on the other. The great strikes in Egypt; the Jewish-Arab strike in Palestine, the general and insurrectional strike in Iran have clearly demonstrated to the bourgeoisie that the proletariat is threatening. Under continuously deteriorating conditions from the economic standpoint, it is not only incapable of improving the lot of the working masses but finds itself compelled to worsen them further. Rising from the miserable stupor in which he has been living for centuries, the fellah, transformed into a proletarian, has become aware of his quality as a man, and is refusing to return to the village. The terrible social crisis which is shaking the Middle East can only end in an alliance of the Arab bourgeoisie, the landed nobility and British imperialism against the threat of the people. Only the Arab proletariat will be able to unite the popular masses of the six countries around itself in order to launch the assault against the imperialist position. Only the Arab proletariat can successfully conduct the struggle for complete and immediate independence of the Arab world.

This consequently indicates the immediate duty of the Palestinian workers' movement: to integrate itself in the overall

workers' movement of the Middle East against British imperialism. An obstacle on the road to unity of the Jewish and Arab proletariat, Zionism at the same time bars the road to this integration, and prevents the concentration of all Palestinian working class forces around the slogans: *Immediate and complete independence for Palestine! Immediate withdrawal of all British troops! Election of a Constituent Assembly by direct and secret vote!* All intermediate formulae, such as the "bi-national state," represent at bottom only the refusal to give up a nationalist position in favor of the general interests of the proletariat and will rebound directly against their authors.

Only a position by the vanguard of the Jewish workers calling for Palestine independence will allow it in the next stage to pose the question of Jewish immigration to the Arab workers in a sovereign Palestinian Assembly. Only the Arab masses, once they are freed from the imperialist yoke, will have the right to decide whether or not they are opposed to the immigration of Jewish workers. But the division of the Palestinian working class movement along nationalist lines can only act to stimulate opposition by the Arab masses to this immigration. The Jewish workers of Palestine must be forewarned! If they do not integrate themselves into the workers' movement of the Middle East in time, the unity of the Arab world against imperialism may take place over their heads, with the complete destruction of their position. Caught between the Arab hammer and the British anvil, Palestinian Jewry heads for certain ruin if the Jewish proletariat does not take its class road.

The Threat of the Future

Exterminated in Europe, mortally threatened in Palestine, the Jewry survives in fact only in the United States and the USSR. But even in these two remaining centers, a dark future looms. The massive integration of Jewish petty artisans and businessmen in Russia since the period of the First Five-Year Plan into the lower layers of the bureaucracy exposes them particularly to the hatred of backward layers of the proletariat and peasantry. The rising tide of anti-Semitism in the USSR and the episodic utilization that Stalin made of it in his fight against the Left Opposition have been sufficiently described so as not to require repetition. They were tragically verified at the time of the Nazi invasion into the Western Ukraine where veritable massacres of the Jewish population took place even before the SS "resolved" the Jewish question in their own fashion.

The conglomeration of well-to-do peasants and high bureaucratic layers (which include only a tiny minority of Jews), constituting together the nucleus of an eventual exploitive class in the USSR, will unavoidably exploit to the hilt a renewal of anti-Semitic moods in a civil war or an open struggle against the regime.

Like all the other reactionary forces which Stalin has recalled to life, anti-Semitism will rebound violently against himself. Galvanized by the hatred of the new candidates for exploitation, confronted by the "Jewish authors" of the October Revolution, stirred by a new fanatical religious mysticism, this anti-Semitism may well sweep away the whole Jewish population of Western Russia at the moment when the regime begins to crumble under the combined blows of imperialism and the internal enemy. One can predict with certainty that a breakdown of the Soviet regime will take place over the corpses of Russian Jewry.

In American post-war society the gigantic forces—15 mil-

lions of organized workers on the one side and the greatest capitalist power in the world, Wall Street, on the other—are testing their strength in constant skirmishes that are preludes to the class war which will ultimately decide the fate of humanity. As soon as the working class passes over to organized political activity, the necessity of mobilizing the backward and petty bourgeois strata of the country against the politicalized proletariat will become a life-and-death question for the American bourgeoisie. Heir to the “liberal” and “humanitarian” spirit of Jefferson and Lincoln, it will not, however, hesitate for a moment to set up its shock troops by exploiting the basest instincts, the mainsprings of the most debased racism and obscurantism that still slumber in American society. The potential presence of these forces is adequately shown by such movements as the Ku Klux Klan, the organization of Father Coughlin and that of Gerald L. K. Smith.

In “society,” in the polite meaning of the word as well as within the 60 Families, the anti-Semitic spirit is already very powerful. It is practically impossible for a Jew to get into certain “stylish” universities, to belong to certain clubs or to get a job in certain business and banking houses. Among the lower layers of the petty and middle bourgeoisie, who will on the morrow furnish the most dangerous contingents of American fascism, this sentiment is far less defined, but it developed enormously in the Army as well as within the country itself during the war. American Jews are established in certain well-defined branches whether it be as artisans, businessmen, intellectuals or workers. A violent social crisis, by sharpening competition and increasing unemployment in these branches, would make the militant anti-Semitism of these layers into a terrible potential force which would require only a political party to transform it into a crushing dynamic force.

Let it not be said that “the Americans will never go as far as the Nazis.” Even a timid semi-liberal like Sinclair Lewis understands “that it can happen here.” Ruling social classes pushed to the wall, and classes as rich and cynical as the American bourgeoisie, will stop at no infamy or cruelty in order to continue their rule, even if only for a few years.

Let one read the hundreds of published reports on the “systematic education in cruelty” of American soldiers to the Japanese, which so closely resembles the attitude of the German SS to the Jews; let one study concretely the degeneracy and cruelty—reaching unsuspected depths—of certain American occupation troops in Germany and Japan, and he will conclude “that not only is it possible but probable” that an American fascist movement will excel in technical perfection in the exploitation of anti-Semitism.

If the next decade does not witness the proletarian revolution in the United States, it will prepare hecatombs for American Jewry which will surpass Auschwitz and Maidanek in horror.

The Jewish Question Can Be Resolved Only as Part of the Solution of the World Crisis

These perspectives may appear too somber, too frightening. They pose as a possibility the complete extermination of the Jewish people in the next decade or two. But what Auschwitz and Maidanek mean for the Jews, the atomic bomb signifies for all humanity. The perspective of the disappearance of the Jews from the earth is part of the perspective of the destruction of the human species.

But if the Jewish tragedy is only the symbol and to a cer-

tain measure the “mirror of the future” for humanity, the only way out which still remains open to humanity is at the same time the solution of the Jewish question. The somber possibility outlined above is only one of the alternatives posed before humanity. It presupposes a previous defeat of the world proletariat and above all of its most powerful army, the American working class. The class struggles in all the countries of the world, which will decide the fate of humanity in the next decade, will at the same time, decide to one degree or another the fate of each people in particular.

The peculiarities of Jewish history have only determined a special subordination of the future of this people to the outcome of the unfolding social struggles. Fundamentally, however, they do not make the destiny of the Jews any more dependent on a victory or defeat of the proletariat than is the case with the people of Russia or of China.

It is unnecessary for us to introduce any changes in the solution of the Jewish question as A. Leon has outlined it in the conclusion of his work. That capitalism will first pass through a period during which the Jews will go through a process of assimilation and of “national-cultural renaissance”—this perspective no longer constitutes a subject for discussion save among incurable dreamers who will continue to discuss such subjects as the sex of angels on the very eve of their being reduced to atomic dust. The problems which are posed before the Jewry, like those which are posed before humanity, demand such radical solutions and are so urgent that no one dares any longer to seek refuge behind a propaganda for temporary palliatives. But all those who still continue to call revolutionists illusory thinkers will find, if they have not already done so, that there is no illusion worse than an expectation of viable solutions from a regime which is no longer able to introduce improvements in anything except machines for death.

The ordeals through which humanity has just passed have stultified many minds and paralyzed many wills. The petty bourgeoisie and especially the intellectuals have been the most affected. Those who were in the habit of thinking of the world as “rational” are themselves losing their reason in face of such irrational decay. But it is not these sceptics who will determine the fate of humanity. The will to struggle of the working masses of the entire world has already affirmed itself more mightily than ever during the year which has followed the end of hostilities. It is upon this will to struggle of the proletariat that the vanguard must fix its hopes and growth.

As the most sorely wounded, the Jews have especially allowed themselves to be carried away by the psychosis of despair and demoralization, which has been further sharpened by the specific social structure of this people. But in a few years, the immediate effects of the nightmare will disappear. The collapse of Palestinian hopes will become obvious. Whereas for the moment there exist only negative poles which repel each other, by that time the positive pole, that of the international revolutionary proletariat, will have already confirmed its attractive force with striking victories. Since we have no reason to doubt the fate of humanity, let us also not doubt that the Jewish working masses, after passing through a series of disappointing experiences, will recognize that their future is indissolubly linked with that of the proletariat and the revolutionary movement, and that they will again, as in the past, take an important place in this movement, and will owe their final emancipation to a devoted struggle for the cause of socialism.

July 1, 1946.

Some Features of Capitalist Economy in the Colonies

By T. CLIFF

In his book, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, Lenin analyses the economy of the most developed countries. It will be of interest to investigate to what degree those elements, which Lenin defined as characteristic of capitalism in its highest stage, exist in the industrial and banking system of the colonies. It will also be interesting to see what the dissimilarities are, and how the different elements—those the colonies have in common with the highly developed countries, and those in which they are different—are combined. This analysis will perhaps help us to throw some light on a very important aspect of the law of uneven and combined development.

As an example, we shall take Egyptian economy, which is typical.

Lenin gives the following characteristics of the economy of the developed capitalist countries in the period of imperialism:

a) "The concentration of production and capital, developed to such a high stage that it has created monopolies which play a decisive role in economic life."

b) "The merging of bank capital with industrial capital and the creation, on the basis of the 'finance capital,' of a financial oligarchy."

c) Finance capital fuses with the State.

d) The export of capital becomes of particularly great importance.

Let us see to what extent these features exist in Egyptian economy.

Monopolies in Egyptian Industry

Owing to the paucity of statistics it is impossible to calculate the degree of concentration of industry according to the value of its product, number of workers or motor power. The only calculation that can be made, and then not very accurately, is that of the concentration of capital in industry. Although not exact, it throws a clear light on the degree of concentration of Egyptian industry.

There are no figures of the total quantity of capital in the enterprises of different sizes, except for the 250 largest, but there are data of the number of enterprises sorted according to the quantity of capital invested in them. We have made use of these figures, taking the maximum figures for the capital of the small enterprises (thus, for instance, if 3089 enterprises have £50-99 per enterprise, we have assumed that altogether they have $3089 \times £100$). This method of calculation does not overestimate the concentration of capital in industry, but on the contrary, underestimates it:

	No. of Enterprises	Per cent of all Enterprises	Amount of Capital in English Pounds	Per cent of Total Capital
Enterprises with capital up to £500 ..	89,194	96.9	5,300,000	3.9
Enterprises with capital from £500-2000	2,014	2.2	2,600,000	2.0
The 250 largest enterprises	250	0.27	125,800,000	92.0

Thus beside 91,208 petty enterprises there are 250 with an average capital of half a million pounds each. These figures show that in Egypt the concentration of capital is relatively much higher than in the most highly developed capitalist countries for which Lenin gives figures.

Going hand in hand with the concentration of capital, the centralization of ownership is also very great. This can to some extent be measured by taking the data of the centralization of directorships. The following figures include only those people who have five or more directorships (1943):

	No. of People	Total No. of Directorships In Their Hands
5-9 directorships	43	278
10-14 "	14	158
15 and more "	9	185
Total	66	621

But we must take into account that there are many families a number of whose members are directors. As there was no other way of making the following calculation, a list was made of all the directors' families based on the surname and address, and a table made of the concentration of directorships according to this list. Actually, according to names and addresses of directors alone, it is very difficult to decide the family ties, as there are many members of one family who have different names and addresses. It must therefore be understood that in actuality the concentration of directors is much greater than the table shows (1943):

	No. of Families	Total No. of Directorships In Their Hands
5-9 directorships	50	325
10-14 "	13	146
15 and more "	15	342
Total	78	813

Thus, of a total number of directorships of 1,620 in 441 companies, 621 are concentrated in the hands of 66 people, and at least 813 (actually many more) in the hands of 78 families.

It is evident that this high degree of centralization and concentration of capital is a strong basis for the organization of industry into big monopolies.

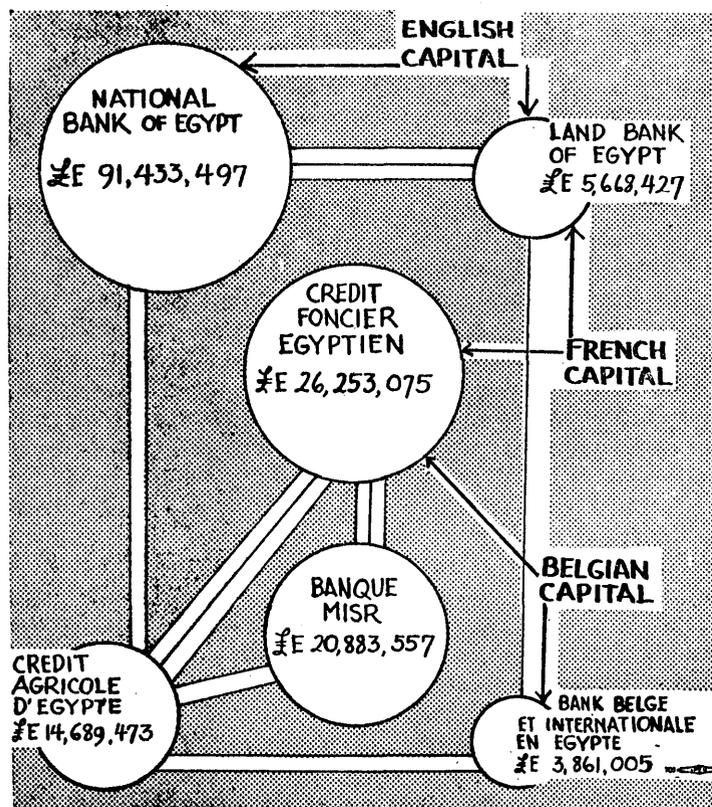
Finance Capital

There are only six important banks active in Egypt. These banks in 1942 together had assets amounting to £E162,200,000, while the assets of all the other banks did not go above £E10,000,000. Thus the concentration of the banking system in Egypt is much higher than the figures Lenin gives, for the concentration of banking capital in the highly developed countries.

Many arteries connect these banks with one another: the participation of one bank in the capital of another, the purchase or interchange of shares, the giving of credit by one to the other, etc. Unfortunately, statistical material is much too scarce for us to be able to show the degree of intertwining of the six banks. We shall be compelled to suffice with illustrating

the connections between them through the directorships. In the following illustration every circle signifies the assets of the banks, and every line connecting them signifies a director sitting on the boards of both banks.

Assets of the Six Big Banks in Egypt and the Connections Between Them Through Common Directorships



To what degree this banking system has control over the financial operations of the economy as a whole, to what degree banking capital merges with industrial capital, will become clear from data showing the number of directorships concentrated in the hands of the directors of the above banks. The above banks control through their directors (1943):

98.6 per cent of the Egyptian banking assets. x

88.6	“	“	assets of the light, water and power companies.
92.4	“	“	“ “ transport companies. xx
100	“	“	“ “ insurance companies.
52.0	“	“	“ “ industrial enterprises. xxx
81.8	“	“	“ “ hotel companies.
71.6	“	“	“ “ land companies. xxxx
63.0	“	“	“ “ commercial companies.

x This is besides the Ottoman Bank, Barclays Bank, and a few other banks, e.g. Banco di Roma, whose centers are not in Egypt but which are active in the country.

xx There is also the Suez Canal Co. which is practically 100 per cent in the hands of foreign capital.

xxx If we added to the assets of the industrial companies on whose boards of directors there is somebody from the board of the six banks, the assets of the Shell group, the Eastern Co.—the daughter company of the British-American Tobacco Co.—and a few other big foreign companies, the percentage would amount to 92.7. Thus only 7.3 per cent of all the assets of industry do not belong to big foreign monopolist companies, or are not under direct control (through the boards of directors) of the six big banks.

xxxx There are eight big foreign land companies connected through directors to the six big banks. Their assets make up 19.7 per cent of all the land companies. Thus all the assets of all remaining land companies come to only 9.7 per cent of the assets of all land companies.

The Merging of Finance Capital with the State

The industrial capitalist of the Eighteenth and first half of the Nineteenth centuries was liberal. He did not want the intervention of the state in economic life except in the interests of the protection of private capitalist property from “anarchy.” By liberty he meant his defense from the arbitrariness of the state bureaucracy and the nobility. The capitalist magnate of the Twentieth Century has no cause to fear the state bureaucracy. His strength is sufficient for him to negotiate with the ministers as the representative of a power on an equal footing with the state. And not only this; he even desires the state’s increasing intervention in foreign affairs—by a policy of imperialist expansion, wars, etc.—and also in domestic affairs—having a “strong hand” against the proletariat. If during the period of industrial capital, therefore, no close connection existed between the bureaucracy of the capitalist state and the individual capitalist, now, in the period of imperialism, finance capital grows into the state. In face of the close connection between the different enterprises in Egypt and the high degree of merging of industrial with banking capital, it is readily understood that the relation of the big capitalists to the state is not like the relation of the bourgeoisie toward the state in the Europe of the Eighteenth and first half of the Nineteenth centuries, but rather like that of the bourgeoisie in the developed capitalist states of the Twentieth Century. The dependence of the state on an imperialist power increases even more the tendency of the growing of finance capital into the state.

This tendency is revealed in many forms—the dependence of the state finances on the subscription of its securities by the big banks, the dependence of industry on government orders and subventions and on the customs policy, etc. It takes on its most open form in the personal ties between the directorships of the different companies and the bureaucracy of the state.

Thus among the 696 directors of all the companies holding 1,620 directorships, there were (1943):

	No. of People	No. of Directorships
Former Prime Ministers	3	34
Former Ministers	25	95
Senators	20	111
Members of the Chamber of Deputies ..	9	28
High Officials	14	36
Total	71	304

The Features of Colonial Economy Which Differentiate It from the Highly Developed Countries

There are two features of colonial economy which differentiate it from the highly developed countries:

1) The banking and industrial system in the colonies is mainly dependent on foreign, imperialist finance capital.

2) This banking and industrial system, which is ultra-modern, is based on an agrarian, feudal economy, from which it draws its strength and weaknesses alike, increasing the contradictions within both.

We shall not dwell on the first point which is self-evident, but shall deal with the second.

The banks have strong, direct connections with agriculture.

According to one calculation, of all the paid-up capital of the different companies whose main investments are in Egypt, about 43.4 per cent belongs to mortgage companies, and 6.6 per cent to agricultural and urban land companies. These investments are made either directly in big plantations (as, for instance, in Kom Ombo Co., which employs 35,000 workers) or—and this in the main—in loans to large landowners. They are a strong bond connecting the banking system with feudal property relations. The banks will lose all their investments if feudal property relations are overthrown. The imposition of this tremendous banking system on the feudal agrarian economy is thus a great brake on the development of the productive forces in agriculture. The millions upon millions of pounds that stream every year out of agriculture, retard the accumulation of capital in agriculture, and thus conserve the outworn mode of production, while worsening the position of the masses of producers (agricultural workers and tenants). Because of the connections between the different banks, and between them and industry, the direct connections between the banks and the feudal estates strongly link together modern industry and the feudal property relations. This connection is strengthened by the fact that many big industrialists are at the same time large feudal landowners.

Banking and Industry and the Feudal and Semi-Feudal Agrarian Relations

There are other indirect, but not less important, links between feudal property relations and Egyptian industry.

The young industry of Egypt could not compete with the industries of the metropolitan countries, could not accumulate sufficient quantities of capital, except by the purchase of cheap labor power and raw materials, which means the harsh exploitation of the workers and peasants. This is made possible for them by the existence of feudalism which keeps the standard of life of the masses of agricultural toilers—the reserve army of industry—very low. Only the low wages can explain the fact that while the productivity of labor in Egyptian industry is lower than in the developed countries (in US industry the industrial gross output per worker was £1,434 in 1937, in Egypt it was only £309 in 1941) the organic composition of capital (the relation between the capital invested in machines, buildings and raw materials, and that invested in labor power), the rate of exploitation and the rate of profit, are much higher even than in US industry.

Comparing the organic composition of capital in Egyptian industry in 1942 (calculated from a census undertaken by the Egyptian Federation of Industry, which encompassed about half the industrial undertakings of its members) with that of USA in 1929 (from L. Corey, *The Decline of American Capitalism*, pp. 114-123), we find:

	Total Capital	Annual Output	Wages as	
			Annual Wage Bill	Wages as Per cent of Capital of Output
USA	52,694 million dollars	47,110 million dollars	11,621 million dollars	22.1 24.7
Egypt	£E125,820,000	£E39,000,000	£E 5,213,000	4.2 13.4

Thus the portion of wages in the total industrial capital is five times smaller in Egypt than USA. But in order not to commit an error, it must be remembered first that the figures for the USA include all the manufacturing enterprises, while those for Egypt include only the large ones, and secondly it is not at all certain that the figures relating to the investment of capital in Egyptian industry are not very much exaggerated. In any case, even if we take these two considerations into account, we

see that the organic composition of big Egyptian industry reaches or even surpasses that in the USA.

Generally a higher composition of capital goes hand in hand with a high productivity of labor. How then, can the facts be reconciled that in Egypt the composition of capital is not lower than in the USA, but at the same time the gross product per worker is 4.6 times smaller than that in the USA? This is explained first by the low educational level, and consequent low skill, of the workers, and secondly, and this is the most important reason, by the low wages. (The wage of the Egyptian industrial worker is about a ninth of that of his American fellow.) If the wage of the Egyptian worker had been equal to that of the American, it would then have constituted 37.8 per cent of the total capital, as against 22.1 per cent in the USA. Low wages are thus the lever by which Egyptian industry reaches and overreaches the high organic composition of capital in US industry.

Low wages, together with modern technique, explain the very high rate of exploitation. According to one calculation the average net income of industry in 1922 was £E120 per man occupied in industry. And seeing that the wages of the workers and officials only came to £E30-40 on an average for the year, we may assume that every worker produced an average surplus value of £E80-90, which gives a rate of exploitation of 200-300 per cent. If we leave out of account the primitive handicrafts and consider the technical advance which took place in industry in the last twenty years, and which was not accompanied by any noticeable rise in the wage rate, we shall easily arrive at the conclusion that the rate of surplus value in Egypt reaches 300-400 per cent, while in the USA, for instance, it was 155 per cent in 1929 (Corey, *ibid.* p. 83).

The Rate of Profit in Industry

From the above we can pass over to a calculation of the rate of profit in Egyptian industry. As there are no statistical data for the rate of profit in industry as a whole, our calculation will perforce have to be based on the conclusions we have drawn above. Seeing that in the industries encompassed by the above-mentioned census, wages make up 4.2 percent of all capital, and that the rate of exploitation amounts to 300-400 per cent, the rate of profit is 12-17 per cent. As against this rate of profit of 12-17 per cent, the rate of profit in American industry in 1929—the peak year of the prosperity—was 7.5 per cent (Corey, *ibid.* p. 123).

We should come to a similar conclusion if we adopted another method of calculation. In the article "Company Profits in Egypt 1929-1939" (*L'Egypte Contemporaine*, 1941) a calculation is given of the net profit in 21 important industrial companies. The net profit in 1929-41 was £E13,141,000, while the capital was £E7,721,000. This means that the average rate of profit was 13.8 per cent.

Of course during the war the rate of profit increased to a great extent, and it is clear that it is at least double that in the highly developed capitalist countries.

Imperialism and Feudalism an Impediment on the Development of Industry

The fact that banking and industry draw their sustenance from the feudal agrarian relations, while at the same time preserving them, does not keep them from coming into conflict with these relations; for the purchasing power of the masses is limited by them, and thus also the possibilities of industrial develop-

ment.* We must not be astonished, therefore, to find that while the productivity of labor in Egyptian industry, as we have already said, is much lower than in the US, and the percentage of the population employed in industry is very low (6.4 per cent), the local market was nearly saturated by local industrial products even before the war. According to a reliable calculation the consumption of industrial products in Egypt was nearly £E90 millions per annum. The production of local industry was £E65-70 millions. Thus, already then, local industry satisfied nearly three-quarters of the industrial consumption of the country. Since that time Egyptian industry has made big strides forward.

While the buying of industrial products by the masses of people is limited by the low purchasing power that their small incomes afford them, the buying of industrial products by the wealthy is limited first because of the fact that a part of them are foreign capitalists living in and buying the products of other countries, and secondly because of the fundamental law of capitalist accumulation—the tendency of the capitalist to increase his savings as against his consumption.

Egyptian industry's necessity of extending its markets can therefore not be fulfilled except by raising the purchasing power of the masses in city and country, which means the emancipation of the fellaheen from their feudal burdens, and the abolition of the monopolistic position of foreign capital in the national economy. In the conditions of Egypt, to raise the wages of the industrial workers, however, means to cut into profits, which goes against the grain of the "national" bourgeoisie; the same reason dictates their opposition to the overthrow of feudalism and imperialism.

That feudalism and imperialism, together with the monopolistic organization of industry and banking with which they are linked, become a greater and greater impediment on the development of the productive forces is shown by the fact that today, when such a small percentage of the population is occupied in industry, the phenomenon of a surplus of capital is already evident. This receives expression in the big loans which the colonies gave to Britain during World War II. The capitalists of Egypt, both local and foreign, loaned a sum of £400 million to Britain, nearly double the total British investment in Egypt. These £400 millions are basically different from the more than £200 million that the British invested in Egypt.

While the British investment built railways, irrigation schemes, industries, etc., the Egyptian loan to Britain served in the main to finance war expenditures in Egypt. The former came mainly as a result of the fact that the rate of profit in Egypt is higher than in Britain; the latter gives a very low rate of interest—for we must not forget that Britain is the ruler and Egypt the ruled. But despite the differences between the export of capital from Britain, and its "export" from Egypt, we must

keep in mind their common characteristics: In the same way as the surplus of capital in the most developed countries shows that capitalism is becoming a greater and greater impediment on the development of their productive powers, so the fact that Egypt and other colonies gave such tremendous loans, shows the same as regards the economies of these countries. After what we have said above, it should be clear that if these £400 million were tomorrow converted into industrial equipment and imported into Egypt, the scope of industry in Egypt would be more than trebled. The absorption of such a vast sum would demand either a revolution in the mode of production in agriculture or the raising of the standard of life of the masses in the town. Such changes, however, cannot be realized under the existing regime. (In all probability, therefore, the next world crisis will see a decline in the number of workers, not only in the metropolitan countries, but also in the colonies.)

Thus the surplus of capital, which is characteristic of decaying, agonizing capitalism, becomes one of the important features of capitalism in the colonies.

Some Conclusions

With the establishment of the tremendous monopolies, the socialization of production reaches a very high stage. At the same time, achieving its peak of development, is the banking system, which, according to Marx, "presents indeed the form of universal bookkeeping and distribution of the means of production on a social scale, but only the form." The content of the activity of the monopolies and banks is not social, but individual—subordinated to the interests of a tiny minority. And there is a sharp contradiction between the form and the content. The existence of highly social production signifies the maturity of the material basis for socialism; individual appropriation signifies the oppressive, reactionary character of capitalism. As Lenin so well explained, the fact that free competition gave way to monopolies, and that banking capital is merged with industrial capital, proves that capitalism in the developed countries is ripe for the socialist revolution.

The fact that the industrial and banking system in the colonies is built on the same pattern as that of the most developed countries, proves that capitalism in the colonies, too, is ripe for the socialist revolution. Not only is world economy in its entirety ripe for socialism, but the most important colonies (e.g. Egypt, India, China) are ripe for the socialist revolution *in themselves*. (Nor does the fact that only a small minority of the population of the colonial countries is employed in industry, while the great majority toil in the feudal agricultural economy, refute the fact that the colonies are ripe for the socialist revolution. On the contrary, a combination of ultra-modern industry and banking with a backward, feudal agriculture, brings the class antagonisms in the society as a whole to extreme limits.)

The above does not contradict the fact that there is a struggle between the colonial bourgeoisie and imperialism over the division of the surplus value. Only it is clear from the above that there are very limited boundaries to this struggle; these being the economic connections of the "national" bourgeoisie with imperialism and feudalism, and—of greater weight—its fear of the uprising of the masses.

The analysis of the fundamental features of capitalism in the colonies brings new confirmation of the theory of the permanent revolution, of the unbroken link connecting the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and anti-capitalist struggle for national independence and social revolution.

*This will become clear from a calculation made by W. Cleland in an article "Egypt's Population Problem" which appeared in *L'Egypte Contemporaine*, Cairo, 1937:

Manufactured Goods Annually Consumed in a Fellaah's Household of Five

	£E	£E
Clothing	from 2.870	to 5.040
Bedding, blankets	" 1.000	" 1.250
Other items of consumption	" 1.060	" 1.240
Total	" 4.930	" 7.530
Average	£E6.230, and per capita, £E1.250	

From the Arsenal of Marxism

Documentary History of the Fourth International

By LEON TROTSKY

The first dispute over the Russian question, prior to the international consolidation of the Left Opposition, the forerunner of the Fourth International, occurred in 1929-30 and involved the German oppositional group, the Leninbund. Trotsky's main programmatic document in this dispute, the polemic against Urbahns, leader of the Leninbund, was published in our issues October and December 1946 and February and March 1947.

This struggle lasted for a period of five to six months and led to the calling by the Leninbund leadership of a plenum, February 23, 1930, at which Urbahns and his followers expelled from their organization all those who held the position of the Russian and International Opposition.

Trotsky's open letter to the Leninbund membership, which numbered between 400-500 at that time, was written about two weeks before this plenum.

For previous documentation the reader is referred to the other articles in this series which began in May 1946.—Ed.

* * *

An Open Letter to All Members of the Leninbund

Esteemed Comrades!

From the circular letter issued by the Leninbund leadership on January 29, 1930, it is clear that the Leninbund Conference scheduled for February 23 has as its aim to sanction the split, by the expulsion of the Marxist Opposition. The leadership of the Leninbund itself has defined the purpose of the Conference in this way.

I leave completely aside personal and organizational recriminations and charges. Naturally, they have a certain importance in the life of an organization but the question of unity or split is not decided by them but by principled differences, theoretical and political. The unity of an organization does not remain inviolate always and under all circumstances. In cases where differences have become very deep going, a split may prove to be the only way out of the situation. But care must be taken that this be an honest split, that is, that the split occur along the line of actual principled differences, and that this line be clear to all the members of the organization.

From this point of view, I am compelled to say that the circular letters of the Leninbund leadership dated January 20 and January 29 not only prepare for a split, but do so in a most dangerous and pernicious manner, by placing in the forefront various squabbles and distorting the principled differences by means of false information. I shall try to prove this.

Has the Urbahns Faction Any Co-thinkers?

The basic difference occurs over the class character of the Soviet Union. This question is not national but international. No revolutionary organization exists or can exist without arriving at a decision on this question and without drawing all the necessary "internal" conclusions from it. It is impossible to have a correct national policy without solving this international question.

The Leninbund leadership asserts in its circular letter that Urbahns' standpoint on the "class character of Soviet Russia" is supposedly shared by the following organizations: "the majority of the Belgian opposition, the Trent group and the *Contre le Courant* group in France, the Czech group and a large section of the American group."

This false assertion is calculated to take advantage of the lack of information among the Leninbund membership and is designed to grossly mislead them. Every local body of the Leninbund can verify this point by merely writing to all the above-named groups.

The leadership of the Belgian Opposition has published several erroneous articles on the question of the Chinese-Eastern railway. But it has emphatically differentiated itself from the Leninbund leadership on the question of the *class character of the Soviet Union*. This justifies us in regarding the mistake of the Brussels comrades as partial and episodic. Such mistakes are unavoidable in practice. To split over partial mistakes would be criminal. A split becomes unavoidable when partial deviations take shape as a false principled position. On the question of the class character of the Soviet Union there exists an irreconcilable difference between the Leninbund leadership and the leadership of the Belgian Opposition. Communicate with Brussels, comrades, and verify it for yourselves!

Two small French groups—Trent and *Contre le Courant*—have hitherto held, at least formally, the viewpoint of the Russian Opposition on the fundamental questions. I am unacquainted with a single document in which they solidarize themselves with Urbahns on the question of the class character of the Soviet Union. Have they perhaps changed their views recently? I do not know. In any case you would render a great service not only to yourselves but also to the Trent and Paz groups by requesting their views on the class character of the Soviet Union as of February 1930.

The designation "*Czech group*" in the circular apparently refers to a small group of Prague students who, so far as I know, have no connection whatsoever with the working class movement. This group issues no publication. Judging from its physiognomy I would grant that this group does actually share the point of view of Urbahns.

But the assertion in the circular concerning the American Opposition is a sheer invention. As is clear from its weekly *The Militant*, which is one of the best Communist publications, the Communist League of America has nothing in common with the point of view of Urbahns.

Therefore so far as the basic question in the dispute is concerned, the Leninbund leadership, if we leave aside the small group of Prague students, is completely isolated. Nor is this surprising! Developing and deepening his mistake, Urbahns in his latest articles has put forward a new theory of the state which in general has nothing in common with Marxist theory.

and which differs only verbally from an idealistic and democratic theory of the state.

Do Not Forget the International Opposition!

Both circular letters try to picture the situation inside the Opposition in the following manner: "Those who do not share the opinions of Comrade Trotsky do not belong to the Leninist Opposition." This unworthy subterfuge is employed in order to cover up the isolation of the Leninbund leadership. And, indeed, why does Urbahns speak of "Comrade Trotsky's opinions"? The Russian Opposition has a platform in the elaboration of which hundreds of comrades participated directly and in the struggle for which thousands of comrades were subjected to expulsions, arrests, deportations—and even execution squads. In view of this, to speak of the personal opinions of Comrade Trotsky is to evince a revolting disregard and disrespect toward the struggle of the Russian Opposition.

The Leninbund leadership in addition stubbornly ignores the *Verite* group in France which publishes a political weekly and a monthly theoretical journal, *La Lutte des Classes*. Only a blind man could fail to understand that this group has become the axis around which the genuine Communist Left Opposition in France is becoming united.

The Communist League of America represents one of the best sections of the Opposition and it is growing. The Leninbund leadership ignores it. There cannot be the slightest doubt that the Belgian Opposition as a whole, despite the differences that have arisen in its midst, will not hesitate for a moment in choosing between the International Opposition and the Urbahns group. The Leninbund leadership shuts its eyes to facts and consoles itself and others with vain hopes.

All the three groups of the Austrian Opposition have a sharp negative attitude toward the platform of the Leninbund and especially toward its views on the class character of the Soviet state.

The Czech Left Opposition (Comrade Lenorovich's group), which carries on activity among workers and is about to start issuing a newspaper, shares the viewpoint of the International Opposition on all fundamental questions.

The Chinese Opposition is no less irreconcilably opposed to the views of Urbahns.

Finally, the Leninbund leadership has no grounds whatever for expecting support from the Opposition in Italy, Spain, Hungary and elsewhere.

This is the actual state of affairs: On the one side there stands the International Opposition and on the other—the purely national group of Urbahns.

Urbahns' Bloc with Treint and Paz

If the Leninbund leadership is nevertheless able to lean for support on some foreign groups, it is only—and only up to a certain point—on the groups of Treint and Paz. But have they reached a principled agreement on any single question? Let them tell us openly.

Urbahns is in favor of an *independent party*. This is his principal idea. Up till now Treint and Paz have been against this. Have they arrived at an agreement? And on precisely what points?

Urbahns has once again put up his "independent" candidates in the municipal elections against the candidates of the

Communist Party. With what results? The Leninbund has been further weakened. This suicidal policy flows from Urbahns from his idea of creating a second party. Are Treint and Paz in agreement with him? Let them declare themselves. Or perhaps these internationalists are not concerned with German affairs.

And how do matters stand with the trade union question? Paz is for the "autonomy" of the trade unions but, in contrast to Monatte, he does not deny the need for a Communist party. This is an old Jauresist position—diplomatic and opportunist to the core—a position which Marxists have always attacked and will continue to attack mercilessly. Does Urbahns adhere to the principal of trade union "autonomy," in this Jauresist sense? Or does Urbahns perhaps think that French affairs are none of his business?

On the other hand, do Treint and Paz associate themselves with the blocs between Urbahns and the Brandlerites inside the trade unions against the [German] Communist Party? Or do Treint and Paz consider that Hamburg is none of their business?

What is Urbahns' attitude toward the touching romance between Paz and the national-"communists" in Alsace? Or has Urbahns lost interest in Alsace after its cession to France?

But on what point did these three groups nevertheless succeed in arriving at an agreement? They are agreed only on the struggle against the Russian Opposition. They have all condemned Rakovsky's declaration. They are far too revolutionary for such a "compromise." How could it be otherwise! They recognize the policy of the united front with the Social Democracy, with the reformist trade unions, with the Brandlerites, with the Alsatian nationalists. But when it comes to the official Communist parties they consider the policy of the united front impermissible. And yet the fact is that if we examine Rakovsky's declaration not demagogically but politically, we see that it represents nothing else than the *application by the Opposition of a united front policy toward the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*.

Urbahns' position on this question is explained by his orientation toward a second party. But how are we to explain the position of Treint and Paz? There is no explanation, except muddle-headedness and lack of principles.

In a word, everywhere and throughout, we have only reticences, diplomacy, ambiguities and equivocations. The new allies do not dare to approach a single question seriously lest they overthrow their fresh alliance, built on sand. This is intellectual adventurism. It has never been successful, and never will be.

The International Unification of the Opposition Is Indispensable

Several months ago the Leninbund leadership expelled from its ranks Comrades Grylewicz and Jokko who defended the views of the International Opposition. Thereby the Urbahns group had already in essence demonstrated that it refuses to work side by side with the International Opposition. For it is clear that we cannot permit two sets of opinions—one set for our own personal use and the other, for public consumption. Such two-facedness has always characterized opportunists, in particular the Brandlerites. Their "internationalism" represents, as everybody knows, an arithmetical sum of national opportunist policies. With this we have nothing in common. Our international orientation and our national policy are indissolubly bound together.

From its very first steps the Opposition must therefore act as an international faction—as did the Communists in the days of the publication of the *Communist Manifesto*, or in the days of the First International, or of the Zimmerwald Left at the beginning of the war. In all these cases the groups were for the most part small numerically or it was question of isolated individuals; but they nevertheless acted as an international organization. In the epoch of imperialism such a position is a hundred times more imperative than in the days of Marx.

Those who believe that the International Left will someday take shape as a simple sum of national groups and that therefore the international unification can be postponed indefinitely until the national groups “grow strong”—attribute only a secondary importance to the international factor and by this very reason take the path of national opportunism.

It is undeniable that each country has greatest peculiarities of its own; but in our epoch these peculiarities can be assayed and exploited in a revolutionary way only from an internationalist point of view. On the other hand, only an international organization can be the bearer of an international ideology.

Can any one seriously believe that isolated Oppositional national groups, divided among themselves and left to their own resources are capable of finding the correct road by themselves? No, this is a certain path to national degeneration, sectarianism and ruin. The tasks facing the International Opposition are enormously difficult. Only by being indissolubly tied together, only by working out jointly answers to all current problems, only by creating their international platform, only by mutually verifying each one of their steps, that is, only by uniting in a single international body, will the national groups of the Opposition be able to carry out their historical task.

This applies to all groups without exception, and above all to the Russian Opposition. Large circles of the Russian Opposition were scourged last year by an epidemic of capitulations precisely and exclusively because they were cut off from the Opposition in other countries, were unable to follow the life of the Communist International as a whole, were unable to think about its tasks and for this reason permitted themselves to be easily deceived by the left zigzag of the Stalinists on the internal questions of the USSR.

The Left Opposition has already lost enough time. The disastrous evolution of the Leninbund, the mistakes of some national groups, the inability to make headway and the stagnation of other national groups are due to a large and, it may be said, decisive degree to national isolation and to handicraft methods of political activity. If the Communist Left Opposition does not wish to come to an inglorious end, it must reject all dilatory moods and firmly consolidate its international ranks.

True and False Internationalism

The Brandlerites boast that they are not in agreement with a single one of the Russian groups. What does this mean? A revolutionary organization which is not in agreement with any of the existing Russian groups, is thereby obligated to create a new Russian group which would carry out a correct line in the Soviet Union. Otherwise, it would simply have to proclaim itself “neutral” towards the October Revolution. The same thing applies to every other country. Communism can only be international, or it ceases to be Communism.

But what is the stand of the Leninbund leadership on this

question? Is it in agreement with any of the Russian factions? We are not discussing, of course, any mechanical monolithicism, but agreement on the fundamental questions. On this point we have no information whatever. For Urbahns this is obviously a secondary question, as are all questions relating to the international movement.

The Urbahns faction, which expels from its own ranks adherents of the International Opposition, is at the same time ready to ally itself on the international arena with any kind of “left” groups, on the condition, naturally, that they do not hinder it from pursuing its own national policy.

Sensing their “national” bankruptcy in their unprincipled struggle against *la Verite*, the allies of Urbahns—Treint and Paz—are dreaming about an international association that would include everybody: those who are for Chiang Kai-shek as well as those who are for the Soviet Republic; those who are trying to save the “autonomy” of the trade unions from the encroachments of Communism as well as those who are fighting for the influence of Communism on the trade unions; those who are for the united front with the Rights against the official party as well as those who demand the united front with the official party against the Rights. This program of a “Greek salad” is put forward under the slogan of “party democracy.” Could one conceive of more malicious mockery of party democracy?

We must say openly that under the guise of fighting against the bureaucratism of the Third International attempts are being made to smuggle in tendencies and practices of the Second International. The bureaucratism of the Third International did not fall from the sky: It has specific class causes. The Comintern is conditioned by the internal class struggle. Theoretically this finds its expression in the contradiction which exists between the theory of socialism in one country and the very bases for the existence of the Comintern.

There are some national-Communists, who imagine that they are Left Communists and who attribute to the Russian Opposition those traits which characterize ruling Centrism: “We want nothing to do with either of them.” In other words, they replace the class and ideological criterion with a national criterion. In most cases this serves as a cover for the petty ambitions of a small circle of intellectuals who defend their precious “autonomy” against the dangers that threaten it from the side of—the Russian Opposition. Not infrequently this is coupled with ordinary chauvinist cowardice. In this way the ideas and moods of the Second International are introduced into our ranks. It is clear that nothing remains for us except to wage an irreconcilable struggle against this contraband.

It Is Necessary to Choose

We stand not for democracy in general but for *centralist* democracy. It is precisely for this reason that we place national leadership above local leadership and international leadership above national leadership. The revolutionary party has nothing in common with a discussion club, where everybody comes as to a cafe (this is Souvarine’s great idea). The party is an organization for action. The unity of party ideas is assured through democratic channels, but the ideological framework of the party must be rigidly delimited. This holds all the more for a faction. It must not be forgotten here, too, that we are not a party but a faction, that is to say, the *closest possible selection and consolidation of co-thinkers* for the purpose of influencing the party and other organizations of the working class. It would be fantastic and absurd to demand of the Left Opposition that it become a combination of all sorts of national groups and

grouplets, who are dissatisfied, offended and full of protests and who do not know what they want.

No, we represent a definite ideological tendency and we build on the soil of definite principles and traditions. If under these conditions the adherents of the International Opposition cannot find place in the Leninbund, then thereby the Leninbund declares that it does not desire a place in the ranks of the International Opposition. We must take this clearly into account.

You see, comrades, that these questions are far more important than the petty squabbles on which Urbahns bases his

prosecutor's indictment. The fate of your organization is at stake. Every member of the Leninbund should understand that following the split in the Leninbund it will become completely transformed into an Urbahnsbund, that is, a tiny national sect, without any importance, without a future, without perspectives.

This means that a choice must be made. And for a genuine revolutionist it is not so very difficult to choose!

With Communist greetings,

LEON TROTSKY.

February 6, 1930.

The Conflict in Indo-China

From the Fontainebleau Conference to the Resumption of Hostilities

By R. DASSAC

Four months after the March 6 Compromise which terminated in open hostilities between French imperialism and the Vietnamese masses who are determined to put an end to the odious 80 year regime of colonialism, the Conference of Fontainebleau opened at Paris, where the representatives of the Viet Nam Republic (members of Viet Minh) met with the representatives of French imperialism. This Conference was supposed to settle a number of important issues, particularly the status of the Viet Nam Republic in relation to the French Union, the question of Cochin China involving the puppet government of Dr. Tinh and Cochin China's eventual unification with Viet Nam, and the referendum in Cochin China on the subject of this union.

The speech of Pham Van Dong, president of the Viet Nameese delegation, made at the opening session of this Conference, on July 6, 1946, is a typical resume of the contradictions inherent in Viet Minh policy, an opportunist policy studded with protests which become the more violent, the more verbal they are. Pham Van Dong declared:

. . . The Vietnamese government wanted peace; so did the new France. For France, which emerged from the Resistance, cannot tolerate that a war of this nature be undertaken and waged in her name. . . . The pact of March 6th was signed. It recognized our country as a free State and our government consented to receive amicably French troops in Tonkin and in Annam, north of the 16th parallel. . . .

Well, gentlemen, it is with deep pain that we tell you that certain clauses of the armistice of March 6th have not been lived up to by the French authorities, that hostilities instead of ceasing, have continued right up to this day, that French troops, instead of remaining in their positions (!), have done everything possible to take more terrain. . . . But above all we come to protest . . . against the creation of an independent state in Cochin China and against the recognition of its provisional government by the French authorities at Saigon.

Gentlemen, if the pact of March 6th was signed with common agreement only to permit the French troops to penetrate unmolested north of Viet Nam while, at the same time, hostilities were precipitated in the South in order to force the Conference to bow before an accomplished fact, then it is our duty to say here that this has facilitated neither the negotiations nor the conclusion of a definitive treaty between France and Viet Nam for the good of both countries.

It is this definitive treaty that we want. We love our country deeply and that is why we desire to associate it with France to whom so many bonds unite us, and along side of whom we intend to place ourselves in the great family of free and democratic nations. . . .

The representatives of French imperialism plainly showed themselves intractable on the question of Cochin China, seek-

ing, before all, to consolidate the gains already made and to gain more time. The parleys were broken up, and the "crisis of the Fontainebleau Conference" drew comments in the entire press. On this subject we said in *La Vérité* of August 9th:

The French bourgeoisie has always considered the compromise which it had to sign with Viet Nam on March 6, as an *advantageous armistice*, preliminary to a new offensive against the masses of Viet Nam.

The French generals signed the compromise because they saw that Leclerc's army was incapable of reestablishing in a stable form the imperialist domination of Indo China; they knew it was impossible to achieve "pacification," even a partial one. It meant demoralization and considerable losses of men in the expeditionary force; it meant a financial effort without any return.

The "armistice" permitted French imperialism to gain a breathing space, to occupy militarily regions that it would have taken years to conquer, to safeguard the financial interests of the French bourgeoisie, to save face before the French people and the other imperialist countries.

But there were no illusions about the "inviolability of treaties" in the minds of the direct agents of the imperialist bourgeoisie. . . .

While the first conference of Dalat was taking place, as now that of Fontainebleau, d'Argenlieu out in the colony was day by day forging new links in the steel chain with which to strangle Viet Nam.

The Indo Chinese communists, who are the backbone of Viet Minh, as well as Ho Chi Minh, have been putting spokes in the wheels since the beginning of the revolution, first by dissolving the Indo-Chinese Communist Party, then by abandoning their program of expropriating the French imperialists and the native bourgeoisie, and by putting themselves in financial dependence on the latter, and finally by tying their policy to that of the Communist Party of France, which led them to sign an armistice under the *worst conditions*.

What then can they do now? They have yielded everything to French imperialism: guaranteed its interests, left Cochin China under its control and accepted the dispatch of troops to all of its territories. Their somersault of the last few days, their refusal to humiliate themselves further at Fontainebleau only serves to save the *remnants of their prestige*: they will capitulate, they cannot do otherwise. They are paying and are making the Vietnamese people pay the consequences of their opportunist policies.

The Conference of Fontainebleau took a sharp turn. The Vietnamese government delegation prepared to return to Indo-China without any decision having been reached on the agreements of March 6th.

Some delegates had already left. At the last moment, as in a melodrama, it was learned that a *modus vivendi* had just been signed by Ho Chi Minh. The bourgeois press rejoiced, but dis-

creetly of course, over the conditions of this *modus vivendi*. In effect, not the least agreement was reached on any of the points important to Viet Nam: the questions of the puppet government of Cochin China and of the referendum were left hanging in mid air. But in the hope of an eventual settlement of these two questions, Ho Chi Minh undertook in the name of Viet Minh to aid French imperialism in organizing the disarmament of the guerilla troops that were leading the struggle in Cochin-China. In this connection, here is what we wrote in *La Vérité*, September 20th:

Regarding the *modus vivendi* secured *in extremis*, Ho Chi Minh himself states, "On the two principal questions, the independence of Viet Nam within the French Union and the referendum in Cochin China, no agreement has yet been reached. . . . We have undertaken to facilitate the reestablishment of French economic and cultural interests in Viet Nam. On the other hand we have obtained the promise that democratic liberties will be established in Cochin China. . . ." This pitiable result can appear only as the confession of a fraudulent bankrupt to the martyrs of the Indo-Chinese revolution. On the other hand the appraisal made by "French circles" (*le Monde*) of this *modus vivendi* permits a preview of a new treason. According to *le Monde*, the *modus vivendi* "envisages that conversations will take place on the spot between the military authorities to put an end to the hostilities wherever they still continue." Thus the Vietnamese revolutionists who refuse to accept the capitulatory conditions of the "compromise" of March 6th, and the Cochin-Chinese partisans who have been abandoned to d'Argenlieu will have to surrender their arms; and, in case of resistance on their part, they will find themselves facing not only the French colonial troops but also the Viet Minh government itself. The words of *le Monde* can mean nothing else. The balance sheet of the policy of "national union" and of "alliance with the truly democratic French elements" becomes perfectly clear. The revolutionary wave of the Annamite workers and peasants has been dammed up, strangled, its left wing decapitated, and now the French colonial despots and Indo-Chinese Stalinists propose to liquidate the last remnants of the first Indo-Chinese revolution. The Viet Minh and the Indo-Chinese Stalinists continue to dig their own graves by destroying the vital portions and the organizations of the Vietnamese workers.

From the economic point of view the *modus vivendi* was characterized by *Les Nouvelles Economiques* of September 27 in the following manner: "Certain and considerable advantages have been granted to the French." In effect, on all the important points, Ho Chi Minh gave way, accepting the very conditions fixed by the second conference of Dalat, which d'Argenlieu convoked at the same time that the conference at Fontainebleau was taking place in Paris, a conference of puppet flunkies of French imperialism, against which the delegates of the Viet Minh government had previously protested violently. To sum up: French interests are guaranteed; requisitioned property is restored; the same freedom of business, property laws, business activity and the right to hire and fire for the French imperialists as for the natives. The piastre is subjected to the franc. Same tariffs on merchandise entering Indo-Chinese territory and going out.

The effects of the capitulation were not long delayed, but were felt all along the line.

Today the French bourgeois press is screaming about the "duplicité" of the government of Ho Chi Minh who, it says, prepared a new outbreak of armed struggle. Indeed, the Viet Minh delegates were only too sincere in their repeated overtures to French imperialism, overtures which are implicit in the line imposed by the foreign policy of the Stalinist bureaucracy. The whole question for the latter, as for the Communist Party of France, was to maintain, within the French Union and to the south of China, a government under their orders, a

docile pawn on the international chess board, at the price of any concession whatsoever in the economic field or the field of national independence. In this sense, and only in this sense, the Communist Party of France has not ceased, and with reason, to protest against the creation of a puppet Cochin-Chinese republic.

But on the other hand French imperialism could not tolerate the extension or the maintenance of the authority of the Stalinist-led Viet Minh in Indo-China. And this, not alone for reasons of foreign policy but mainly and primarily because it does not believe, and justifiably so, that the counter-revolutionary virtues of Stalinism are eternal. In reality, under the thin superficial layer formed by a handful of faithful flunkies of Moscow, millions upon millions of proletarians and peasants of Viet Minh are snarling. "Lack of authority," inability to control the "extremists," such are the principal and essential reproaches for the moment that the French bourgeoisie really addresses to Viet Minh. For French imperialism it is now a question of backing a conciliatory petty bourgeois gang such as that in the autonomous Cochin-Chinese "government," whose existence depends on French bayonets and on which imperialism can lean in order to mutilate, deceive and then destroy all forms of mass organization of workers' and peasants' power (Peoples Committees). Imperialism doesn't fear bourgeois "nationalism" as much as the social revolution of the Indo-Chinese workers and peasants. And operating on this general line since March 6 the representatives of French imperialism in Indo China have not ceased pursuing a policy of open provocation, combining military pressure with the snare of "diplomatic" negotiations tending to tighten the noose of the March 6 compromise.

Empirical Reactions of Viet Minh

Certain leaders of Viet Minh, in particular Vo-Nguyen Giap, quickly recognized that making concessions to imperialism in order to gain the recognition of Viet Minh's authority as the government for the whole of Viet Nam, was not the correct path. The preparations of the French militarists were clear enough in this respect. From July to December the two camps faced each other preparing for a new test of strength.

In July and August, Giap proceeded to eliminate the Dong Minh Hoi and the Viet Nam Guoc Dan Dang, bourgeois opposition parties, and openly pro-Chinese in the case of the Dong Minh party. Their leaders have been in part forced to seek refuge in China. In other fields, Giap reinforced numerically, structurally and militarily the Vietnamese army which has at least doubled its effectives and tends more and more to assimilate modern military technique, taking into account of course its material inferiority as compared to the expeditionary force. The provocations and continual violations of agreements by the representatives of French imperialism in Indo-China have accelerated the resumption of hostilities.

Resumption of Hostilities

To answer the campaign of the French capitalist and "socialist" press on the responsibilities of Viet Minh for the resumption of hostilities, it should suffice to enumerate the successive violations of agreements committed by French imperialism in Indo-China.

However that may be, it is not from the point of view of "who is responsible for the resumption of hostilities?" that the French and the world proletariat should take its position on the colonial war of French imperialism. Since the beginning of the

workers' movement revolutionaries have always distinguished between just wars, revolts of an oppressed people or those accelerating the revolutionary process, from the reactionary and counter-revolutionary wars of imperialism. In the case of Indo-China there can be no doubt on this score: the war of the Indo-Chinese masses is a just war, it is capable of accelerating the revolutionary process considerably in the French Union, in France and in the Far East. Even under the leadership of Ho Chi Minh and Giap, and even if it were led by bourgeois nationalists, it should be supported unconditionally and in every way by the world working class, and in the first instance by the French proletariat.

The Tasks of the French Proletariat and the World Proletariat

The traditional workers' parties in France, the Socialist Party and the Communist Party, have both participated objectively in the preparation of the new imperialist offensive by picturing the successive capitulations of Viet Minh, in reality defeats for Viet Nam, as victories. After having voted war credits, they celebrated the March 6th compromise; they spread confusion about the Fontainebleau Conference with their phrases about the French Union and about the treaty between the democratic Republic of Viet Nam and French democracy that emerged from the anti-fascist Resistance; and they hailed the *modus vivendi* as proof of reciprocal good will.

Since the resumption of hostilities their attitude towards the oppressed of Indo-China has only become more abject. The Socialist Party and its Blum government ranged itself definitively and clearly on the side of the imperialists. It may be said without a tinge of "extremist malice" that reformism in France and throughout the world (in England in particular) has replaced the Christian missionaries and the Jesuits in the role of "humanitarian" apologists for colonial repressions and massacres. Now it is in the name of "democracy rejuvenated by the Resistance" and sometimes even called "socialist," that super-exploitation and counter-revolutionary imperialist massacres are justified. There is nothing new in this: It was a Blum government that dissolved the North African *Etoile* and covered up the Metlaoui massacres in Tunisia, it was a Socialist Minister of Interior, Tixier, who from Paris directed the massacres of May 1945 in Algeria.

Today the socialist Moutet demands "a military decision" in Indo-China.

When the bourgeoisie is no longer capable by itself of maintaining its domination and repression in its Empire, it becomes necessary to find professional traitors inside the working class, capable of sowing enough confusion among the workers to stem, check and repress all moves of effective solidarity between the oppressed in the colonies and the exploited masses at home. Today, not only do the Blums, Moutets and Co. play this role, but it also appears clearly, from numerous leaks in the bourgeois press, that the Blum government is in favor of a "more determined and more energetic" policy in Indo-China than certain militarists who judge the situation solely from a military point of view.

The attitude of the socialist "left" is even more abject on this score. It is this very wing which has most often, with its crises of conscience, crocodile tears, its heartbroken silences, that furnished Blum-Moutet, and consequently colonialism, an ideological cover sufficiently deceptive to keep the socialist workers in shameful passivity.

The Communist Party of France collaborates more discreetly in this business. Besides, this discretion stems specifically from the fact that a whole number of the present leaders of the Viet Minh are known to be docile agents of the foreign policy of the Stalinist bureaucracy. And the French CP cannot lightly look on while some of its pawns in the Far East are eliminated more or less from the political arena to the advantage of petty bourgeois conciliators who are inclined to orient towards American imperialism, be it by a pro-Chinese, pro-French or a more direct route. For Stalin's French policy, there remains nothing except to maintain vigilance on the Indo-Chinese affair and to more or less abandon Ho Chi Minh, Vo-Nguyen Giap and their colleagues. The CP can add to its certificates of good conduct, the following statement of the colonial newspaper *Climats*:

L'Humanite shows itself as much more national in spirit since the outbreak of hostilities; we rejoice over this. Unanimity should be maintained in the metropolitan center. Let not Paris undo what has been accomplished in Saigon (January 2, 1947).

Not once, during the first stage of the war of reconquest, or in recent days, has the CP issued the slightest appeal for the smallest act of solidarity with the embattled Indo-Chinese workers. Each time it has denounced as fascist provocations, if not officially, then at least in its ranks and in those of the Viet Minh Dong Ti (Friends of the Viet Minh) in France, the acts undertaken or proposed by the Trotskyists. The CGT (French Confederation of Labor) which, with its millions of members, could organize an absolutely decisive boycott against the colonial expeditionary forces, has not breathed a word since the few verbal protests it uttered at the end of 1945. As for the World Federation of Trade Unions, its absolute bankruptcy here is another proof that it in no way is an international trade union body capable of undertaking or supporting efficaciously the revolutionary working-class movement.

The proletarians of France and of the entire world must understand that their role is decisive, *necessary and sufficient* to assure the victory of the oppressed Indo-Chinese. Even in the absence of any action organized by the French proletariat, the French bourgeoisie is incapable of restoring its domination over Indo-China at one stroke. It must proceed by stages and it suffices to read *le Monde* or *Climats* to understand with what precautions, despite its grandiloquent declarations, it views the problem of a new provisional compromise. On the active solidarity of the world proletariat and particularly of the French proletariat completely depends the success or failure of this colonial undertaking.

The French workers must demand that their parties and their youth organizations take a clear position in favor of coordinated acts of solidarity with the embattled Indo-Chinese. *But they must themselves TAKE ACTION* without waiting for the decisions of the reformist or Stalinist bonzes. In particular, the longshoremen and the seamen, supported by the whole French working class, must *organize, nationally and internationally, the boycott of the French Imperialist Expeditionary Forces in Indo-China*. And in this way force:

The immediate cessation of hostilities!

The withdrawal of French troops from the whole of Indo-China!

Recognition of the complete independence of Viet Nam!

January 5, 1947

Translated from *Quatrième Internationale*, Jan.-Feb., 1947, by George Lavan.

Atomic Energy

By R. HENRY

At the present time the use of atomic energy as a military weapon unquestionably is by far more important than its use—primarily potential at the moment—as an industrial productive force. But the day will come when the application of atomic energy will revolutionize the industrial production of power, which is the truly key industry. From a purely technical standpoint, this could come about in a period of from ten to twenty years. Even today nuclear energy has been liberated on a very large industrial scale in the Hanford, Wash. plants, but for the time being, the hundreds of thousands of kilowatts of thermal energy produced there serve only to heat up the Columbia River.

Atomic Energy as an Industrial Productive Force

A kilogram of coal, burned in a stove, produces energy amounting to $8\frac{1}{2}$ kilowatt hours. But a kilogram of fissionable substance completely transformed into energy would produce 25 billion kilowatt hours, which is almost twice the monthly production of electrical energy in the United States. It is true that such a complete transformation of matter into energy is as yet unobtainable by any known process. In the disintegration of uranium or plutonium, one one-thousandth of the mass is transformed into thermal energy. This means that to attain the U.S. output of electrical energy, it would be necessary for atomic energy plants, operating on the principle of the Hanford plants, to transform only about six tons of uranium-235 annually. This would simultaneously produce several tons of plutonium. (To produce the same quantity of energy by burning coal would require 20 million tons of coal.)

These figures compared with the many-millioned ton annual output of oil, petroleum, etc. provide us with a gauge of what vast perspectives the initial industrial application of atomic energy would open up.

What are the technical difficulties which today obstruct the industrial use of atomic energy?

1. The problem itself must be considered as actually solved in principle. But the industrial utilization of nuclear energy, liberated in the form of thermal energy, depends in the first place upon its transformation into electrical energy. To achieve this with a satisfactory degree of efficiency, it is first of all necessary to solve a great number of technical and metallurgical problems, which will undoubtedly take several years. For example, an atomic energy plant must operate at a high temperature in order to be a source of thermal energy.

2. The only known process for liberating nuclear energy, the only chain reaction as yet known, employs uranium as the primary substance. Uranium is not a very common ore and up to now it has been found in concentrations suitable for exploitation only in a few rare spots on the globe (Canada, Belgian Congo, Bohemia and elsewhere). The richest known deposits of uranium are controlled by the United States (Belgian Congo). Competitors of the United States will assuredly explore—if they have not already done so—territories under their control in order to locate uranium deposits. In all likelihood richer deposits of uranium will be discovered.

3. Properly speaking, the substance that supplies the energy in the uranium pile is not the most common variety of uranium (atomic weight 238) but another variety which is 140 times as rare, with the atomic weight of 235. This means that large amounts of uranium must be processed and all impurities must be removed as completely as possible. For this reason the production of energy through the disintegration of uranium is still quite costly.

Further developments may occur along two lines. First of all, the process employed in the United States of building the uranium piles can be improved and simplified.

The production of energy through the fission of uranium unquestionably remains more difficult today than the production of energy by means of waterpower, but the most efficient and cheapest methods are undoubtedly still to be discovered. We can expect processes applied in the future that will be greatly simplified. On the other hand, maximum efforts will be exerted to discover new chain reactions within atomic nuclei in substances which are available in nature in far greater quantities than uranium-235. Assuming that far greater efforts will be expended in the future on such research, it is highly probable that within a relatively brief space of time the production of energy (or, under capitalism, the manufacture of bombs) may be realized through the transformation of elements that are quite common and available in large quantities, like iron, for example.

However long it may take to solve these difficulties or whatever may be the manner of their solution, it is virtually certain that the requirements for industrial energy will within a few years be covered by a far smaller expenditure of labor than heretofore. In this way productivity and productive capacity can be increased manifold, both directly and indirectly.

We have dealt here with only one application of atomic energy and with the possibility of transforming elements that are available in large quantities. There are certainly other countless applications which may be of lesser importance but which are by no means negligible. For example, right now it is possible to produce the most diverse types of radio-active substances, such as radio-active carbon, radio-active steel, radio-active iodine, and so on. This is already of utmost importance in biology and medicine. Thus, radiotherapy (for the treatment of cancer) can now be practiced with substances far more effective and less expensive than radium. Uses of this type are extremely numerous, just like those which were developed after the discovery of X-rays, electronic tubes, etc.

Had the technical conditions for a rational production of power through the liberation of nuclear energy been created before the decay stage of capitalism, this great technical advance would have cut a path for itself under the pressure of competition and in spite of the resistance of the coal barons and the oil and electric trusts. What would the results have been? There would have been mass unemployment on a far larger scale than hitherto under the "normal" conditions of capitalist society; there would have been an extreme aggravation of the contradictions inherent in this society, with all the consequences that this entails. The decay of capitalism would have been accelerated. Nuclear energy is as incompatible with

the capitalist system as the atomic bomb is with the existing imperialist system.

In a socialist society, the utilization of nuclear energy opens up the vastest perspectives to human civilization for the achievement of cultural and industrial tasks. A socialist society can and would systematically develop the use of nuclear energy with the aim of reducing the intensity and duration of work and for the production of an abundance of primary necessities. Atomic energy can thus become, in a socialist society, one of the most powerful levers for the advancement of human civilization.

Marxism regards the development of the productivity of human labor power as the prime mover of social evolution. That is why it is impossible for Marxism to underestimate the importance of a new force which appears within the sphere of natural forces of which man possesses knowledge and which he has technically mastered. After thirty years of research the first decisive step in the technical application of atomic energy has been taken. This first step may be of far greater importance on the road of progress than the conquests of hydraulic energy, steam and electricity attained during the capitalist era. If steam and electricity provided the technical bases for the capitalist era, then nuclear energy, which in the epoch of capitalist decay serves only as an instrument of unimaginable destruction, will provide the technical basis for the socialist epoch.

The Atomic Bomb as Military Weapon

It requires no great imagination to foresee the importance of the atomic bomb as a military weapon in a future war waged by the imperialist states against the USSR or against one another. Nor can there be much doubt as to what awaits the populations of the great cities in the next imperialist conflict. The atomic bombs which destroyed Hiroshima and Nagasaki were dropped immediately after the first experimental test. The effectiveness of such bombs can doubtless be considerably increased by improvements, for example in the method of firing.

On the other hand, the utilization—within certain limits—of greater quantities of plutonium in a bomb will produce even more terrible destruction. Like every other question, the question of atomic energy must not be approached separate and apart from the framework in which it appears. We ought to recall that other new spheres of technical application of natural sciences have undergone a rapid evolution, for example, the technique of ultra-high frequencies (radar), the technique of rockets, and so on. Most dreadful is precisely the *combination* of the most recent weapons perfected during the last war. We cannot thus reject as sheer fantasy the idea that in a short while atomic bombs may be propelled over great distances by rockets of the V-2 type, guided by radio.

The bourgeoisie is fully aware of how politically dangerous to its rule is the widespread knowledge among the toiling masses of the destructive character of the atomic weapon. This knowledge might prove to be the drop of water that causes the measure to overflow; it might unleash a powerful movement against war that would certainly also affect the Anglo-Saxon countries. Instead of boasting of the invincible weapon, of which for the moment it is the sole possessor, the imperialist government of the United States is beginning to dilute its wine with water, to talk of effective methods of defense, and so on. This road is being taken by the militarists of the whole world who are issuing reassuring statements to the effect that methods of defense will be found against this weapon as against all previous ones; that the army and the navy will remain masters

of the situation, provided there is no loss of confidence in the state and in the ruling class! All these pacifiers of public opinion have been denounced as either ignoramuses or liars by every scientist involved in the development of the atomic bomb, because the scientists have not been able to free themselves from a certain feeling of responsibility—a feeling which, in the nature of things, is lacking among militarists, politicians and journalists.

Oliphant, one of the scientists responsible for the British atomic project, stated in his now famous Birmingham speech:

This whole thing is so gigantic, of an importance and meaning so immense for all humanity, that we should in a case like this throw overboard all secret diplomacy. Atomic energy cannot be discussed except openly and before the whole world, for we have now arrived at a point where we can abolish war once and for all, or we must resign ourselves to see all the cities in one country after another in ashes and ruins within a quarter of an hour following the declaration of war. Science knows of no defense against the atomic bomb. Our scientists say nothing because they fear to wake up some morning in prison for divulging secrets.*

Dr. Oppenheimer, scientific director of the Los Alamos project where the bomb itself was designed, stated in reply to a question before the Senate Commission: "There is no effective defense against atomic bombs. I do not know about other bombs, but the ones we are making cannot be exploded under any conditions before the objective is reached."

A. H. Compton, dean of American physicists and one of the most responsible scientific directors of the U.S. atomic project, declares: "The liberation of atomic energy places an imperative command upon men to find a means of averting another war. No city of more than 100,000 will remain an active center after the first hour of war. At least 10 per cent of the population of an attacked country will be exterminated by the first blow."

It is beyond doubt that with this new weapon the havoc, hecatombs and devastation will reach apocalyptic dimensions in the third imperialist world war in which the opposing camps will possess atomic weapons. Any statement to the contrary or any statement tending to weaken this observation can be considered as a deliberate falsehood. One is at a loss for words to describe the consequences of such a war because the terrible heritage of the second imperialist slaughter already surpasses all human standards. It is absolutely impossible to conceive of a means of defense that will be 100 per cent effective against atomic bombs, or of a means of defense that would prevent the complete destruction of large cities at the outbreak of war. A third imperialist world war within the next ten or fifteen years threatens to bring about the disappearance of the entire existing civilized world (North America and Europe) and would thus complete what the second imperialist world war has begun (the wholesale destructions of regions in Central Europe and Western Russia, the hurling back of civilization on the European continent as a whole).

The illusion spread primarily by liberal and petty-bourgeois periodicals to the effect that the mere threat of such complete destruction is enough to make war impossible, is so absurd that it would be a waste of time to dwell on it. Against the atomic bomb, as against every other weapon, measures will be found which, *from the military standpoint*—but not from the standpoint of the populations involved—may be considered as "defense measures" and which will permit the continuation

*The above quotation, like the other quotations in the text, is a translation from the French.—Ed.

of war for six or sixteen years after an atomic bomb attack, unless the world proletariat in alliance with the colonial peoples puts an end to it through revolutionary action.

Active anti-aircraft defense may destroy part of the air fleet transporting the atom bombs, jamming transmitters may throw a certain number of radio-directed rockets off their course. Organizational centers and industrial installations indispensable for the continuation of war may be buried very deep underground (armored shelters could doubtless be built at a very great depth and large enough to accommodate the bourgeoisie and the generals). The most effective measure of military "defense" would be the greatest possible decentralization. All this does not alter what has been said above: The population of industrial countries, concentrated in large cities, is threatened with extermination far surpassing the consequences of Nazi terror or of the Anglo-American bombing policy. We must not shut our eyes to this situation! Revolutionists must put themselves at the head of every genuine *anti-war* movement with the slogan: The Third Imperialist World War **MUST Be Averted!** Only revolutionary action by the workers and small peasants of the entire world, fraternally united, can prevent it, by destroying the capitalist state and replacing it by the state of socialist and proletarian democracy.

Technical mastery of atomic energy (which is, we repeat, still only in its initial stages) does not create a new situation fundamentally. We do not expect any miracles. The tendencies of the present imperialist epoch will become more palpable, the disintegration of the capitalist order will be accelerated, the fulfillment of the task before the proletariat and the revolutionary parties becomes more urgent. The atomic bomb does not create the drive for the establishment of the unlimited rule of Yankee imperialism (after the destruction of Nazi imperialism) first of all by the overthrow of the Soviet Union, the bureaucratically degenerated workers' state—but it does add more weight to this drive. It reveals most crassly that the Soviet Union has emerged from this war weakened and not strengthened vis a vis *world* capitalism; and, moreover, that the only way to guarantee the continued existence of the Soviet Union in face of the pressure of world imperialism is, more than ever before, through the world proletarian revolution, which is being obstructed above all by the policy of Stalinism.

Socialism, which is perhaps not feasible without electricity, will be unable to get along without atomic energy; and even without the menace of the atom bomb, the social revolution is the prime condition for the survival of the proletariat. But the necessity of the social revolution and of an internationalist, socialist revolutionary policy has not only become more urgent but also more apparent. To the extent that it increases the instability of the capitalist system and accelerates its disintegration, atomic energy, as a new factor in the existing social relations, contributes to the maturing of objective conditions for the revolutionary crisis on a world scale.

The bourgeoisie will undoubtedly try to intimidate the proletariat by claims that the atomic weapon henceforth renders revolution *militarily* impossible and that the bourgeoisie now possesses the means of beating back every armed revolt against the bourgeois state. The reformists will add their voices to this campaign of intimidation. But this argument is hollow. No military weapon, regardless of its character, can render the revolution impossible, if the objective and subjective conditions for it exist. The development of the technique of weapons renders the class war, the revolutionary war, proportionately more sanguinary and exacts a greater toll of victims, but this will

always be far smaller than the toll of an imperialist war in which the most modern weapons are employed with maximum effectiveness.

In the first place, it is necessary to recall the rather obvious but nevertheless decisive fact that *the proletariat produces and transports atomic bombs, just as it does all other weapons.* Whoever forgets this should be reminded of the reality by the strike of foremen in Oak Ridge plants, where the material for atomic bombs is produced, as well as by the strike of the soldiers of the Royal Air Force toward the end of January 1946 in various Asiatic airdromes. "All wheels stop when your mighty arm wills it." The atomic bomb, as a weapon in the civil war of the proletariat, adds an even greater weight to the solidarity of the proletariat, above all to international solidarity. The chances for the success of an *isolated* revolution are reduced; but in a coordinated international revolutionary movement, the atomic weapon, if it is employed, could be of use to the proletariat as well as to the bourgeoisie. So long as no clear demarcation of territories occurs in a civil war and so long as the bourgeoisie retains hopes of remaining master of its sources of profits without resorting to complete destruction, the atomic weapon cannot be used by the bourgeoisie. Only after there is a clear territorial demarcation and only when the bourgeoisie despairs of success with all the other means at its disposal, can such a crime have meaning for the ruling classes. But in that case, the possibility of using the atomic bomb would likewise be available to the proletariat, which may use it as the final blow against the bourgeois centers of power: at that moment it might already be too late for the ruling class.

To evaluate correctly the relation of forces, not alone on national but also international lines, to avoid every light-minded and inadequately prepared attempt at revolution, to coordinate closely every revolutionary action on an international scale, especially with the class movement of the American proletariat—this becomes more than ever a life-and-death question for the revolutionary party which must solve the task of revolution.

The Threatening Monopoly of the United States

It required the enormous scientific and industrial potential of the United States in order to successfully accomplish the completion of the atomic bomb and its industrial production. This was accomplished in the course of the five years of war, while the entire productive apparatus was strained to the limit. At the beginning of the war, England started work along these lines, continuing the labors of the Joliot group at Paris. But in the end these efforts were coordinated with those of the American groups and the British research specialists were transferred there in 1943. (The English atomic bomb project was concealed under the name of "Tube Alloys Development.") In Germany the development of an atomic bomb project was certainly also under way. It will be recalled that British air raids destroyed the hydroelectric plant "Norsk" in occupied Norway; the production of heavy water in this plant was presumably intended for the German atom bomb project. News of work on the production of atom bombs in Germany spurred British and American war effort in the extreme. Obviously it is not known just what stage had been reached by Germany in her atomic bomb project at the time of her defeat; but apparently Germany was still far away from any tangible results. It is likewise unknown whether any work was undertaken

along these lines in the USSR prior to August 6, 1945. But in view of the general situation of the Soviet Union during the war, it seems unlikely that any work there could have gone beyond the stage of general, basic research.

The mere fact that German imperialism—despite its assuredly great efforts—was unable to develop atomic energy for its own ends is proof by itself (even if we knew nothing else) of how extraordinary is the scientific, financial and industrial effort required for its production. But it is absolutely beyond dispute that other great industrial powers—for the moment this means, first and foremost, Great Britain and the USSR—will also be able to produce atomic bombs now that the possibility of making atomic bombs and “utilizing” atomic energy has been demonstrated in practice. This means that England and the Soviet Union *will have to* work along these lines with the labor power and industrial installations at their disposal, given that the fundamental phenomena are by and large known, and that many of the details will of necessity be discovered. It is only a question of time, and, at a conservative estimate, it is a matter of several years, perhaps only a few. The loss of the monopoly of the United States imperialism is unavoidable. The only serious attempt to maintain it would involve placing the entire world under its control not only economically and financially but politically as well. [This is the aim of the Baruch plan.]

Atomic Barbarism—or Socialism

The second imperialist world war has considerably strengthened the superiority of Yankee imperialism over its capitalist rivals and has reinforced its position in relation to the USSR. The atomic bomb appears to be the very crown and guarantee of this preponderant position of the United States. It is not hard to understand that just the contrary is true. For by creating a weapon of fantastic destructive force in order to strengthen its own power, American imperialism has at the same time created a means of destruction which will in the long run constitute the most serious threat to its own position in the capitalist system.

In his testimony before the Senate Commission, Dr. Oppenheimer correctly said: “In reality, atomic power has weakened the military position of the United States. While it has strengthened our power for the moment, this will not be lasting. Some people appear to admit this only with the greatest reluctance.”

R. R. Wilson, president of the Los Alamos Scientists Association, states: “Our country, with its extremely concentrated centers, will be particularly vulnerable to this weapon.” To the argument that the United States can always keep far ahead of its neighbors, R. R. Wilson replies as follows: “It has been proposed that our country seek to maintain its present position by constantly producing bigger bombs and in larger quantities than other countries. The mere possession of more bombs than another country is not at all decisive; it suffices for another country to have enough bombs to destroy our cities and our armament depots. The advantage will certainly be with the aggressor and our superiority can thus be lost in the first minutes of a surprise attack. A world in which many countries possess nuclear weapons and in which only fear of reprisals prevents them from employing these weapons, will be a world of fear, of suspicion, and in the end of *inevitable explosions.*”

American imperialism expended gigantic efforts and two billion dollars to enable its scientists to develop an instrument whereby its dominant position can one day be destroyed by its

imperialist rivals or by the Soviet Union. No power on earth—at least until imperialism is almost completely vanquished by the proletariat—can match or surpass in the near future the industrial potential of the United States, or construct as powerful a naval or aerial fleet. But a great industrial country can readily manufacture, within a certain space of time, enough atomic bombs to reduce the American industrial centers to ashes and to knock out the major part of the gigantic fleets of the United States. Obviously such a country would itself suffer frightful destruction. Yankee imperialism is therefore aware that its great advantage will be transformed sooner or later into a great disadvantage. Just when this will take place is not known, which does not at all contribute to lessening the apprehensions.

The atomic bomb is not merely a revolutionary weapon in military technique; it does more than revolutionize military strategy. It has also a revolutionary effect upon society because it renders even more unrealizable any possibility of temporarily restoring an equilibrium in the imperialist system.

Even as a purely military weapon, the possibility of utilizing atomic energy is incompatible with the conditions necessary for maintaining an equilibrium between the powers in an imperialist system. *It undermines especially the position of the most powerful imperialism.*

If the scientific experts shout for a “world authority to control atomic energy,” and for a “world government,” accompanying their declarations with most convincing arguments, then it is not for us, the internationalists, to pursue an ostrich policy. On the contrary we must seize upon these statements and explain that the only possible world government and the only one that can save humanity from a third imperialist world war is the power of a world Soviet system, the federation of democratic socialist proletarian states, the world Soviet Union. This is the only world government that is possible, because it is irreconcilable with the “liberty” and the “sovereignty” of capitalist exploiters and parasites. It is the guarantee of the liberty and sovereignty of the working class and of all the exploited throughout the world.

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