

Fourth International

Editorials

MAY DAY 1948 AND
WAR PREPARATIONS

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STALINIST SETBACK IN
ITALIAN ELECTIONS

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RANDOLPH'S DRIVE
AGAINST ARMY
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PRESIDENTIAL
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A Marxist View of the Palestine Crisis

From the Arsenal of Marxism

Self-Determination for the American Negroes

Discussions with Leon Trotsky

May 1948

25c

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The staff of *Fourth International* is happy to resume monthly publication, beginning with this issue. For 10 months only bi-monthly publication has been possible. We wish to extend our heartiest thanks to the many comrades and friends who donated so generously to the special fund to restore this Marxist journal to more frequent appearance.

We know these contributions were a real sacrifice at this time, but were freely made in a spirit of determination to advance the socialist cause as exemplified by this magazine.

At the same time we are pleased to be able once more to offer the special \$2.50 combination one-year subscription to *Fourth International* and *The Militant*, weekly paper of the Socialist Workers Party. This is a saving of 50c a year to readers of both these companion publications. The regular price of the F.I. is \$2 for 12 issues and of *The Militant* \$1 for 12 issues.

While the \$2.50 special combination price cannot appear on the regular expiration notices stuffed into the magazine, subscribers may alter such forms when renewing, to take advantage of the reduced rate for the full-year combination.

Former \$1 six-issue subscriptions to *Fourth International* which would have run for a year if the magazine had continued to appear only every two months, will now, of course, expire sooner. But all subscribers will receive the full number of issues they paid for: six for \$1 and 12 for \$2, or 12 issues under former \$2.50 combination subs that extended through

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the period when the magazine came out less often.

Recent issues of *Fourth International* continue to sell in unusual numbers because they contained such import-

ant programmatic and analytical material.

Orders still come in frequently for the November-December 1947 issue, which contained the draft theses of the International Secretariat

of the Fourth International on the Russian Question Today "Stalinism and the Fourth International," and a draft resolution on "The World Situation and the Tasks of the Fourth International." Also Albert Parker's article, "NAACP Appeals to the UN" was a popular number.

The January-February issue is still in demand for its theses on the Jewish Question Today, for three lively articles on the centennial of Marxism, as well as timely discussions of the Negro Question, elections and the approaching depression.

The March-April issue also evoked great interest for its wide range of lively and diversified analyses. The titles tell the story: "Capitalism's Choice: Ruinous War or Depression;" "Washington's 'Cold War' Moves into its Decisive Military Phase;" "A Momentous Decision: First SWP Presidential Campaign;" "Henry Luce and Karl Marx;" "Three Years of the British Labor Government;" "The Marshall Plan;" "J. Stalin, Music Critic;" "The Real Situation in Czechoslovakia."

The 1947 bound volume of *Fourth International* will be ready any day now. It will be shipped anywhere in the world for \$4.50. It contains an index for the year, by authors and by subjects.

The index alone is available at 50c.

So many *Fourth International* readers renew their subscriptions in advance that only 89 of this month's expirations remain to be re-entered if the readers want to receive the June issue.

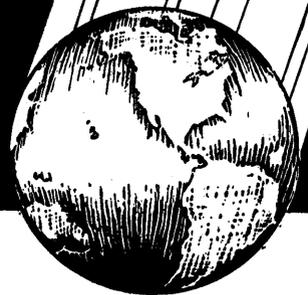
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World Events in the Light of Marxist Analysis

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FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

VOLUME 9

MAY 1948

NUMBER 3

WORLD IN REVIEW

May Day and the Preparations for War -- Temporary Stalinist Set-Back in Italian Elections -- Randolph Fights Army Jim Crow -- Presidential Campaign Notes

May Day 1948 --- In the Shadow of War Preparations

May Day, the day of international labor solidarity, was born in America, in the great movement for the eight-hour day that swept this country in the 1880's. This holiday was initiated by the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions, which later became the American Federation of Labor, in a proclamation at one of its conventions, "eight hours shall constitute a legal day's work from and after May 1, 1886."

That first May Day saw hundreds of thousands of workers on strike and in demonstrations in Chicago, New York, Detroit, Milwaukee, Cincinnati, Washington, St. Louis, Philadelphia and other cities. For many of them, the struggle actually resulted in a shorter work-day. For some of the leaders, the heroic Parsons, Spies and their associates who were framed-up after the bombing at the Chicago Haymarket, it meant the martyrdom of legal lynching.

It was upon a request from the AFL for support of the eight-hour day that the first congress of the Labor and Socialist Second International at Paris in 1889 voted to make May 1, 1890 a day for world-wide manifestations of working class solidarity. Every year since, May Day has been observed as an occasion for struggle and labor unity.

Hitler, after seizing power in Germany, sought to transform the First of May into a Nazi holiday. But the fighting tradition of working class solidarity associated with May Day has outlived that maniacal excrescence of capitalism. Since 1945 and the fall of Nazism, the slowly recuperating German workers have taken to the streets once more, this time in protest against the hunger and oppression imposed upon them by Hitler's imperialist conquerors.

Today, in 1948, the power-drunk capitalists of the United States seek in their own way to wipe out the traditions of the workers' holiday. In many cities, and

especially in New York, their supporters have organized "Loyalty" demonstrations for May Day. Demonstrations of "Loyalty" to Wall Street and its "democracy" — which at home seeks to strangle labor with its Taft-Hartley Act and continues to impose the infamous Jim Crow system upon the millions of Negroes; which abroad supports the reactionary monarchy in Greece and the bloody Chiang Kai-shek dictatorship in China; which everywhere prepares for world domination with totalitarian plans for World War III. To their everlasting shame, the *official* heirs of the movement that launched the first May Day, the leaders of the AFL and CIO, join wholeheartedly in these "Loyalty" demonstrations of their capitalist masters, perverting monstrously the militant class struggle significance of its origin.

Chauvinism — Stalinist and Capitalist

These "Loyalty" demonstrations form part of the "cold war" propaganda designed to counteract the May Day parades organized by the Stalinists. Stalinism, for its part, desecrates the glorious traditions of the international workers' holiday no less than the trade union fakerdom. Wherever the Kremlin rules, the wildest chauvinism is the dominant note of the celebrations held by the "Communist" parties. Here in the United States, the CP besmirches the labor holiday by transforming it exclusively into an election rally for the millionaire capitalist Henry Wallace, whose avowed aim is to make capitalism work better and who openly pledges his own loyalty to Wall Street in case it actually launches war.

Thus May Day 1948 takes place in the shadow of a world-wide offensive by American imperialism for domination, abetted directly by its labor lieutenants in the trade union officialdom, and no less effectively helped by the treacherous policy of the Moscow bureaucracy and its henchmen in the various Stalinist parties.

Washington has just concluded successfully its intervention — unprecedented in history — in the Italian elections, side by side with the black reaction of the

Vatican. Through Marshall's "European Recovery Program," rushed through Congress, it seeks to duplicate this feat in other West European countries, hoping thus to stem the tide of Kremlin hegemony over Europe which the Stalinist coup d'état in Czechoslovakia appeared to announce.

In Asia, support of Chiang Kai-shek's dictatorship in the civil war against the Stalinist-led armies of the North is supplemented by direct suppression, under MacArthur's proconsulship, of the militant new labor movement in Japan and the transformation of that country into a vast military base.

At Bogota, Secretary of State Marshall initiated action to bring all of Central and South America under the military direction of the Pentagon, the first step being an "Anti-Communist" pact.

Here, at home, American imperialism has launched the biggest war budget in "peacetime" and is ramming through Congress the new draft, the first measure in a program to impose totalitarian militarization. The Mundt Bill fits into this program with provisions virtually abrogating the Bill of Rights under the 170-year-old Constitution. And, to top off these governmental measures, the arrogant bosses of American industry have announced universal and adamant rejection of all wage demands from the unions to meet the uninterrupted inflationary spiral.

The World Fight Against Reaction

The monopolists know that to launch the all-embracing atom bomb war against Soviet Russia, they must shackle the American working class. Their plans of world conquest, unlike Britain's in the last century, allow of no substantial concessions to any section of labor, as bribes for the support of imperialism. Even the richest capitalism is too much shot through with crisis and disintegration today to afford this luxury. By crippling court injunctions and fines, such as those imposed recently upon the United Mine Workers; by a reign of police and vigilante terror, like that unleashed against the packinghouse strikers in Kansas City and elsewhere; by more repressive anti-strike and anti-labor laws they hope to atomize the hitherto unbeaten American working class, before loosing the full horror of atomic warfare upon the world.

But their insolent plans are one thing; the fulfillment of these plans is another. Despite the surface successes of Wall Street, the ferment of mass struggle issuing from World War II has nowhere been stilled. Even as the bourgeoisie gloated over its election victory, Italian workers turned out more numerous and more militant than ever for May Day demonstrations that the government vainly tried to ban. In all Western Europe, including England, the masses are on the march again to resume their struggle against the rising cost of living and for decisive revolutionary solutions.

The cities of Asia witness huge demonstrations in

which the new cry for socialism rises together with the old demand for national independence.

In Latin America, stormy mass movements grope to defeat the dictatorships supported and often installed by Washington.

All over the United States as well, the workers show determination to combat the brutal assaults of the bosses and their government. The worsening of their economic conditions and the reactionary challenge of the rulers arouses greater resentment and a greater will to struggle among the masses. Despite all efforts to intimidate them, the conservative printers as well as the militant packinghouse workers hold firm to their demands. The miners, even after the heavy fines and jail threats that accompanied their pension action, prepare for a new strike. The railroad brotherhoods have set a deadline for strike action that has thrown the federal government into a frenzy of emergency preparations. The United Auto Workers have voted strike action to meet the stubborn refusal of Chrysler and other giant corporations to grant necessary wage increases. A new wave of strikes, as powerful as that of 1946, appears to loom as the workers' answer to the arrogant and brutal anti-labor assault of the ruling class.

Of equal significance is the uncompromising stand taken by millions of Negroes against the perpetuation of Jim Crow in the armed forces, and the openly declared campaign of their leaders to ignore the draft until it is abolished.

It is the official leadership of the workers which everywhere serves as a brake upon the militancy of the world's masses and prevents its revolutionary crystallization. Here in the United States, the trade union bureaucracy does everything in its power to stem the tide of struggle and to curb the masses. All the bureaucrats want is a few crumbs with which to save face before the rank and file, the better to bind them to the imperialist war-chariot. The Stalinists, on the other hand, try to divert the militancy of the workers and the Negro masses into the fake pacifist channels of the Wallace movement.

World Congress of the 4th International

All over the world, the Stalinist misleaders hold back the masses, who falsely see in them the embodiment of the Russian October Revolution of 1917, and manipulate their actions with the aim of achieving another deal between the Kremlin and the White House.

It is in these circumstances that news comes of the successful conclusion of the sessions of the Second World Congress of the Fourth International. Its important decisions and resolutions will be reported in subsequent issues. But the report that sections of the International in 19 countries, on four continents — *double* the number represented at its foundation congress in 1938 — *directly* participated in its work, is itself of tremendous significance.

It is symbolic of the future that this congress of the Fourth International concluded three weeks' sessions in turbulent Europe in perfect harmony during the same time that the Bogota Conference dominated by US imperialism was upset by a mass revolt that forced the masters of the world to scurry for shelter.

The successful conclusion of the Second World Congress of the Fourth International is a sign that the all-decisive revolutionary leadership needed by the toiling masses of the world is being hammered out and consolidated. The fact that in the midst of the greatest international tensions, which official circles polarized between Washington and Moscow, the Fourth International was able to gather direct representatives from Europe and the Western Hemisphere, from Asia and from Africa, in order to raise high and hold firmer than ever the banner of independent revolutionary labor action, shows that the program of uncompromising Marxism is no less indomitable than the will of the working masses to struggle for their emancipation. When the parties representing that program fuse with the broad masses in struggle — and the measures for speeding that day were the main topic at the Congress — the drive for the establishment of a Socialist World will be irresistible.

Italian Elections Mark Interim Setback For Stalinists

The results of the Italian elections marked a signal victory for American imperialism in its "cold war" against the Soviet Union. Only a few months ago the tide seemed to be running irresistibly in favor of the Popular Front. The same demands for peace, land and bread which were the slogans of the Russian Revolution were on the tongues of the Italian workers and peasants. The Stalinist-led bloc won the important elections in Rome last October and made further inroads in the local elections at Pescara in February.

There was even talk that the workers and peasants under the leadership of the Communist Party might surge forth and seize power before the elections. Many capitalist observers had expected the Popular Front to obtain a clear majority and very few doubted that it would become the leading party. There were many defeatists in the ranks of the American bourgeoisie who openly counseled withdrawal from this uneven race lest US economy be endangered by pouring more billions into the rat hole of Europe.

Yet the exigencies of the situation permitted of no retreat on the part of the American capitalists. The disastrous defeats of their Chinese puppet Chiang Kai-shek at the hands of the CP-led armies and the ease with which Czechoslovakia came under the complete domination of the Stalinists made it all the more essential for Washington to stand its ground in Western Europe. What perturbed American imperialism still more was the fear that Stalin would be unable to control the forces of revolution un-

leashed in Italy, and that even a new deal with the Kremlin would not prevent revolution from spreading throughout Europe. It was at this juncture that Washington went all out in its desperate attempt to influence the Italian elections. It threw aside the last pretense of non-intervention and got its faithful ally, the Catholic hierarchy, to do likewise. Together the new Holy Alliance staged one of the most coercive election campaigns ever held under the banner of "democracy."

Unprecedented Intervention in an Election

American imperialism openly and brazenly lined up its citizens of Italian extraction to appeal to their compatriots abroad by means of the radio and through hundreds of thousands of letters to vote "against Communism." This was only to supplement the more direct intervention on the part of Washington. Marshall's "European Recovery Program" was rushed through Congress three weeks before the elections while the previously passed stop-gap aid was utilized to send ships loaded with food for the hungry Italian people. The ships were routed to various Italian ports where they were met by Ambassador Dunn who expatiated on the generosity of Uncle Sam. This was to be a token of more extensive aid to follow under ERP. And with the hope of better days to come was the threat of ending this help in the event that the CP-dominated Front won the elections.

American imperialism also let it be known in unmistakable terms that it would regard a victory of the Popular Front as another indication of Soviet expansion, which would lead to direct armed intervention by Washington. Democracy was to be cherished as long as the Italians followed the directives of the American industrialists. Otherwise Truman was prepared to play the same role in Italy as Hitler and Mussolini did in Spain in 1936. The fear that a victory for the CP-SP bloc would lead to war thus had its influence with the Italian electorate.

What the Vote Figures Show

The Catholic hierarchy, always ready to support the most reactionary force in society, did yeoman work on behalf of its patron in Wall Street. From the Pope right down to the village priest the whole Church together with its lay organization, Catholic Action, took to the rostrum and invaded every home. Sacraments were denied to those espousing the Popular Front. The faithful were warned that it was a sin not to "vote for God," who, unlike Stalin, was able to watch them in the polling booth. Civil Committees were organized by Catholic Action in every one of the 3,000 dioceses and in 18,000 of the 24,000 parishes. Units were formed in every building by the 3,000,000 members of Catholic Action. Thus the "red tide" was turned back, by the black legion, causing joy in Washington and the Vatican.

The Christian Democrats obtained 12,751,000 votes, 48.7% of the total. They thereby got 307 out of 575 seats in the Chamber of Deputies, an outright majority. They also obtained 151 out of 350 seats in the Senate. With the help of his allies, the party's leader, Premier de Gasperi, will have no difficulty in controlling both Houses. The Christian Democrats gained 4,875,000 votes over their total in the June 2, 1946 elections for the Constituent Assembly, increasing their percentage from 35.2 to 48.7. However, all but approximately a million of the votes gained by the Christian Democrats were at the expense of the parties of the right, the balance being due to the larger turnout at the polls.

The Popular Front received 8,026,000 votes or 30.7% of the total. They obtained 182 seats in the Chamber and 115 in the Senate. Comparison with the 1946 elections is difficult since in the interim the "right-wing" Socialists, led by Saragat, split from the Socialist Party, and in 1948 polled 1,860,000 votes or 7.1% on their own ticket. If we assume that the relative strength of the Saragat party remained stationary during the two years, then we can estimate the combined 1948 vote of the CP and SP minus the split-off "right wing" as 7,233,000 votes or 32.5% of the total. Thus we find the forces comprising the Popular Front today gained nearly a million votes but percentage-wise dropped 1.8%.

Trends Indicated

Inside the Popular Front, according to incomplete returns available at this time, the CP made deep inroads upon its SP ally. Whereas in the 1946 Constituent Assembly the CP had 103 seats, it now occupies at least 139 in the new Chamber, a gain of 36. The Nenni-led Socialists, however, are expected to obtain no more than 37 seats while the Saragat group now has 33 seats. In 1946 the united Socialists together held 115 seats. Again assuming that the Saragat bloc remained stationary, the Nenni Socialists appear to have lost at least 45 seats.

From this brief resume it might appear that American imperialism and its agent de Gasperi have little to be jubilant about since the Communist Party made a 33% gain in the Chamber to become the second largest party in Italy. But a comparison with 1946 does not tell the true story since the situation did not remain static in the interval.

All the economic factors favored a victory for the CP-led Front. Starvation and hunger were the lot both of the Italian workers in the city and of the peasants on the land. Uncontrolled inflation had sapped the purchasing power of the Italian people. More than two million were unemployed at the end of 1947 with another sharp increase since then. On more than one occasion the workers took possession of the factories while the peasants seized the land. Fascists were being systematically hunted down. Had the Stalinists not dampened the ardor of the workers and peasants to conform to the diplomatic policy

of the Kremlin, revolution would have been the order of the day.

Thousands of advanced workers saw through the aims of the Stalinist leadership, which were calculated merely to enhance the bargaining power of the Kremlin in its frantic desire to come to terms with the American imperialists at the expense of the Italian people. The large drop in the vote of the Popular Front in the industrial cities of the North attested to this fact. According to unofficial figures of American correspondents, the Popular Front vote in North Italy dropped from 40.9% in 1946 to 32.9%. The big gains for the CP took place in the less decisive sections of Central and Southern Italy and in the Islands. In Central Italy, where the influence of the Church is stronger than in the North, the Popular Front nevertheless increased its vote from 37% to 45.3%.

The real crimes of Stalinism are reflected in these figures. The industrial workers of the North who had been following the leadership of the Communist Party turned away in disgust as the result of the sell-outs. Thoroughly confused they realized that the road to socialism was not by the Stalinist path.

The peasants of the South, turning to revolution as the only way to obtain the land from absentee land-holders and the Church, followed Stalinist leadership for the first time, after disillusionment with the Catholic politicians.

This confusion among the Italian electorate was doubly confounded by the reprehensible role of the American labor leaders who both in Italy and from abroad added their voices to the bellows of the capitalists and the Church. They were the most insistent in affirming that American aid under the Marshall Plan would be cut off in the event of a "Communist victory." They denied the obvious truth that ERP was intended to line up the Italian people for the war against the Soviet Union and for crushing world revolution. Without their aid, given free of charge, American imperialism would not have been able to sell its reactionary program to the Italian people.

Premature Celebration

However the celebration of the bourgeoisie may prove to be premature. De Gasperi cannot solve the problems confronting the Italian people even with the help of ERP. It is beyond the province of capitalism to grant land to the peasants. Since land is mortgaged to the banks, the whole capitalist structure would be in danger of collapse. The ERP cannot build up Italian industry, for most of the aid will be in the form of food and coal. Marshall Plan aid will not exceed by much the average yearly sums thus far granted to the Italian government. The Plan may not even be sufficient to take care of the excess of imports over exports required by the Italian economy.

Italy lacks markets for its products even were it to obtain the necessary raw materials and machinery. While giving with one hand at the expense of the American tax-

payers, US imperialism is itself taking away Italy's foreign markets. It is also utilizing ERP to permit American industry to buy into Italian business firms. Wall Street already controls a large sector of Italian economy and has just concluded a trade agreement which forces Italian business men to permit American monopolists to compete on equal terms. Far from aiding Italian economy, American imperialism is in effect squeezing Italy dry.

Disappointment and disillusionment with the de Gasperi regime should not be long in coming. It will be accompanied by deep and bitter hatred toward American imperialism and the Vatican who stumped so brazenly for their puppet, de Gasperi. The workers and peasants will be obliged to look elsewhere for a solution of their problems. Signs are already apparent that a new regroupment of the Socialist and Communist forces are in the making. The program of the Fourth International is beginning to find fertile soil in the unsettled conditions in Italy. It will not be long before the Italian workers and peasants will surge forth in another mighty effort to overthrow their masters. The final words will be spoken not in the ballot box but in the factories, on the land and in the streets.

Randolph's Drive Against Army Jim Crow

American capitalism and its democratic pretensions have received a serious jolt from the Negro people in the United States. Following the Czechoslovakian events, Truman gave the signal for a leap in war preparations under the banner of "democracy and freedom."

At this critical moment for US propaganda, A. Philip Randolph and Grant Reynolds made a declaration to the Senate Committee on Military Affairs that unless segregation in the armed forces was ended, they would summon the Negroes to a civil disobedience campaign on the Gandhi model. They would call upon Negroes to go to jail rather than be inducted into another Jim-Crow army. They would ask whites to do the same in solidarity against the flagrant violation of democracy by the Federal Government in maintaining its Jim-Crow army.

They repeated their defiance at later sessions, informing the Senate Committee that they would sell buttons advocating their proposal on the Capitol steps and in front of the White House. They would issue cards, asking the public to pledge themselves not to join a Jim-Crow army.

Randolph's Record

Randolph was able to make such a declaration with telling effect. After World War I he was founder and editor of the *Messenger*, a periodical that preached Socialism to the Negro people. When this failed he turned to union organization, and in the face of great difficulty, established a union of the Pullman porters of which he

remains the leader, and, as such, the most prominent Negro member of the American Federation of Labor.

In 1941 he placed himself at the head of what became the March-On-Washington Movement, which burst out of the bitterness and frustration of the Negro people at the discrimination against them in the industrial mobilization for the war. President Roosevelt at once recognized the significance of this movement. He personally and officially brought tremendous pressure to bear on Randolph. To the rage of many of his closest supporters Randolph called off the march in return for Executive Order 8802, establishing the Federal Fair Employment Practices Committee.

The movement thereupon rapidly declined. Randolph had done the bourgeoisie a great service at a critical time. But the Negro protest was not so easily subdued. Two years later it burst forth in the Harlem demonstrations. This protest crystallized around two main issues: the price-gouging and shoddy goods sold in Harlem and the continued segregation in the army.

New Wave of Negro Revolt

Today this rebelliousness has found a new point of concentration against Jim Crow by the Federal Government itself in new legislation for enlarging the armed forces. The declaration of Randolph and Reynolds was made in terms of ringing defiance. The political consequences have been immediate. The dangerous temper of the millions of Negroes is underestimated neither by the bourgeoisie nor by the Negro leaders.

Secretary of Defense Forrestal summoned a group of Negro leaders to the Army Pentagon Building and asked for their cooperation and advice on how to improve the situation of Negroes within a segregated army. He was quite blunt about stating that segregation had to continue. Most of the practiced Negro misleaders were there, including Lester Granger, Dr. Channing Tobias, Mordecai Johnson, President of Howard University, Roy Wilkins of the NAACP, Negro bishops, business men, etc.

Threatened in their rear by the forces ranged behind Randolph and Reynolds, these Negro leaders refused point-blank to cooperate with the War Department. They would have nothing to do with any segregated army. Dr. Channing Tobias, member of the Truman Committee on Civil Rights, told the press later that he would oppose any further special committee meetings for Negroes just as he would oppose special meetings for Indians, Chinese, Norwegians, or any other groups of American citizens.

When asked if any of them opposed Randolph, not a single voice was raised. In fact Lester Granger opened the press conference with the following statement:

"The contents of these (Randolph and Reynolds) statements (on Civil Disobedience) are well known to all of us here. The statement of Mr. Randolph has been warmly praised by what may easily be the majority of Negroes throughout the country, who have all along thought what Mr. Randolph has announced publicly. The statements

have also been criticized by some who are apprehensive regarding the long-range implications and results of such a position as it advises."

However, when the Randolph statement was first made, most of these Negro leaders condemned it. Only a few short weeks have convinced them that if they join the Jim-Crow government against Randolph, they run the risk of being repudiated by the Negro people, which means they would not even be of much use to the government. This, and nothing else but this, is the cause of the stiffened stand they have taken.

Truman's Dilemma

All this has happened without any mass mobilization or even as yet any mass organization around the issue. It is clear that fear of the response of the Negro masses has placed the government in a terrible dilemma. It must now either find a new group of Negroes to shepherd the Negroes into support of the war or else make concessions which will enable some of the old ones to do the old dirty work under the new conditions.

On the other side, there is the question of Truman's relations with the Southern Bloc in his own party. Truman calculated that the Negro vote in the North and West held the balance of power in areas which controlled twice as many electoral votes as the Solid South. His Civil Rights Program was aimed at gaining these votes, despite the rage of his Southern section.

Now, however, the administration is dealing, not with campaign promises, but with an explosive movement. The Southern leaders never allowed Roosevelt to give even verbal support to any measure such as a Federal anti-lynching bill which would unsettle the social relations in the South so precariously held together by legal and illegal terror. For the present administration to sponsor a bill on selective service which would specifically denounce Jim-Crow in the army might well be a breaking-point for the South.

More is involved than the question of a few white regiments in New York and Pennsylvania. This demand challenges the whole social set-up in the South. That is why not only Forrestal and Secretary of the Army Royall but Eisenhower himself have refused to accept any modification of military Jim-Crow.

Effects on Presidential Campaign

The presidential boom for Eisenhower is already damaged by his stand. The Negro press has denounced him from end to end. Two months ago Wallace drew the largest political meeting ever held in Harlem. Wallace can afford to promise anything, and his own shabby record on the Negro question and the weakness here of Truman, his main target, push Wallace toward the most unbridled demagoguery on this issue. Wallace has demanded the resignation of Secretaries Forrestal and Royall for continuing Jim-Crow in the army.

Wallace's recruiting agents of the Stalinist party have come out against Randolph's proposal. They feel they cannot control this movement. Randolph is a bitter enemy of Stalinism and the Stalinists from the Social-Democratic stand-point. He took great pains to exclude them from the March-On-Washington Movement and his testimony before the Senate shows that he proposes to exclude them from this new movement also. The Stalinists fear that the pro-Wallace movement among the Negroes may be deflected toward Randolph.

Furthermore, any direct mass action by the Randolph-led movement would at once put Wallace to a stern test. He would have to declare himself on it instead of merely denouncing Truman.

Shabby Role of Liberals

The liberals are silent, for the most part looking another way. The *New Leader*, however, has taken the side of the bourgeoisie. The war, it says, will be fought for the rights of everybody, including the Negro. The Negro leaders should therefore not embarrass the government at this time. The late Senator Bilbo would have loved to read these Social-Democratic preachments.

Republican congressmen immediately warned Randolph that his proposal was treason. But the Republican Party and its candidates all pretend that the problem is Truman's, not theirs.

As yet, the official labor movement has not said one word. But no silence can evade the violence of the clash between the Negro masses and the administration, symbolized in the meeting of Forrestal and the Negro leaders. The situation can be manipulated in the traditional tricky bourgeois manner only upon one condition, that the Negro masses remain quiet — and that is the most unlikely of alternatives. A mass movement among the Negro people supporting Randolph's disobedience to the Jim-Crow draft or a protest movement unloosed by the trial and imprisonment of Randolph and others can easily shake the whole bourgeois political structure.

Presidential Campaign Notes

To all outward appearances the handful of multi-billionaires who run this country face no serious problems whatever, let alone any grave threats, in the coming presidential elections. The only thing that seems to be in question is the identity of the individual who will succeed in winning the Republican nomination and therewith the Presidency. The odds are likewise heavily in favor of a Republican sweep of both houses of Congress. Only a sudden and unexpected change could prevent this party of avowed reaction from returning to the seats of power in Washington after a lapse of 16 years.

This Republican victory would set the seal at home on Wall Street's unbroken chain of triumphs in the three post-war years. Just as the US remains economically the only

solvent capitalist country among the major powers, so, too, it will then be the only major power where capitalism is able to rule openly in the name of its most reactionary party.

Behind them the American monopolists have ten years of lushest profits in history, with each year's booty surpassing that of the year before. They have succeeded in raising profits not alone in industry but also in agriculture to heights previously unknown under capitalism. The big and middle farmers who are enjoying this unprecedented prosperity provide a substantial social prop for the monopolists and add considerable wind to the swollen sails of reaction.

Even before the presidential elections Wall Street has embarked upon a rearmament program unknown in peacetime. The budget plans which are being jammed through Congress already surpass in cost the armament programs of the Western European states (Germany, Italy, England, France) plus the United States itself on the eve of World War II. The second violent explosion of American militarism which lies directly ahead promises to throw into the shadows the one which the world witnessed only a few short years ago. Concurrently, never has the military clique in the US wielded the power in peacetime in all spheres, diplomatic as well as financial and economic, that it already wields today. The militarists intend to remain firmly in the saddle and they will be aided by a Republican victory.

This brief list far from exhausts the scope and resources of reaction, but it suffices to indicate the vastness of its power. Not only is American capitalism the strongest single power ever to emerge in the world. It actually surpasses the strength of all the others combined, towering over the whole planet so as to dwarf its rivals, even if we discount its temporary monopoly of the atomic explosives.

Paradox of Power and Crisis

It therefore seems paradoxical, if not irrational, to speak of a political crisis in connection with the coming presidential elections. Nonetheless that is the reality. The American bourgeoisie is heading for a political crisis that threatens to surpass in its acuteness the critical period of the presidential elections held on the eve of the Civil War against the Southern slaveocracy.

Ironically enough it was the disintegration of the Democratic Party that signaled the crisis at that time, just as it does today. But here the historical parallel ceases. The Democratic Party on the eve of the Civil War represented an entirely different correlation of class forces from the decaying Democratic Party of our day. The disintegration of this party in the Sixties signified the irreparable break of the coalition between the Southern plantation owners and the rising industrial bourgeoisie of the North. On the other hand, the disintegration of Truman's party signifies the beginning of the death agony of bourgeois democracy.

Capitalist democracy is not sustained by such things as a constitution or political parties, or free elections, and so on. All these are, so to speak, only the mechanical details. Capitalist democracy is sustained in the last analysis by the ability of one or more avowed capitalist parties to win the support of the labor movement as a whole or in any case of its majority.

Once this labor support is lost, however, parliamentary rule becomes impossible for the bourgeoisie. To be sure, they are still able to maintain themselves as a ruling class through the medium of such disguised capitalist parties as the Social Democracy in Europe or the Labor Party in England. But this expedient of indirect rule is both unstable and temporary. The capitalists tolerate such an expedient only so long as their own forces are not yet reorganized in order to set in motion totalitarian, fascist gangs. There are and there can be no exceptions to such a course of events once the crisis of capitalist parliamentarianism sets in. The entire history of Western Europe in the interval between the two imperialist world wars bears this out irrefutably.

Peculiarity of U. S. Development

The peculiarity of the development of the political crisis in the United States lies in this, that the dominant capitalist parties are losing their labor support before an independent labor party has appeared on the scene and in the absence of mass workers' parties of any other variety, either the classic reformist, the Stalinist-reformist or the genuinely revolutionary. We find the crisis of bourgeois democracy unfolding even though the long maturing political crisis of the American labor movement has failed as yet to find its first organizational form.

The break of the labor movement with the Republican Party took place many years ago. This party of labor haters and chief promoters of the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Law stands in approximately the same relation to American labor as do the British Tories in relation to the British working class.

Labor's break with the Democratic Party is neither so clear nor definitive as yet. It is still in its initial stages. It finds its most graphic expression not so much in the formation of the Wallace third party movement as in the widespread resistance among the workers to Truman's candidacy.

More and more official CIO leaders find themselves compelled to disavow Truman publicly and to demand some other figurehead — an Eisenhower or a Douglas — who, they believe, would make it possible for them to once again rally the workers behind the Democratic Party. This frantic search for a popular candidate is not at all a question of the fate of this or that individual. At stake is the entire future of the Democratic Party which must founder once it loses its labor support. Repeated here under different conditions is the experience of the British Liberal Party which found itself in a similar

plight toward the close of the nineteenth century, when the British working class took its first halting steps toward the formation of the Labour Party. Democratic chieftains and their labor flunkeys will discover, as did the liberals and the prototypes of the Greens and the Murays in England, that labor's drift away from their party cannot be checked and will inescapably assume the shape of a complete break.

The profound political ferment inside the ranks of American labor is still obscured by the unchallenged monopoly of the capitalists on the political field. Unquestionably the survival of the two party system is the greatest single internal asset of the Wall Street monopolists. But at the same time it is a factor that aggravates the unfolding political crisis of the American working class.

Anti-Union Drive Will Awaken Labor

The precondition for the carrying out of Wall Street's war program is the complete shackling of the trade unions to the governmental war machine. The degree of independence enjoyed by the unions during the last war cannot now be afforded by the capitalist ruling class. The regimentation of labor initiated under the Taft-Hartley Law even before there was talk of preparing another war is only a brief prelude to a vast program of police and military regimentation for labor and the population as a whole as the rearmament becomes full-fledged.

By their entire conduct the monopolists have demonstrated that they feel free to do as they please at home as well as abroad. Labor's impotence in the political field is what really unties their hands. They know this. But as they continue to deal one blow after another to labor, they must drive this lesson home to the mass of organized workers as well. For the very existence of the unions along with the defense of labor's living standards and elementary democratic rights is being jeopardized as the workers will discover, not so much by the power of the corporations as by labor's lack of any independent organizational strength in politics.

Overshadowing every other development is, of course, the war crisis into which Wall Street is deliberately plunging this country and the whole world. This will feed the crisis of bourgeois democracy not alone because of the intolerable burdens and sacrifices that will be imposed upon the masses at home but also because of the stripping away of all the democratic disguises of capitalist rule through the increasing imposition in all spheres of police and military measures. The war crisis will tend to cut the ground from under political adventures like the Wallace movement.

Red-baiting, war hysteria, patriotic demagogy and the rest will wear thin very quickly as the workers find their organizations and living standards subjected to one ferocious onslaught after another. This will bring the political crisis of the American labor movement to the break-

ing point far more quickly than the power-drunk rulers and all their agents and apologists realize.

It may be said without any fear of exaggeration that never before has the situation been more propitious in this country for the advancement and spread of the liberating ideas of revolutionary Marxism. In a certain sense the opportunities afforded by the 1948 presidential elections to the Socialist Workers Party are exceptional and unrepeatable. Every seed will fall upon the most fertile soil.

Fertile Ground for Our Campaign

The Socialist Workers Party is able to appear at this critical juncture for the first time on a national scale as the sole consistent fighter against war and to point the only road to lasting peace. It is able to counterpose to the self-destructive and war-breeding system of capitalism the only program of salvation — the abolition of this system and the revolutionary reconstruction of society on socialist foundations.

It will be able to provide the political answers for which so many American workers are now groping. At the same time, it will be able to advance the best practical program for defending the unions and the living standards in the terrible days ahead.

Not the least important is the fact that these elections afford the Socialist Workers Party its first opportunity to demarcate itself politically on a national scale from all the other tendencies inside the working class, from the official misleaders and cowards through the bankrupt remnants of the Social Democracy down to the equally bankrupt and discredited Stalinist betrayers.

Most heartening and gratifying is the fact that even before the limited forces and resources of the SWP have been fully mobilized for the task of this presidential campaign, the branches in three states — New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Michigan — have already succeeded in meeting their respective requirements for getting on the ballot. These three states comprise one-sixth of the voting population of this country.

This is indeed an auspicious beginning. It is a pledge that other branches will overcome the many obstacles that Wall Street's boasted "democracy" throws in the way of minority parties who seek their rightful place on the ballot. It is a guarantee that the message of the Socialist Workers Party will reach tens upon hundreds of thousands of workers who are today not even familiar with its name.

In the Next Issue:

***Documents of the Second World Congress
of the Fourth International.***



***Articles on: The Wallace Party — The New
Wave of Renegacy Among the Intellectuals.***

The "Testament" Forged by the GPU:

New Evidence of Stalin's Fear of Trotskyism

By Joseph Hansen

Eight years after the GPU assassination of Leon Trotsky, Stalin has indicated in characteristic fashion how much he fears today the revolutionary socialist ideas of his victim.

Stalin's secret police, who plotted and carried out the murder of the great founder of the Soviet Union and head of the world Marxist movement, have planted in the European press a forged document purporting to be Trotsky's "secret" final "political testament." It has appeared in the French weekly *France-Dimanche*, in the Swiss weekly *Die Wochenzeitung* and has been announced by the Belgian daily *La Lanterne* for early publication. As yet the GPU has not brought it out in the channels available to the Kremlin in the American press.

Aim of Forgery

The aim of this forgery is to provide a "confession from the grave" of the martyred Bolshevik leader to serve Stalin's reactionary aims—a "confession" from Trotsky himself of loss of faith in the working class and readiness to facilitate imperialist military intervention in the Soviet Union — a "confession" patterned on the same model as those which the GPU forced its principal victims to recite publicly in the notorious Moscow Frame-up Trials of a decade ago. Under the baton of the GPU, it will be recalled, those former Bolsheviks were compelled to avow loss of faith in the working class and to "confess" readiness to resort to such treasonous means as a pact with Hitler in seeking the overthrow of the Stalin regime.

The usefulness to the Kremlin of such a "confession" from Trotsky's pen is obvious. The "secret testament"

dictated to the stenographers of the GPU is designed to furnish fresh literary material for the hatchet-men of the Kremlin propaganda machine assigned to slander Trotskyism. The old tripe doesn't go, as many rank and file Stalinists discovered when they were given the unpleasant job of disposing of *The Great Conspiracy*, the book cut by Sayers and Kahn to the traditional GPU pattern. A new "sensation" is needed. Something "fresh." Something "from Trotsky's archives," considering the embarrassing absence of a single document in Hitler's archives that could be used to smear the Trotskyist movement. What would meet the needs of the GPU in this respect better than "an incredible combination of circumstances" — to quote the editors of *France-Dimanche* — which would place in their hands a document of Trotsky's designed to bolster the lies of the Moscow Frame-up Trials?

By publicizing this forged death-bed "recantation" of everything Trotsky stood for, Moscow hopes to counteract the growing popularity of Trotskyism among advanced workers, particularly in Western Europe, sow demoralization among them and check the movement of these workers toward the parties standing on the program of the Fourth International.

A Sample of New Lies

This latest achievement of the GPU's forgery department should be appraised as a preliminary effort, a trial sample of Stalinist postwar production in this field. Bigger and more imposing forgeries are now in the blueprint stage, if the precedents laid down by the GPU in previous frame-ups can be taken as any guide. The logic

of the lie requires that each model shaped up for the propaganda belt-line exceed everything previously produced. The weak points that exposed and broke down the earlier falsifications must be covered up by more startling lies to distract attention from the growing counterweight of the truth.

Moscow has announced the forthcoming publication of seized Nazi documents — selected to cast a different light from that of the documents published by Washington on the relations of the Hitler regime with foreign powers, especially the Nazi relations with Moscow. One needn't be clairvoyant to visualize the temptation to draft the services of the GPU forgery squad in the preparation of such a publication or the eagerness of these specialists to curry favor with Stalin by a new elaborate attempt at patching up the fatal defects in the Moscow Frame-up Trials.

Spoors of the GPU

Consequently, the GPU's "secret testament" should serve to alert class-conscious workers to new monstrous falsifications and bloody acts in preparation by Stalin's murder machine against the Trotskyists and other working-class opponents of Stalinism.

The spoor of the GPU in the forgery has been pointed out by George Breitman in *The Militant* of April 5, 1948. Here I shall mention only two items sufficient to expose the crudity of the forgery and to reveal unmistakably its authorship.

The first item is the editorial note accompanying the concoction. *France-Dimanche* attempts to create sympathy for "Jacson," the GPU assassin who drove a pick-axe into Trotsky's brain. It reports an interview in 1946 with

the murderer in which "Jacson" claims Trotsky one day abruptly said, "Here is a false identity card, a passport and money. You will leave for Shanghai. There you will contact our agents and you will then enter Russia to train our squads of saboteurs."

The assassin "at once took into consideration" the "danger in the event of war between Germany and Russia," recalled how he had been "astonished by the frequent visits of the German consul to Trotsky" and "therefore refused to go."

Then, said "Jacson," "Trotsky, mad with rage, threw himself on me and threatened to have me shot by the guards."

And so "What could I do? My life hung by a thread. . . ." By lucky coincidence he had in the pocket of his coat an alpenstock "which I intended to have repaired." With this he heroically defended himself.

The facts as established by the Mexican courts were quite different. Shortly after the assassination, "Jacson" was brought back to Trotsky's home to re-enact the crime. Before a half-hundred or more witnesses, including press photographers, "Jacson" showed the precise spot in the patio where he met Trotsky, proffered the article he had written for Trotsky's perusal with the aim of being alone with the revolutionary leader. He explained how for greater sureness in committing the premeditated murder he had carried in addition to the pick-axe a revolver and a dagger.

"Jacson's" Real Evidence

In Trotsky's study, before the crowd of court officials, police officers and press photographers, "Jacson" then pointed out where Trotsky had been sitting at his desk reading the article, and how he had stood behind his intended victim. "Jacson" then went through the motions of raising the pick-axe behind Trotsky's back and demonstrated how he had brought the point crashing down into the gray hairs of the seated man.

This re-enactment of the assassination, the accuracy of which was corroborated by all the rest of the volu-

minous evidence, is not only reported in detail in the official court record; it was given sensational publicity in the press at the time. The editors of *France-Dimanche*, however, chose to print the latest falsification offered by the Stalinist hero "Jacson."

Outside of the GPU and its partisans, who is interested in picturing Trotsky's murderer in a sympathetic light? The editorial note accompanying the "testament" thus constitutes nothing less than the signature of the GPU to the forgery. All that calls for wonder in this is the audacity of the GPU in utilizing the declarations of one of its agents held in a Mexican prison. Perhaps the GPU has reason for confidence that no pressure will be brought to bear on "Jacson" to reveal his identity and his present connections with Stalin's secret police agents in Mexico. After all, aren't his services utilized only in Stalin's war on Trotskyism? On that front the GPU can count on sympathetic understanding from Wall Street and its agencies as well as from those Mexican officials who find that friendliness toward Stalinism pays off.

The second item that exposes the real authorship of the forgery happens to be the central point of the "testament." As George Breitman points out in *The Militant*, for these key declarations the GPU lifted certain sentences out of an article written by Trotsky in September 1939, "The USSR in War," where Trotsky poses the alternative facing humanity of going forward to socialism or relapsing into barbarism. If the working class should not prove capable of leading humanity forward, then the most frightful barbarism would prove inevitable and we would have to revise our analyses of the class character of the Soviet Union, give up hope of the workers winning a socialist victory, and indeed even declare that Marxism had proved to be Utopian.

The GPU in lifting these sentences recast them so that Trotsky is presented in the "testament" as affirming what he had specifically denied. As Breitman remarks, "The real authors of this 'testament' must have guffawed

with satisfaction as they composed this section." Undoubtedly they considered it the strongest part—a master stroke! But all they succeeded in doing was to facilitate exposure of the fraud, for they happened to choose the very paragraphs in this article which Trotsky later selected for further comment and amplification. Thus the sentences picked out by the GPU to form the backbone of the "testament" actually serve to explode the forgery and give occasion, as we shall see, for once again underlining Trotsky's actual views on the capacities of the working class and the revolutionary perspectives facing us.

Past Crudities

Here an instructive parallel can be drawn with previous frame-ups engineered by the GPU. Invariably the bureaucrats assigned by Stalin to the task of rigging up his frame-ups succeeded in including some glaring crudity, designed as a strong point of the falsification, which turned out to be the very opposite of what the GPU intended.

In the infamous Zinoviev-Kamenev trial of August 1938, for instance, one of the key pieces of "evidence" placed on the stage by the Stalinist prosecutor was the "confession" of one of the defendants that he had met Trotsky's son, Leon Sedov, at the Hotel Bristol in Copenhagen in 1932 and that from this rendezvous he had been taken by Sedov to a secret meeting to get orders direct from Trotsky who was then lecturing in the city. The falsity of this declaration was quickly established. Although "Bristol" is a most common hotel name it turned out that the GPU had unluckily selected the name of a hotel in Copenhagen which had burned down in 1917. When Sedov was able to prove in addition that he was nowhere near Denmark at the time, the entire GPU frame-up collapsed. This "strong point" proved to be one of the weakest links of the fabrication.

Again in the trial of Piatakov, Radek and the rest in January 1937, one of the main items in the "evidence" was an airplane trip that Piatakov

"confessed" to have made from Berlin to Oslo, Norway, in December, 1935, to visit Trotsky for purposes of "plotting" against the Stalin regime. During the trial itself—before the defendants were led out and shot or buried alive in the prisons of the GPU — it was established from the official records of the airport that no foreign airplane whatsoever had landed there during the entire month! This fact alone knocked out the pillars of the entire GPU structure.

The GPU was no more fortunate in its selection of texts for its latest forgery. When Trotsky's article was written in September 1939, certain members of the faction of James Burnham, Max Shachtman and Martin Abern, then in process of splitting from the Socialist Workers Party and developing views in fundamental opposition to those of Trotsky, became piqued at the charge that their innovations represented a deviation from Marxism. By way of retort, some of them asserted that the theoretical possibility of a new exploiting class developed by Trotsky in these paragraphs represented just as much of a deviation from Marxism as any of their speculations.

Trotsky Answered Latest Forgery

Trotsky answered them in his article, "Again and Once More Again on the Nature of the USSR," which happens to be included in the same volume, *In Defense of Marxism*, from which the GPU lifted the key sentences around which to construct the "testament." Trotsky devoted a whole section of this article to the unexpected reaction of the followers of Burnham-Shachtman-Abern.

"Some comrades evidently were surprised," he comments, "that I spoke in my article... of the system of 'bureaucratic collectivism' as a theoretical possibility. They discovered in this even a complete revision of Marxism. This is an apparent misunderstanding."

Trotsky then goes on to amplify his precise meaning. He was only posing once more what "Marxists have for-

mulated an incalculable number of times," that is, "the alternative: either socialism or return to barbarism." He called attention to the lesson of fascism and once more pointed to the phenomena of barbarism visible under capitalism: "chronic unemployment, pauperization of the petty bourgeoisie, fascism, finally wars of extermination which do not open up any new road."

What would the new theoretically possible barbarism look like? Trotsky answers:

"Fascism on one hand, degeneration of the Soviet state on the other outline the social and political forms of a neo-barbarism. An alternative of this kind — socialism or totalitarian servitude — has not only theoretical interest, but also enormous importance in agitation, because in its light the necessity for socialist revolution appears most graphically."

Trotsky then adds that

"If we are to speak of a revision of Marx, it is in reality the revision of those comrades who project a new type of state, 'non-bourgeois' and 'non-worker.' Because the alternative developed by me leads them to draw their own thoughts up to their logical conclusion, some of these critics, frightened by the conclusions of their own theory, accuse me... of revising Marxism. I prefer to think that it is simply a friendly jest."

In 1940 as a generous gesture, Trotsky preferred to consider this particular misinterpretation of his views a "friendly jest." Today in 1948 the GPU has no "jest" in mind when it lifts Trotsky's words out of context, fitting them into a forged document and giving them a meaning directly opposite to that which Trotsky later specifically declared was his when he wrote them.

But Trotsky did not stop here in specifying his precise meaning.

"I endeavored to demonstrate in my article 'The USSR in the War,'" he continues, "that the perspective of a non-worker and non-bourgeois society of exploitation, or 'bureaucratic collectivism,' is the perspective of complete defeat and the decline of the international proletariat, the perspective of the most profound historical pessimism."

Is there any ground for such pessimism? asks Trotsky.

He calls attention to the conversation between Hitler and the French Ambassador Coulondre on the eve of the war in which Coulondre gloomily ventured the opinion that the "real victor" in the war "will be Trotsky."

"I know," Hitler responded.

Trotsky's Real Views

Trotsky concludes his amplification of the sentences that were clipped from his article eight years later by the GPU as follows:

"Both of them, Coulondre and Hitler, represent the barbarism which advances over Europe. At the same time neither of them doubts that their barbarism will be conquered by socialist revolution. Such is now the awareness of the ruling classes of all the capitalist countries of the world. Their complete demoralization is one of the most important elements in the relation of class forces. The proletariat has a young and still weak revolutionary leadership. But the leadership of the bourgeoisie rots on its feet. At the very outset of the war which they could not avert, these gentlemen are convinced in advance of the collapse of their regime. This fact alone must be for us the source of invincible revolutionary optimism!"

That was how Trotsky in October 1939, enlarged on the words later selected by the GPU as the central point for their forgery. He revealed in this final stirring paragraph his most intimate views on the grandiose perspective of success facing the world proletariat despite all the blood, filth and lies through which they might have to wade in the days ahead. Nothing occurred in subsequent months to change this fundamental view of his. It was that same invincible revolutionary optimism which brought from his lips the genuine final testament he did utter after he had been struck down and knew that he was dying: "Please say to our friends: I am sure of the victory of the Fourth International. Go forward!"

Why is Stalin compelled in 1948 to once more resort to forgeries and character assassination against Trotskyism? Didn't he achieve one of his

long-sought aims in the murder of Leon Trotsky? Hasn't his regime survived even the first great shocks of World War II? Don't millions of workers still hold membership cards in the Stalinist parties? Isn't the Fourth International founded by Trotsky still weak and isolated? Has not the specter of Trotskyism been laid again and again?

What the Kremlin Fears

At first sight it might appear that the fears of the totalitarian despots in the Kremlin are baseless. What do they have to fear with their steel grip over the peoples of the Soviet Union? What hope is there of unseating the police regime that rules with whip and firing squad?

That imposing front maintained by the Kremlin, however, masks a reality of different character. None know this so well as the rulers sitting on the powder keg of unrest in the Soviet Union. The generation that defeated the armies of German imperialism is back on the home front, burning with resentment at the Stalinist bureaucracy, mulling over their experiences, beginning to push toward fuller assertion of their long-outraged rights. The Kremlin understands only too well that it would take but a spark from the proletariat outside the Soviet Union to set off the explosion that would end their hated regime. That is why eight years after Trotsky's death they hold everything represented by his name in such mortal fear.

It is a standing political rule pinned on the wall of every Stalinist bureaucrat in the world not to be "out-flanked to the left." Maurice Thorez, one of the top Stalinist chieftains in France, explained this as late as the spring of 1947 when the auto workers went on strike in the Renault plant. The Stalinists had at first opposed this strike, but the fact that Trotskyist workers played a prominent part in its leadership forced the Stalinists to reverse their stand. As a consequence the Ramadier regime ousted the Stalinist ministers from their posts. That the Stalinists considered the threat of Trotskyism more pressing than the

threats of Ramadier is an instructive indication of the political weight of Trotskyism. In the meeting of the Political Bureau of the Stalinist party where the decision was made, another CP leader, Andre Marty, pounded the table, according to the May 12, 1947, *Time* magazine, declaring: "If we allow this situation to develop, we will have broken our most important tactical rule, which is never to permit our left flank to be turned."

The Kremlin has followed this tactical rule since the time of the Left Opposition, organized by Trotsky a quarter of a century ago. Stalin's fear of the Trotskyist program has forced him again and again to make sharp "left" turns. The perspective of rapid industrialization of the USSR and the dynamic program of state planning of the country's industries, for instance, were first advanced by the Trotskyists and later applied — with intolerable bureaucratic distortions it is true — by the Stalinist regime to avoid being "out-flanked to the left."

Justified Fears

The "danger from the left" has never been so great as today. The Stalinist betrayals of the revolutionary hopes of the European masses since the end of the war have engendered currents among the proletariat that are clearly moving in the direction of Trotskyism. These currents can become greatly accelerated in the period now before us, especially in Italy and France. At any cost, therefore, the Stalinists must stem this development.

Stalinism, however, cannot speak the truth. It has no weapons at its disposal in this battle but the ones it is accustomed to use: slander, vilification, lies, falsification, and murder. That is why eight years after Trotsky's death, we once again see the Kremlin set in motion the sinister frame-up machinery of the GPU. Stalin is convinced that unless he galvanizes his repressive apparatus into motion against Trotskyism, the days of his regime are numbered.

But this very action testifies to the utter impossibility of assassinating the

program of revolutionary socialism by assassinating its leading representatives. The latest GPU "testament" is in reality a testimonial from the Kremlin to the viability of the Trotskyist movement and its growing weight in the arena of world politics. Far from succeeding in smearing Trotsky with pessimism and loss of faith in the working class, the Stalinist bureaucracy is only succeeding in disclosing its own profound pessimism and loss of faith in its future as a ruling caste. How firmly grounded Trotsky's indomitable faith was in the world proletariat, including the workers of the Soviet Union, will become clear even for the blindest to see in the period now opening before us.

**Only Victorious
Socialist Revolutions
Can Prevent
The Third World War!**

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THE MARSHALL PLAN - II

An Analysis of Its Aims and Limitations

By Pablo

We know that the American administration has already conceded to the point of view of Republican leader Vandenberg for reducing the sum of 22 billion dollars, which figures in the report of the Sixteen, to 17 billions. On the basis of this figure, Truman has asked Congress to grant the sum of 6,800 million dollars for the first fifteen months of operation of the Marshall Plan. But even this reduced sum is still not assured. There is, in fact, a strong tendency in a section of Congress to bring this aid down to 4 billion dollars for the first twelve months of application of the plan, that is to say, to about one-half the dollar deficit forecast by the report of the Sixteen for the year 1948.

On the other hand, Senator Taft has come out for a reduction to 3 billion dollars. Even if Congress votes the optimum sum asked by Truman, the latter remains considerably less than that anticipated in the report of the Sixteen, and which constituted the final basis for the possibility (according to the report) of attaining the economic level of 1938 by the end of 1951.

Directed and Controlled Aid

Washington expects to make Western European economy not into an independent economy which will develop in accord with its own interests and consequently in competition with American economy, but, into an economy complementary to its own.

In order to arrive at this result, the American leaders lay down a series of conditions which must be fulfilled in exchange for American aid. Some of these have already clearly appeared in recent agreements concluded with France and Italy, on the occasion of granting the "interim" credits necessary for fighting the economic crisis in these countries until the Marshall Plan is applied. Washington will, in the first place, have the right to direct inspection over the utilization of granted aid, and *will be able to suspend it for any nation which does not comply with its directives.*

Thus the famous *Section 5* of the American law on "interim" aid granted to France following the Franco-American pact signed by Bidault and J. Caffery on January 2, 1948 stipulates:

SECTION 5. (Paragraph A). — The governments benefiting from American aid agree to make effective use of every product supplied. . .

(Paragraph C). — The benefiting governments agree to give complete and continuing publicity by all possible methods (including the governmental press and radio)

in order to make known to consumers the destination, source, nature and quantity of products furnished.

(Paragraph D). — The benefiting governments agree to submit to the American government all information relative to the method of distribution and the utilization of the products.

SECTION 6. — THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES WILL QUICKLY END THE GRANT OF AID TO ANY COUNTRY WHENEVER HE WILL FIND THAT SUCH COUNTRY IS NOT RESPECTING THE TERMS OF THE AGREEMENT WHICH IT HAS CONCLUDED IN ACCORDANCE WITH SECTION 5 OF THIS LAW.

Elsewhere, Washington designates the goods, with the quantities which must be bought in the United States, as well as goods whose production must not be undertaken by the benefiting countries.

The Case of Germany

In the case of Western Germany where American economic penetration, exploiting the extreme weakness of the native bourgeoisie and the difficulties of British imperialism, has acquired a scale far greater than elsewhere, the measures undertaken to raise the level of German production and to start its economy working, go hand in hand with a set of Draconian decrees which aim to *direct* and to *control* the economic revival of Germany *in accord with the strict interests of American big businessmen.*

Whereas before the war Germany exported mainly finished products, today it exports mainly raw materials. The latter constitute 99% of the exports originating from the British zone (of which 81% is coal, lumber being in second place). In return, whereas Germany imported mainly raw materials (67% of the total in 1932), these imports amounted to only 17% in 1946.

The Anglo-Americans have adopted a series of measures designed to paralyze all branches of German industry capable of competing with their own production. This is particularly true for the electrical, chemical and dye industries, for which the present exchange rate in relation to the dollar, arbitrarily determined for each product by the occupying authorities, prevents any possible competition with American firms.

This policy, inherent in the entire conception of the Marshall Plan, presents a striking contrast with the Dawes Plan which, after the first war, permitted an independent revival of Germany, thanks to American credits.

Another example of the economic enslavement of

Western Europe inherent in the Marshall Plan is that presented by the suggestions made by the American administration and experts to the Sixteen, regarding the reconstruction of the European merchant fleet between now and the end of 1951. Washington finds the objective in the report of the Sixteen too "ambitious" and "advises" (it will *impose* when the Marshall Plan is applied) recourse either to the purchase of Liberty ships built during the war, or to shipment by American vessels.

The Political Counter-Part of "Aid"

The political conditions which accompany the granting of funds from the Marshall Plan are no less rigid and brutal.

The eviction of the Stalinists from governmental posts in all countries benefiting from "aid" is preparation for the formation of a political and military bloc of the Sixteen under American leadership. Realization of this bloc would involve a series of measures such as have already been enunciated, for example by Forrestal, American Secretary of Defense. He "hopes" that his department "would be assigned the coordination of the armed forces of the sixteen countries benefiting from the Marshall Plan" (Statement of January 15, 1948). Forrestal did not hesitate to add that he was "certain that General Marshall had in mind to ask the European nations to grant military bases for American forces in return for economic aid."

It is true that the brutality of this second statement provoked a denial from Marshall, who is anxious not to shock the "psychological sovereignty" (*sic*) of the European nations. This will not prevent the Secretary of State from taking up the matter again through classical secret diplomacy. Walter Lippman insistently advises a return to this medium in order to soften the "psychological" shocks that the "old soldiers," "politicians," and "diplomats" of Truman's America have provoked so often during the year.

The Reactions of the West European Bourgeoisie

It is understandable under these conditions, that the bourgeoisie of the benefiting countries, with the British and French bourgeoisies taking the lead, are trying to resist and that they consider the "fundamental problem" now is "not to give the lender any occasion to interfere in (our) national affairs" (Editorial of the newspaper *Le Monde*, January 17, 1948).

Within the framework of such preoccupations arises the project, for instance, of a new Conference of the Sixteen, prior to application of the Marshall Plan, and above all, the project for the creation of a permanent organization for European economic cooperation, under the Anglo-French leadership if possible.

But it is far more probable, on the contrary, that an American directorate will centralize and directly control the entire application of the Marshall Plan. This will apply even in the case when, for the sake of appearances,

in order not to deal too great a shock to "psychological" sovereignty, an organ of European leadership will be interposed. The controversies now taking place in the U.S. Congress around the administration and application of the Plan demonstrate clearly that this time, in contrast with what happened after the first war, America intends to exercise strict control over use of the credits which it grants. This is the result of a fundamental change in the structure of the capitalist world which has completely upset its former relative equilibrium. The United States needs the entire world market, and any real revival of another capitalist power would precipitate its own crisis.

On the other hand, and for the same reasons (abnormal growth of American capitalism, and continued contraction of the markets available to other capitalist powers) the project for permanent economic cooperation of the European capitalist countries must fail because of their reciprocal antagonisms. Each is waging a sharper struggle than ever before in order, above all, to secure its own maximum revival, within the limits of the Marshall Plan. This appears clearly in the violent conflict which broke out between London and Paris over the question of devaluation of the franc.

In all respects the situation of the West European bourgeoisie is such that despite the risks of losing the last vestiges of its independence and despite all possible endeavors not to abandon these completely, it cannot get along without American aid, subject to the conditions imposed by Washington. The "clear-thinking ministers" like Cripps, Mayer, Bidault, de Gasperi, etc., have already grasped that fact, and having "drawn the lesson of the economic developments which have arisen from the war" (*Le Monde*, January 17, 1948), they conform with increasing servility to Yankee demands.

The Soviet Bureaucracy and the Marshall Plan

The Soviet bureaucracy opposes the Marshall Plan because of the latter's economic, political and military implications, which go counter to its own international policy, to its interests in the "buffer-zone," to the security of the USSR itself. It strives to prevent the success of this Plan in two ways. First, by ordering the Stalinist parties of the European capitalist countries within the Plan to further social agitation and the struggle of the masses for their demands. We have seen this tactic applied in the recent great struggles in France and Italy, and are now witnessing this same development in Germany. Second, by accelerating, through the conclusion of treaties and the elaboration of "plans," the economic incorporation of the various countries in Europe under its influence into a closed sphere as immune from Western influence as possible, and centered upon the USSR.

The Stalinists, particularly the French Stalinists, present the Marshall Plan as essentially a "military" plan directed "against the USSR." They conclude that the role assigned by the United States to Germany is to make the latter "an arsenal and a barracks," its plants having "a

role as war plants," and with the United States preparing to utilize all Germany as a "base of operations against Eastern Europe" (4). This is false. The evolution of American strategy, based on atomic weapons and on naval and aerial power, makes it of no interest whatever to America to turn Germany into an arsenal, for it is within immediate reach of the Red Army, and the latter could, in the event of war, occupy and utilize it in the space of several hours. The strategic interest of a Germany, and a Western Europe in general, under American control, is above all economic and political. The United States counts on the power of disintegration and liquidation that would be exerted on the entire Soviet "buffer-zone" by a bloc of countries revived thanks to American aid.

The Marshall Plan is, of course, part of the perspective of the ever possible war with the USSR. But the road to war must pass through the detour first — absolutely necessary in the immediate future—of an economic consolidation, as the pre-condition for the political consolidation of capitalist Western Europe.

A success of this kind could, in the event of war with the USSR, procure not so much bases for the United States, as millions of armed men, necessary for the effective support of the American army. But the Western European bourgeoisie could not begin to think of mobilizing these men so long as its position was not stabilized.

The opposition of the Soviet bureaucracy to the Marshall Plan is not a principled opposition. Its attitude would change if American imperialism were at the present stage to show a disposition towards compromise.

For this reason, the mobilization of the masses by the Stalinists does not aim to bring about the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism in the countries of the Plan, but only to exert pressure, in the direction of a compromise with the Soviet bureaucracy, upon the American bourgeoisie, and upon the national bourgeoisies in Europe. The Soviet bureaucracy knows, moreover, that the attempt to consummate an economic break between West and East is impossible. It is impossible, in the course of a few years, to divert trade rooted in a fixed structure of European economy. Western Europe has absorbed the essentially agricultural surplus of the East, while the latter absorbed a large part of the surplus of industrial production of the West.

Requirements of the USSR's own revival will prevent it for a long time from being able to supply the needs in capital and industrial products of the "buffer-zone" countries. Consequently, the latter have to choose between stagnation in poverty and an intensification of their exchange with the West. The latter, moreover, will hardly be able to grapple with the task of carrying out the Marshall Plan if it gives up trade with the East. This is clearly indicated in the report of the Sixteen.

(4) "The German Plan of Marshall" ("Democratie Nouvelle," December 1947):

Thus, economic development in Western as well as Eastern Europe, far from making a break easy, compels, on the contrary, an intensification of economic exchange. This fact clearly emerges in the statistics of European trade for 1947, which show continuous increases over the corresponding figures for 1946, despite the diplomatic break.

What May Be Expected from the Plan

For reasons analyzed throughout this article, the Plan cannot by itself restore the pre-war economic level of Western Europe, *nor the economic equilibrium which was the basis for this level*. These have been destroyed by the new economic relations between the United States and the rest of the capitalist world resulting from the war. Nevertheless the Plan will exert an indisputable influence over immediate economic and political developments.

To the degree that the United States, even with the limited credits of between 15 and 17 billion dollars for the period 1948-51, will cover the immediate food requirements of the European countries and free them from paying for American imports out of their own resources, it will suppress the sharp and catastrophic character that the economic deterioration of Western Europe could assume.

The European bourgeoisie will profit from this respite in order to maneuver with greater ease in a "cold" offensive against the standard of living of the proletarian and petty-bourgeois masses, an offensive facilitated by the policy of the reformists and Stalinists. American aid will unquestionably help in achieving a partial success for the deflationist policy followed by the Italian and French governments under Christian-Democratic leadership. Sheltered by vital American imports which will be guaranteed for a certain period, the European bourgeoisie will revive its agricultural economy with a more rapid rhythm and will try to re-equip and modernize its industrial apparatus to the limit.

This economic conjuncture can, on the political arena, prove favorable to the "third force," the alliance between the socialists and the center bourgeois parties, as against an offensive by the extreme-right and the neo-fascist movements (R.P.F. in France, neo-fascist movements in Italy).

On the international arena, it can exert an influence in the direction of promoting a compromise between the USSR and the United States. Such a compromise could appear increasingly necessary due to an intensification of economic exchange between the West and the East, or due to the need therefor. A process of this sort is not excluded, in the event a different series of factors does not intervene. The main ones would be:

a) Resistance of the masses to the offensive against their standard of living, which the bourgeoisie is compelled to pursue. This resistance may upset the very basis for the climate of "social peace," which is indispensable for the success of the plans of the bourgeoisie.

b) Rapid attainment of an economic blind alley after a period of revival of the productive forces, resulting from the extreme reduction of the market available to the European countries for trade.

c) Outbreak of the crisis in the United States during the period 1948-51.

Regarding this last contingency, it is important to remember that maintenance of American exports at the present level and their development, if possible, play an important role in the effort which is being made to postpone the outbreak of the crisis in the United States. From that arises another effect, no less important, of the Marshall Plan. Truman, in his statement of January 14, has already pointed out the danger to the continuity of "American prosperity" arising from the decline of exports. But a decline of this sort would be inevitable in the event of a cessation of credits to foreign countries or even an important reduction. By 1946, a year during which net exports of goods and services reached 10 billion dollars, about half the figure for 1947, this relatively small part of the gross national product, which rose to about 205 billion dollars for the same period, already represented quite an important fraction of the gross increase in private capital evaluated at about 38 billion dollars annually (5):

"The continuously increasing excess of exports over imports is one of the causes contributing to the maintenance of American production at a very high level, to almost complete employment of the labor force, and is preventing the outbreak of a decline in prices." (6)

In addition, these exports, by including a very large proportion of agricultural products for the starved countries of Europe and the world, effectively contribute to maintaining the high purchasing capacity of the American farmers, which in turn promotes the absorptive capacity of the domestic market.

For the Socialist United States of Europe

The Marshall Plan brings no solution to the fundamental crisis of European capitalism nor does it change the descending spiral of European economy which began with the First World War. On the contrary. While eliminat-

(5) *Etudes et Conjuncture* (Economie Mondiale), No. 13, June 1947. Publication of the French National Institute of Statistics.

(6) *Ibid.* p. 14.

ing momentarily the catastrophic character that the European economic situation could take without the contribution of vital American imports, the Marshall Plan underscores the enslavement of Europe and the decline of its economy.

The only solution which can permit the productive forces of Europe to resume their upward march is a genuine organic fusion of European economy which would make possible national planning in the interests of the masses. This is possible only in the framework of the Socialist United States of Europe, in close collaboration with a regenerated USSR.

All the projected measures of economic cooperation by the bourgeoisie prove either illusory or absolutely ineffective. The way in which the report of the Sixteen is conceived is a perfect illustration. Even a European customs union, if the mutual antagonisms among the various national bourgeoisies could be overcome, would have to struggle today against the disorder of prices and exchange in each of the participating countries, since the lowering of customs tariffs has only a minor importance in relation to these questions. The fundamental problem of unification, as Trotsky said, is of an economic character, not only from the standpoint of trade, but from the standpoint of attacking production as well. It would be necessary to proceed by planning European economic development as a function of natural resources and with the objective of constantly increasing the well-being of the great masses. Artificial barriers should no longer separate coal from iron. The system of electrification should be developed independently of frontiers, conforming to natural and economic conditions. The railroads of Europe should be united into a single network, etc. Such goals are beyond the possibilities of the bourgeoisie.

To the babbling about European economic "cooperation and unification" by bourgeois politicians who can scarcely conceal their surrender to the projected economic and political enslavement of Europe by Yankee imperialism; and to the "plan," bureaucratically conceived and executed in the countries of the Soviet "buffer-zone" for the benefit of a privileged native social minority, and above all for the benefit of the Soviet bureaucracy itself, we counterpose socialist planning by the masses and for the masses, in the framework of the Socialist United States of Europe.

From the Arsenal of Marxism

SELF-DETERMINATION FOR THE AMERICAN NEGROES

In April 1939 three discussions were held on the Negro question between Leon Trotsky and various comrades, on the basis of a document "Preliminary Notes on the Negro Question" submitted by Comrade George. The document and the discussion were published in an

internal bulletin of the Socialist Workers Party. We reproduce here the text of the April 4, 1939 discussion with a few minor omissions.

(Stenographer's note: Rough draft uncorrected by participants.)

Trotsky: Comrade George proposes that we discuss the Negro question in three parts, the first to be devoted to the programmatic question of self-determination for the Negroes.

George: (There was introduced some statistical material which was not in-

cluded in the report.) The basic proposals for the Negro question have already been distributed and here it is only necessary to deal with the question of self-determination. No one denies the Negroes' right to self-determination. It is a question of whether we should advocate it. In Africa and in the West Indies we advocate self-determination because a large majority of the people want it. In Africa the great masses of the people look upon self-determination as a restoration of their independence. In the West Indies, where we have a population similar in origin to the Negroes in America, there has been developing a national sentiment. The Negroes are a majority. Already we hear ideas, among the more advanced, of a West Indian nation and it is highly probable that, even let us suppose that the Negroes were offered full and free rights as citizens of the British Empire, they would probably oppose it and wish to be absolutely free and independent. . . It is progressive. It is a step in the right direction. We weaken the enemy. It puts the workers in a position to make great progress toward Socialism.

In America the situation is different. The Negro desperately wants to be an American citizen. He says, "I have been here from the beginning; I did all the work here in the early days. Jews, Poles, Italians, Swedes and others come here and have all the privileges. You say that some of the Germans are spies. I will never spy. I have nobody for whom to spy. And yet you exclude me from the army and from the rights of citizenship."

In Poland and Catalonia there is a tradition of language, literature and history to add to the economic and political oppression and to help weld the population in its progressive demand for self-determination. In America it is not so. Let us look at certain historic events in the development of the Negro in America.

Garvey raised the slogan "Back to Africa," but the Negroes who followed him did not believe for the most part that they were really going back to Africa. We know that those in the West Indies who were following him had not the slightest intention of going back to Africa, but they were glad to follow a militant leadership. And there is the case of the black woman who was pushed by a white woman in a street car and said to her, "You wait until Marcus gets

into power and all you people will be treated in the way you deserve." Obviously she was not thinking of Africa.

There was however this concentration on the Negroes' problems simply because the white workers in 1919 were not developed. There was no political organization of any power calling upon the blacks and the whites to unite. The Negroes were just back from the war—militant and having no offer of assistance, naturally concentrated on their own particular affairs.

In addition, however, we should note that in Chicago, where a race riot took place, the riot was deliberately provoked by the employers. Some time before it actually broke out, the black and white meatpackers had struck and had paraded through the Negro quarter in Chicago with the black population cheering the whites in the same way that they cheered the black. For the capitalists this was a very dangerous thing and they set themselves to creating race friction. At one stage, motor cars, with white people in them, sped through the Negro quarter shooting at all whom they saw. The capitalist press played up the differences and thus set the stage and initiated the riots that took place for dividing the population and driving the Negro back upon himself.

During the period of the crisis there was a rebirth of these nationalist movements. There was a movement toward the 49th state and the movement concentrated around Liberia was developing. These movements assumed fairly large proportions up to at least 1934.

Then in 1936 came the organization of the CIO. John L. Lewis appointed a special Negro department. The New Deal made gestures to the Negroes. Blacks and whites fought together in various struggles. These nationalist movements have tended to disappear as the Negro saw the opportunity to fight with the organized workers and to gain something.

The danger of our advocating and injecting a policy of self-determination is that it is the surest way to divide and confuse the workers in the South. The white workers have centuries of prejudice to overcome, but at the present time many of them are working with the Negroes in the Southern Sharecroppers' Union and with the rise of the struggle there is every possibility that they will be able to overcome their age-long prejudices. But for us to propose

that the Negro have this black state for himself is asking too much from the white workers, especially when the Negro himself is not making the same demand. The slogans of "abolition of debts," "confiscation of large properties," etc., are quite sufficient to lead them both to fight together and on the basis of economic struggle to make a united fight for the abolition of social discrimination.

I therefore propose concretely: (1) That we are for the right of self-determination. (2) If some demand should arise among the Negroes for the right of self-determination we should support it. (3) We do not go out of our way to raise this slogan and place an unnecessary barrier between ourselves and socialism. (4) An investigation should be made into these movements; the one led by Garvey, the movement for the 49th state, the movement centering around Liberia. Find out what groups of the population supported them and on this basis come to some opinion as to how far there is any demand among the Negroes for self-determination.

Carlos: It seems to me that the problem can be divided into a number of different phases:

On the question of self-determination, I think it is clear that while we are for self-determination, even to the point of independence, it does not necessarily mean that we favor independence. What we are in favor of is that in a certain case, in a certain locality, they have the right to decide for themselves whether or not they should be independent or what particular governmental arrangements they should have with the majority of the country.

On the question of self-determination being necessarily reactionary — I believe that is a little far-fetched. Self-determination for various nations and groups is not opposed to a future socialist world. I think the question was handled in a polemic between Lenin and Piatakov from the point of view of Russia — of self-determination for the various peoples of Russia while still building a united country. There is not necessarily a contradiction between the two. The socialist society will not be built upon subjugated people, but from a free people. The reactionary or progressive character of self-determination is determined by whether or not it will advance the social revolution. That is the criterion.

As to the point which was made, that

we should not advocate a thing if the masses do not want it, that is not correct. We do not advocate things just because the masses want them. The basic question of socialism would come under that category. In the United States only a small percentage of the people want socialism, but still we advocate it. They may want war, but we oppose it. The questions we have to solve are as follows: Will it help in the destruction of American imperialism? If such a movement arises, will the people want it as the situation develops?

I take it that these nationalist movements of which you speak were carried on for years and the struggle was carried on by a handful of people in each case, but in the moment of social crisis the masses rallied to such movements. The same can possibly happen in connection with self-determination of the Negroes.

It seems to me that the so-called "black belt" is a super-exploited section of the American economy. It has all the characteristics of a subjugated section of an empire. It has all the extreme poverty and political inequality. It has the same financial structure — Wall Street exploits the petty-bourgeois elements and in turn the poor workers. It represents simply a field for investment and a source of profits. It has the characteristics of part of a colonial empire. It is also essentially a regional matter, for the whites have also been forced to feel a reaction against finance capital.

It would also be interesting to study the possible future development of the Negro question. We saw that when the Negroes were brought to the South they stayed there for many decades. When the war came, many emigrated to the North and there formed a part of the proletariat. That tendency can no longer operate. Capitalism is no longer expanding as it was before. As a matter of fact, during the depression many of them went back to the farms. It is possible that instead of a tendency to emigrate, there will now be a tendency for the Negro to stay in the South.

And there are other factors: The question of the cotton-picking machine which means that the workers will be thrown out of work by the thousands.

To get back to the question of self-determination. There is the possibility that in the midst of the social crisis the manifestation of radicalism takes a double phase: Along with the struggle for economic and social equality, there

may be found the demand for the control of their own state. Even in Russia, when the Bolsheviks came to power, the Polish people were not satisfied that this would mean the end of oppression for them. They demanded the right to control their own destiny in their own way. Such a development is possible in the South.

The other questions are important, but I do not think they are basic — that a nation must have its own language, culture and tradition. To a certain extent they have been developing a culture of their own. In any public library can be found books — fiction, anthologies, etc. — expressing a new racial feeling.

Now from the point of view of the United States, the withdrawal of the "black belt" means the weakening of American imperialism by the withdrawal of a big field of investment. That is a blow in favor of the American working class.

It seems to me that self-determination is not opposed to the struggle for social and political and economic equality. In the North such a struggle is immediate and the need is acute. In the North the slogan for economic and political equality is an agitational slogan — an immediate question. From the practical angle, no one suggests that we raise the slogan of self-determination as an agitational one, but as a programmatic one which may become agitational in the future.

There is another factor which might be called the psychological one. If the Negroes think that this is an attempt to segregate them, then it would be best to withhold the slogan until they are convinced that this is not the case.

Trotsky: I do not quite understand whether Comrade George proposes to eliminate the slogan of self-determination for the Negroes from our program, or is it that we do not say that we are ready to do everything possible for the self-determination of the Negroes if they want it themselves. It is a question for the party as a whole, if we eliminate it or not. We are ready to help them if they want it. As a party we can remain absolutely neutral on this. We cannot say it will be reactionary. It is not reactionary. We cannot tell them to set up a state because that will weaken imperialism and so will be good for us, the white workers. That would be against internationalism itself. We cannot say to them, "Stay here, even at the price of economic progress." We can say, "It

is for you to decide. If you wish to take a part of the country, it is all right, but we do not wish to make the decision for you."

I believe that the differences between the West Indies, Catalonia, Poland and the situation of the Negroes in the States are not so decisive. Rosa Luxemburg was against self-determination for Poland. She felt that it was reactionary and fantastic, as fantastic as demanding the right to fly. It shows that she did not possess the necessary historic imagination in this case. The landlords and representatives of the Polish ruling class were also opposed to self-determination, for their own reasons.

Comrade George used three verbs: "support," "advocate," and "inject" the idea of self-determination. I do not propose for the party to advocate, I do not propose to inject, but only to proclaim our obligation to support the struggle for self-determination if the Negroes themselves want it. It is not a question of our Negro comrades. It is a question of 13 or 14 million Negroes. The majority of them are very backward. They are not very clear as to what they wish now and we must give them a credit for the future. They will decide then.

What you said about the Garvey movement is interesting — but it proves that we must be cautious and broad and not base ourselves upon the *status quo*. The black woman who said to the white woman, "Wait until Marcus is in power. We will know how to treat you then," was simply expressing her desire for her own state. The American Negroes gathered under the banner of the "Back to Africa" movement because it seemed a possible fulfillment of their wish for their own home. They did not want actually to go to Africa. It was the expression of a mystic desire for a home in which they would be free of the domination of the whites, in which they themselves could control their own fate. That also was a wish for self-determination. It was once expressed by some in a religious form and now it takes the form of a dream of an independent state. Here in the United States the whites are so powerful, so cruel and so rich that the poor Negro sharecropper does not dare to say, even to himself, that he will take a part of this country for himself. Garvey spoke in glowing terms, that it was beautiful and that here all would be wonderful. Any psychoanalyst will say that the real content of this dream was to have their own

home. It is not an argument in favor of injecting the idea. It is only an argument by which we can foresee the possibility of their giving their dream a more realistic form.

Under the condition that Japan invades the United States and the Negroes are called upon to fight — they may come to feel themselves threatened first from one side and then from the other, and finally awakened, may say, "We have nothing to do with either of you. We will have our own state."

But the black state could enter into a federation. If the American Negroes succeeded in creating their own state, I am sure that after a few years of the satisfaction and pride of independence, they would feel the need of entering into a federation. Even if Catalonia, which is a very industrialized and highly developed province, had realized its independence, it would have been just a step to federation.

The Jews in Germany and Austria wanted nothing more than to be the best German chauvinists. The most miserable of all was the Social Democrat, Austerlitz, the editor of the *Arbeiterzeitung*. But now, with the turn of events, Hitler does not permit them to be German chauvinists. Now many of them have become Zionists and are Palestinian nationalists and anti-German. I saw a disgusting picture recently of a Jewish actor, arriving in America, bending down to kiss the soil of the United States. Then they will get a few blows from the fascist fists in the United States and they will go to kiss the soil of Palestine.

There is another alternative to the successful revolutionary one. It is possible that fascism will come to power with its racial delirium and oppression and the reaction of the Negro will be toward racial independence. Fascism in the United States will be directed against the Jews and the Negroes, but against the Negroes particularly, and in a most terrible manner. A "privileged" condition will be created for the American white workers on the backs of the Negroes. The Negroes have done everything possible to become an integral part of the United States, in a psychological as well as a political sense. We must foresee that their reaction will show its power during the revolution. They will enter with a great distrust of the whites. We must remain neutral in the matter and hold the door open for both possibilities and promise our full sup-

port if they wish to create their own independent state.

So far as I am informed, it seems to me that the CP's attitude of making an imperative slogan of it was false. It was a case of the whites saying to the Negroes, "You must create a ghetto for yourselves." It is tactless and false and can only serve to repulse the Negroes. Their only interpretation can be that the whites want to be separated from them. Our Negro comrades of course have the right to participate more intimately in such developments. Our Negro comrades can say, "The Fourth International says that if it is our wish to be independent, it will help us in every way possible, but that the choice is ours. However, I, as a Negro member of the Fourth, hold a view that we must remain in the same state as the whites," and so on. He can participate in the formation of the political and racial ideology of the Negroes.

George: I am very glad that we have had this discussion, because I agree with you entirely. It seems to be the idea in America that we should advocate it as the CP has done. You seem to think that there is a greater possibility of the Negroes' wanting self-determination than I think is probable. But we have a hundred percent agreement on the idea which you have put forward that we should be neutral in the development.

Trotsky: It is the word "reactionary" that bothered me.

George: Let me quote from the document: "If he wanted self-determination, then however reactionary it might be in every other respect, it would be the business of the revolutionary party to raise that slogan." I consider the idea of separating as a step backward so far as a socialist society is concerned. If the white workers extend a hand to the Negro, he will not want self-determination.

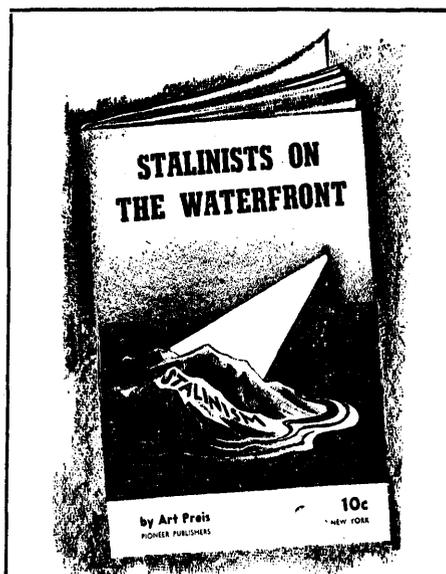
Trotsky: It is too abstract, because the realization of this slogan can be reached only as the 13 or 14 million Negroes feel that the domination by the whites is terminated. To fight for the possibility of realizing an independent state is a sign of great moral and political awakening. It would be a tremendous revolutionary step. This ascendancy would immediately have the best economic consequences.

Carlos: I think that an analogy could be made in connection with the collectives and the distribution of large estates. One might consider the breaking up of

large estates into small plots as reactionary, but it is not necessarily so. But this question is up to the peasants whether they want to operate the estates collectively or individually. We advise the peasants, but we do not force them — it is up to them. Some would say that the breaking up of the large estates into small plots would be economically reactionary, but that is not so.

Trotsky: This was also the position of Rosa Luxemburg. She maintained that self-determination would be as reactionary as the breaking up of the large estates.

Carlos: The question of self-determination is also tied up with the question of land and must be looked-upon not only in its political, but also in its economic manifestations.



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By ART PREIS

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The Trotskyist Position in Palestine

Against the Stream

The following editorial is translated from the *Kol Ham'amad* [Voice of the Class], Hebrew organ of the Revolutionary Communist League of Palestine, Section of the Fourth International. It exposes the reactionary rôle of the United Nations' partition plan, which stifles the rising tide of class struggle in Palestine, blurs class lines and creates an atmosphere of antagonistic "national unity" in both of the national communities in Palestine. As we can see from the editorial, the OP of Palestine has not escaped the nationalist hysteria in both camps, and has split into two national parties.

Only the Palestinian Trotskyists have maintained the Socialist position by calling upon Jewish and Arab workers to break away from the class enemies within their ranks and conduct their independent struggle against imperialism. Despite the present high tide of chauvinism accompanying the new "Hebrew" state set up by Hagana arms on one side, and the invasion of the Arab "Liberation" army on the other, the internationalist working class program put forward by the Trotskyists will alone provide the means of solving the Palestine problem.—Ed.

* * *

Politicians and diplomats are still trying to find a formula for the disastrous situation into which Palestine has been plunged by the UNO deciding upon partition. Is this a "breach of international peace" or are we dealing with merely "hostile acts"? As far as we are concerned there is no point in this distinction. We are daily witnessing the killing or maiming of men and women, old and young, Jew or Arab. As always, the working masses and the poor suffer most.

Not so very long ago the Arab and Jewish workers were united in strikes against a foreign oppressor. This common struggle has been put to an end. Today the workers are being incited to kill each other. The inciters have succeeded.

"The British want to frustrate partition by means of Arab terrorism," explain the Zionists. As if this communal strife were not the very instrument by which partition is brought about! It was easy for the imperialists to foresee that and well may they be satisfied with the course of events.

WHAT AXE HAVE BEVIN-CHURCHILL TO GRIND?

Britain was a loser in the last world war. She has lost the bulk of her foreign assets. Her industry is lagging behind. Building up her productive apparatus requires dollars and manpower.

"Keeping order" in Palestine costs England over 35 million Pounds a year, an amount which exceeds the profit she can extort from this country. Partition will release her from her financial obligations, enable her to employ her soldiers in the productive process while her source of income will remain intact. — But this is not all. By partition a wedge is driven between the Arab and Jewish worker. The Zionist state with its provocative lines of demarcation will bring about the blossoming forth of irredentist (revenge) movements on either side, there will be fighting for an "Arab Palestine" and for a "Jewish state within the historic frontiers of Eretz Israel (Israel's Land)." As a result, the chauvinistic atmosphere

created thus will poison the Arab world in the Middle East and throttle the anti-imperialist fight of the masses, while Zionists and Arab feudalists will vie for imperialist favors.

The price Britain has to pay for the advantages gained by partition is to renounce her ruling monopoly in this country. On the other hand, Wall Street has to come out into the open and contribute its share toward the foul business of safeguarding imperialist positions. This, of course, blackens the "democratic" reputation of the dollar state while at the same time it adds to the prestige of Great Britain. Partition, therefore, is a compromise between the imperialist robbers arising from a changed power constellation.

THE FUNCTION OF THE UNO

If the Anglo-American imperialists had forced this "solution" on Palestine of their own, the rotten game would have been patent in the whole Arab East. However, they dodged: the "problem" was passed on to the UNO. The function of the UNO was to sweeten the bitter dish cooked in the imperialist cuisine, dressing it, in Bevin's words, with the twaddle of the "conscience of the world that has passed judgment." Exactly! And the diplomats of the lesser countries danced to the tune of the dollar flute, reiterating the "public opinion of the world." And the peculiar casts in this performance enabled Great Britain to appear as the Guardian Angel overflowing with sympathy for either side.

And the Soviet Union? Why did not her representatives call the UNO game the swindle it really is?—Apparently, the present foreign policy of the SU is not concerned with the fighting of the colonial masses. And as the Palestine question is a second-rate affair for the "Big," the Soviet diplomats saw fit to dwell upon what Stalin had said about "the Soviet Union being ready to meet America and Britain halfway, economic and social differences notwithstanding."

This is how the UNO has "solved" the Palestine problem. Yet it is the same unsavory dish that has been set for India, Greece and Indo-China.

WHAT DO JEWS STAND TO GAIN BY PARTITION?

The Zionists were overcome with a sense of triumph when offered the bone by the UNO cooks. "Our work, our righteous cause have won. . . before the forum of the nations."

The Zionists have been in the habit of asking "justice" from the enemies of the Jewish people ever since Herzl: from the Tsar, the German Kaiser, the British imperialists, Wall Street. Now they saw their chance. Wall Street is distributing loans and "political independence." Of course, not for nothing. The price has to be paid in blood.

The Jewish state, this gift of Truman's and Bevin's, gives the capitalist economy of the Zionists a respite. This economy rests on very flimsy foundations. Its products cannot compete on the world market. Its only hope is the inner market from which the Arab goods are debarred. Thus the problem of a Jewish immigration has come to be a problem of live or die.

The continuous flow of immigrants who would come with the remnants of their possessions is apt to increase the circulation of goods, will allow the bourgeois producers to dispose of their expensive wares. Mass immigration would also be very useful as a means to force down wages which "weigh so heavily" on the Jewish industry. A state engaged in inevitable military conflicts would mean orders from the "Hebrew Army," a source of "Hebrew" profits not to be underrated at all. A state would mean thousands of snug berths for Zionist veteran functionaries.

WHO IS GOING TO FOOT THE BILL?

The workers and the poor. They will have to pay the stiff prices following the ban on Arab goods. They will break down under the yoke of numberless taxes, direct and indirect. They will have to cover the deficit of the Jewish state. They are living in the open, having no roof over their heads, while their institutions have "more important business" to attend to.

The Jewish worker having been separated from his Arab colleague and prevented from fighting a common class struggle will be at the mercy of his class enemies, imperialism and the Zionist bourgeoisie. It will be easy to arouse him against his proletarian ally, the Arab worker, "who is depriving him of jobs and depressing the level of wages" (a method that has not failed in the past!). Not in vain has Weitzmann said that "the Jewish state will stem Communist influence." As a compensation, the Jewish worker is bestowed with the privilege of dying a hero's death on the altar of the Hebrew state.

And what promises does the Jewish state hold out? Does it really mean a step toward the solution of the Jewish problem?

The partition was not meant to solve Jewish misery nor is it likely ever to do so. This dwarf of a state which is too small to absorb the Jewish masses cannot even solve the problems of its citizens. The Hebrew state can only infest the Arab East with anti-Semitism and may well turn out—as Trotsky said—a bloody trap for hundreds of thousands of Jews.

PARTITION IS GRIST IN THE MILL OF THE ARAB REACTIONARIES

The leaders of the Arab League reacted to the decision on partition with speeches full of threats and enthusiasm. As a matter of fact, a Zionist state is to them a godsend from Allah. Calling up the worker and fellah for the "holy war to save Palestine" is supposed to stifle their cries for bread, land and freedom. Another time-honored method of diverting an embittered people against the Jewish and communist danger.

In Palestine the feudal rule has of late begun to lose ground. During the war the Arab working class has grown in numbers and political consciousness. Jewish and Arab workers stood up against the foreign oppressor, against whom they together went on strikes. A strong leftist trade union had come into existence; and the "Workers' Association of the Arabs of Palestine" had been well on the way of freeing itself from the influence of the Husseinis. The murder of its leader, Sami Taha, committed by hirelings of the Arab High Committee could not restrain this development. But where the Husseinis failed, the decision of the imperialist agency, the UNO succeeded. The partition decision stifled the class struggle of the Palestine workers. The prospect of being at the hands of the Zionist "conquerors of soil and labor" is arousing fear and anxiety among the Arab workers and fellahs. Nationalist war slogans fall on fertile soil. And feudal murderers

see their chance. Thus the policy of partition enables the feudalists to turn back the wheels of history.

A FIRST SUMMARY

The early crop of partition policy: Jews and Arabs are drowned in a sea of chauvinist enthusiasm. Triumph on the one hand, rage and exasperation on the other. Communists are being murdered. Pogroms among Jews instigated. A tit for tat of murder and provocation. The "strafing expeditions" of the Haganah are oil for the propaganda machine of the Arab patriots in their campaign to enlist the masses for more bloodshed. The military conflict and the smashing to pieces of the workers' movements are a boon to the chauvinist extremists in either camp.

WHAT ABOUT THE JEWISH "COMMUNISTS"?

The patriotic wave makes sitting on the fence very uncomfortable. The Zionist "Socialist" parties soon "corrected" their anti-imperialist phrases and stubborn "resistance" against "cutting up the country to pieces" and gave way to full and enthusiastic support of the imperialist partition policy. That was a trifling matter, a question of merely changing Zionist tactics.

Yet the Communist Party of Palestine might have been expected to take up a different position. Have they not repeatedly warned against the fatal results bound to come with the establishment of a Jewish state? "Partition must needs be disastrous for Jew and Arab alike. . . partition is an imperialist scheme intended to give the British rule a new lease on life. . ." (evidence given by the PCP before the Anglo-American Commission of Enquiry on Mar. 25, 1946). The secretary of the party loyally stuck to this attitude as late as July 1947 when he said before the UNO commission: "We refuse the partition scheme pointblank, as this scheme is detrimental to the interests of the two peoples." However, after this scheme had been pulled off with the support of the Soviet representatives, Kol Ha'Am (the Stalinist central organ) hastened to declare that "democracy and justice have won the day (!)." And overnight there appeared a newly baptized party: the name Communist Party of Palestine was changed to Communist Party of Eretz Israel (Communist Party of the Hebrew Land). Thus even the last vestige of contact with the Arab population was broken off. The gap that still separated them from Zionism was finally bridged. Instead of being the vanguard of the anti-imperialist struggle of the Arab and Jewish masses, the Palestine Communist Party became the "Communist" tail of the "left" Zionists. Precisely in an hour when Zionism shows to everyone its counter-revolutionary face, its blatant servility to imperialism. Thus the Communist Party itself held up all its former exposure of imperialist and Zionist deceptions to ridicule.

Why have they gone bankrupt?

The policy of the Palestine Communist Party lacks any continuous line. The policy of the P.C.P. reflects both the needs deriving from the class war of the Jewish worker in Palestine and the needs of Soviet foreign policy. The needs of class war, however, require a consistent international policy, the negation of Zionism, of its discrimination between Arab and Jew. On the other hand, the need to adjust the party line to the diplomatic maneuvers of the S. U. calls for an "elastic" policy, one that lacks backbone. As a result we find the notorious shilly-shallying and zigzagging which has

harnessed the PCP now to the Zionist wagon. The fifth wheel!

AND THE ARAB "COMMUNISTS"?

The Arab Stalinists, the "National Liberation League," did not fare better than their Jewish counterparts. They were in a pretty fix having to justify the Russian support of the Jewish state. The Arab workers could not be expected to accept this line. Not by a long shot. They knew the meddling of Soviet diplomacy for what it was: breaking up the Palestine workers' unity and a treacherous blow. After the pro-partition declaration of Zarakin, the National Liberation League people found themselves surrounded by scorn and hostility.

The policy of the Soviet Union has undermined the position of the League among the Arab toilers. Thus it opened a door to the reactionary, chauvinist campaign against the "red danger." At present, the National Liberation League stands for peace and it is busy exposing the provocative role played by the British government. But since it had cried out for "national unity" (with the feudal Husseinis, the present war instigators during the past years), its present attitude fails to convince. But the National Liberation League did convince the Arab workers that the driving force behind its policy is not the interest of the Palestinian proletariat, but that of the Kremlin.

A WAR OF DEFENSE?

The two camps today mobilize the masses under the mask of "self-defense." "We have been attacked, let us defend ourselves!"—say the Zionists. "Let us ward off the danger of a Jewish conquest!"—declares the Arab Higher Committee. Where does the truth lie?

War is the continuation of politics by other means. The war led by the Arab feudalists is but the continuation of their reactionary war on the worker and the fellah who are striving to shake off oppression and exploitation. For the feudal effendis "Salvation of Palestine" means safeguarding their revenues at the expense of the fellahin, maintaining their autocratic rule in town and country, smashing the proletarian organizations and international class solidarity.

The war waged by the Zionists is the continuation of their expansionist policy based on discrimination between the two peoples: they defend *kibbush avoda* (ousting of Arab labor), *kibbush adama* (ousting of the fellah), boycott of Arab goods, "Hebrew rule." The military conflict is a direct result of the policy of the Zionist conquerors.

This war can on neither side be said to bear a progressive character. The war does not release progressive forces or do away with social and economic obstacles in the path of development of the two nations. Quite the opposite is true. It is apt to obscure the class antagonism and to open the gate for nationalist excesses. It weakens the proletariat and strengthens imperialism in both camps.

WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

Each side is "anti-imperialist" to the bone, busy detecting the reactionary—in the opposite camp. And imperialism is always seen—helping the other side. But this kind of exposure is oil on the imperialist fire. For the inveigling policy of imperialism is based upon agents and agencies within both camps. Therefore, we say to the Palestine people in reply to the patriotic warmongers: Make this war between Jews and

Arabs, which serves the end of imperialism, the common war of both nations against imperialism!

This is the only solution guaranteeing a real peace. This must be our goal which must be achieved without concessions to the chauvinist mood prevailing at present among the masses.

How can that be done?

"The main enemy is in our own country!"—this was what Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg had to say to the workers when imperialists and social democrats were inciting them to the slaughter of their fellow workers in other countries. In this spirit we say to the Jewish and Arab workers: The enemy is in your own camp!

Jewish workers! Get rid of the Zionist provocateurs who tell you to sacrifice yourself on the altar of the Hebrew state.

Arab worker and fellah! Get rid of the chauvinist provocateurs who are getting you into a mess of blood for their own sake and pocket.

Workers of the two peoples, unite in a common front against imperialism and its agents!

The problem worrying all in these days is the problem of security. Jewish workers ask: "How to protect our lives? Should we not support the 'Haganah'?" And the Arab workers and fellahin ask: "Ought we not to join the 'Najada' or 'Futuawah' to defend ourselves against the Zionists' attacks?"

A distinction must be made between the practical and the political sides of this question. We cannot thwart mobilization and do not therefore tell workers to refuse to mobilize. But it is our duty to denounce the reactionary character of these chauvinist organizations, even in their own house. The only way to peace between the two peoples of this country is turning the guns against the instigators of murder in both camps!

Instead of the abstract "anti-imperialist" phrases of the social-patriots which cover up their servility to imperialism, we are showing a practical way to fight against the foreign oppressor: unmasking its local agents, undermining their influence; so that the Arab worker and fellah will understand that the military campaign against the Jews helps to bring about partition and helps only the feudalists and imperialists, while it is fought on his back and paid for by his blood; so that the Jewish worker recognizes at last the illusion of Zionism and understands that he will not be free and safe as long as he has not done away with national discrimination, isolationism and imperialist loyalty.

We have to keep up contact between the workers of both peoples at whatever place of work that this can still be done, in order to prevent provocative acts and to safeguard the lives of the workers at work and on the roads. Let us form revolutionary cadres. In this burning hell of chauvinism we have to hold up the banner of international brotherhood.

AGAINST THE STREAM!

World capitalism being on the downgrade tries to endure by inflating imaginary national conflicts, trampling down the masses and brutalizing them. In the long run that remedy will fail. The masses will have learned their lesson through suffering. They will get to know their enemy: monopolistic capitalism that is hiding behind its local ruling agency. With the class struggle getting more intensive all over the world, and in particular in the Arab countries, the end of the fratricidal war in this country is bound to come.

The patriotic wave today sweeps everyone lacking the principles of international communism off his feet. Revolutionary activity at this juncture requires patience, persistence and far-sightedness. It is a way full of danger and difficulties. But it is the only way out of this patriotic mire. Well may we remember the words of Lenin which, spoken in a similar situation, apply also to ours:

"We are not charlatans. . . We must base ourselves on the consciousness of the masses. Even if it is necessary to remain in a minority, be it so. We must not be afraid to be in a minority. We will carry on the work of criticism in order to free the masses from deceit. . . Our line will prove right. . . All the oppressed will come to us. They have no other way out."

OIL AND LABOR

By John Fredericks

World politics and the economic conditions that lead to new world wars cannot be discussed today without an analysis of the tremendous role played by the struggle among the great powers for the possession of oil. The value of oil as a motor fuel, as a lubricant, as the primary motor force in the machinery of war was strikingly brought home during the recent imperialist war. A single bomber required 3000 gal. of high octane gasoline to complete a single mission. A fleet of 1000 bombers on a single mission required more fuel than was used by all the armies for 6 months in World War I.

The supply of the 500 oil products used by the army and the mastery of the world's limited sources of oil became a key to victory on the battle field. Much of Japanese and German strategy was based upon the struggle to obtain new sources of oil, the vital product necessary to propel the machines of war as well as to feed the process of production at home. The Japanese conquest of Indonesia, the German campaign in the Caucasus as well as Rommel's drive through Africa toward Saudi Arabia, all had as their objective the acquisition of new oil supplies.

Wars have been fought and "revolutions" sponsored by capitalist interests seeking the black gold that is the life-blood of a modern industrial nation. British imperialist interests have long sought oil fields outside their home islands, which are devoid of any appreciable supply of oil. The Near East has been the reservoir from which the British have drawn the bulk

of their oil. Many struggles, both open and concealed, are constantly taking place with governments occupying the role formerly reserved for private oil companies. The Gran Chaco War was a classic example of the concealed struggle taking place between two rival imperialist interests with an oil field as the prize.

American oil companies and the US State Department, working as a team, have caused the active intervention of the U.S. Government in the internal affairs of half a dozen South American countries. Every major U.S. embassy or consulate employs an oil expert, invariably the agent of the oil industry. Mexico, which was a battleground between the British-sponsored forces of Huerta and the U.S.-supported Carranza in the struggle for the Tuxam oil fields, is again becoming a focal point for the American oil industry.

From the time the first gusher brought forth its black gold in Titusville, Penn. in 1859, men have fought and died by the thousands for its possession. In the period of 1860-90, word of an oil discovery brought oil rushes that rivaled the famous gold rushes of early American history.

Great American fortunes, the influence of which is felt today in every branch of industry, were built in this period by people like Rockefeller, who in the period of growth acquired oil lands, rights of way, pipelines, refineries and distribution points, through methods of bloodshed and bribery.

It is not the purpose of this article to repeat the well-known gory details of the beginning of these fortunes but

rather to show the present role of oil in international relations, to trace the changing production relations resulting from the technological revolution and the changing social conceptions that have permeated the working class as the logical result. The latest revolution in the productive process did more than change the technology, it also changed the relationship between the man and his machine.

The Process of Production

The production of oil has passed through three major stages, each the result of a specific technological revolution in the industry or conditioned by the technical development of another industry. For example: the first, or kerosene stage, is related to lighting for the home; the second, or gasoline stage, to the invention of the automobile; the third, or fluid catalytic cracking stage, made possible the supply of motor power for the American air fleet during World War II.

The kerosene stage lasted from the discovery of oil in 1859 to the day of the automobile around 1910. It was during this first stage that Rockefeller established his complete monopoly over the industry.

Before the advent of the automobile and its demand for special fuels and lubricants, the more explosive fuel, gasoline, had been thrown away since no market existed for it. Once the need for gasoline had been established a further technological revolution resulted in the refining process, with the aim of obtaining more gasoline and less kerosene from crude oil. World War I and the subsequent develop-

ment of mass production methods expanded production at a rapid rate. Production of crude oil rose from 69 million barrels in 1901 to 1,006 million barrels in 1929.

Fluid catalytic cracking increased the yield of gasoline per barrel of crude oil from 26% in 1920 to 46% in 1939. While the process was known earlier it was only with World War II and the fleets of heavy bombers using huge supplies of high octane fuel, that it became profitable and the application of the process to the entire industry became general.

The new refining process does more than provide fuel for aircraft. The flexible nature of the process allows the refiner to change the quantity and quality of the product at will, in response to changing demands. The products enter into every phase of all industries, often changing the nature of labor within another industry. For example: diesel engines, using low grade diesel fuel, a by-product, are replacing steam locomotives at the rate of one per day. Diesel-powered trucks and buses provide more efficient transportation to thousands of communities, making branch line railroads obsolete. All new ships are oil-burning rather than coal-burning. Over a million oil burners have been installed in homes since the end of the war. A thousand different oil products flow into American industry. Oil is the very life-blood of the entire national economy.

Once an oil well is brought into production the amount of labor necessary to keep the well producing is relatively small in comparison to the mining of coal or ores. One man or several working in shifts, use high pressure pumps which carry the oil from the well to storage tanks through a series of pipelines. These pipelines have long ago replaced tankcars and railroads as primary carriers of oil. They cover 150,000 miles as they crisscross America. The addition of the Big Inch and the Little Inch pipelines, built by the government at a cost of \$155,000,000, enabled oil to be sent from Texas to Philadelphia during the war with infinitely less

human labor involved than by any other means of transportation.

At the refinery oil is the raw material from which over 1200 different commodities will be produced. It is now possible through chemistry to produce, aside from the well known gasoline and fuel oil, such products as rubber, alcohol, toluene for T.N.T. and products ranging from fine perfume to tar.

The refining process itself, stripped of technical phraseology, consists of heating and condensing the crude oil or cracking it into its various chemical components. The modern refinery unit consists of a capital investment of 50 to 100 million dollars. The machinery itself represents the finest example of semi-automatic production to be found in any industry. Since the technical problem involved consists of controlling the flow of fluids and control of their temperature, automatic devices such as electrical regulators, automatic air-operated valves, etc., have appreciably lessened the need for men to stand constantly on guard over production. The real control of the process takes place in a central control room, with the rate of production governed by the machine rather than by the few men who operate the plant.

1. *The Laborer*

The life of the early oil workers was similar in many ways to life in a gold camp. The frontier spirit prevailed. The migratory character of the workers who followed an oil discovery is still seen today in certain sections of the country and will continue to remain true for certain job classifications such as drilling crews, pipeline gangs, and field construction men, who, though their skills have increased, must still work and live on a migratory basis.

Work in the early oil refineries was properly classified as a hazardous occupation. The equipment was of the most primitive type and little was known of oil chemistry. The lives of the workers and the capital investment were risked every time a fire was built under the old-time still. The

danger of explosion was great and the product that resulted was never of a uniform quality. Success in distilling a batch of crude oil depended entirely on the skill and judgment of the workers who operated the plant.

The "good old days" for a refinery worker consisted of 10 hours of hard dangerous work for which he received 17 cents per hour. His recreation consisted of a couple of "boilermakers with helpers" at a local bar. Men were hired off the streets by a foreman who tested them for the size of their muscles. Husky, rugged "foreigners" who could "stand the gaff" took jobs as stillmen and worked 24 hours straight when a batch of oil was being processed. The penalty for falling asleep was to be fired.

Petroleum refining in those days was hardly more exact than making bathtub gin. You dumped crude oil into a vat, or still, and built a fire under it. The first vapor to come off as it boiled was gasoline, which was thrown away as a waste product. Kerosene, the payoff product, was trapped and condensed, and then the lubricating oils. The muck that was left was scraped out of the still and another batch started.

The activity of a stillman is vividly described in a novel of the oil industry called "Danger, Keep Out," by Edward J. Nichols. I quote a few lines:

"If you fired on the new pressures you had 6 stills, and there was a nervous breakdown in each one. Use your bar on Number 1; keep it out of Number 3; 5 and 6 are dropping off half a point; throw more coal on Number 2; keep your eye on the peepholes; you got a hot bottom on Number 3; Number 4 is boosting; watch for a change in the wind that will knock you off balance on every still; above all keep your eye on Number 3... Otherwise there is nothing to it except throwing in your 15 to 20 tons of coal for 10 hours on the day shift and even more on the 14 hour night shift. Almost anything could happen... and did."

As the productive process improved and pressure stills were introduced, the batch process gave way to the continuous stream process. Steam was introduced as a heating element in

place of direct fired vessels and the result was a refinery that produced a uniform series of products with less danger to the men.

The catalytic cracking process, employing a bead or fluid catalytic agent to produce even greater temperatures than could be produced by the use of steam alone, required even greater pressures in the vessels and in turn more exact instruments for controlling temperature and pressure. More mechanical and electrical semi-automatic devices to replace the human factor were introduced. The new refining process changed the role of the worker in the process of production, substituting men of greater technical skill for those with huge strong bodies. With this process changes also took place in the thinking of the worker involved.

The modern refinery is designed along lines that make it the closest thing to automatic production that exists anywhere today. Through this process it is possible for the operator to sit in a control room, push buttons and control the entire refining process. Automatic electric pumps move the crude oil from storage tanks, pump it through the various towers of the refinery from which it emerges broken up into various products, gasoline, light oil, heavy oil, kerosene, etc. From this point it is distributed by more automatic pumps to storage tanks or through pipelines, tankcars or tankers to the consumers.

The other workers around a refinery are engaged in such tasks as reading meters, repairing equipment in adjacent shops, painting and cleaning the equipment, etc. A large staff of highly trained men are always present, ready to step into the breach in case of a breakdown of production. Yet these men are not the factor that sets the rate of production. They may sit "idle" at full pay with plenty of time to think, but when they are needed they must jump to the job and set the machine back in operation. Here it is the machine that controls the activity of the man.

The capitalist has long sought a factory free of its troublesome work-

ers and thinks of the automatic process of production as the answer. Yet the modern oil refinery, the closest reality to the capitalist dream, shows that with an automatic productive process there is little or no actual decrease in the number of workers required. Since automatic production as exemplified in the oil industry today is symbolic of all industry tomorrow, it must be studied with great care for lessons from which the working class can benefit.

True automatic production does not mean the elimination of the worker from the process of production as the capitalist thinks it does, but rather the elimination of the automatistic nature of the labor of the work. Automatic production requires the fully developed individual, knowing and understanding every and all steps in the productive process, not just his own specialized operation. Men will be chosen for work in plants of this type on the basis of their scientific knowledge of the productive process. It is not difficult to convince these men that the plants can operate without their capitalist owners.

However, since capitalism has transformed the worker into nothing but an appendage to a machine, the capitalist is caught in a contradiction. He tries to solve this capitalistically, by employing specialists, men who will stand by the machines, be idle for weeks or months, but always ready to spring into action to repair the faulty machine that threatens to interrupt the even flow of the entire process. It is true that an operator may not do anything for several years, but a few minutes' work at the right time will save the company enough to "pay his salary for 30 years." The contradiction lies in the unfortunate division between mental and manual labor, making it necessary for the capitalist to employ so many specialists and laborers that there has been little decrease in the number of workers employed despite the semi-automatic nature of the process of production. Moreover the capitalist further aggravates the contradictory nature of his problem by

placing in the hands of a single worker the equivalent of 20 million dollars worth of machinery. The automaticity of the productive process and the role of the laborer are so closely linked to capital investments that it is impossible to draw any conclusions without examining the question of capital investment.

2. *Capital Investment and the Rate of Profit*

The outstanding difference between capital invested in the petroleum industry and that invested in other industries is the comparatively short life of oil capital. All investment in refineries is written off the books after a five-year period, as compared with a ten-year period for other basic industries. The oil industry allows nearly twice the normal rate of obsolescence and depreciation over that allowed by the manufacturing industries. In part, this can be explained by the semi-automatic, continuous nature of the productive process in the oil industry which operates on a 24-hour basis. However, the more basic reason is the method of production which requires that every six months the entire refinery be shut down for a period of one to three weeks, the process lines and vessels tested, renewed or replaced, new innovations in the process introduced, plant capacity enlarged or changed and the plant returned to operation on a 24-hour basis.

By contrast, other industries tend to make repairs on equipment overnight, to introduce new equipment gradually or to introduce new models on an annual basis so that the productive process is interfered with as little as possible. The fact that the costs of this method are charged up to current production as a part of operation expense, rather than to investment in capital equipment is a convenient bookkeeping trick, especially since such a shutdown costs millions of dollars. But it does not change the contradictory nature of capitalist production as it pertains to the investments in labor on the one hand and those in capital on the other.

The net worth of the petroleum industry is \$20 billion. This makes it the second largest industry in the United States. The concentration and centralization of capital, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, the small number of workers employed

in this industry compared to other basic industries, seems to contradict the Marxist postulate that surplus value is extracted only from living labor. The superficial observer points to the disproportionately high profit per employee, thus:

Company	Number of Employees	Total Assets	Operating Profit	Profit per Employee
Standard Oil of N. J.	52,879	\$2,659,987,000	\$273,099,000	\$5,195
United States Steel	279,274	2,003,517,000	90,251,000	362
Standard Oil of Ind.	36,332	1,065,901,000	57,173,000	1,058
General Motors	354,940	1,982,692,000	188,000,000	643
Gulf Oil Co.	33,622	652,811,000	71,843,000	2,132
General Electric Co.	160,000	837,890,000	56,540,000	353
The Texas Co.	32,641	917,301,940	70,982,000	2,179

Precisely because production is semi-automatic, capital investments are enormous. From the above table we learn also that the oil industry employs one worker for every five employed by other industries with comparable assets. The key to the situation can be found in a dual rela-

tionship. While there are fewer workers in the industry, there is more capital invested per employee. This, in turn, causes a decline in the rate of profit. Precisely because the number of workers employed is relatively small, the rate of profit in this industry is actually smaller than in manufacturing industry as a whole:

RATE OF RETURN ON NET WORTH

	Petroleum	Manufacturing	All Industry
1945	8.9	9.3	7.6
1944	9.9	9.8	8.3
1943	8.3	9.9	8.7
1942	6.7	10.1	9.0
1941	8.9	12.3	9.4
1940	6.6	10.3	7.4
1939	5.4	8.4	7.0
Average for the period, 1939-45	7.8	10.0	8.2

Compare the lush war years with the prosperity of the pre-war period, and you get the following results:

RATE OF RETURN ON NET WORTH

	Petroleum	Manufacturing	All Industry
1929	9.67	12.	10.7
1928	9.37	10.7	10.1
1927	5.01	8.8	8.5
1926	10.63	11.0	9.3
1925	10.81	10.7	9.1
1924	7.39	8.9	7.3
1923	6.28	10.0	7.7
Average for the period, 1923-29	8.45	10.4	8.95

The above table reveals that the reverse of the superficial appearance is the truth. Furthermore, the method of computing the rate of profit on the basis of net worth is a capitalist device which gives a wholly inadequate picture of capitalist production since net worth is merely the book value of original cost. Were we to compute the rate of profit on the basis of investments in fixed capital, and consider true replacement cost rather than original cost, we would get a radically different view. However, so organic is the general movement that it peers through even this type of computation, and even in a period when mass profits are phenomenal!

As against the disproportionately high profit *per employee*, let us consider the very real investment *per every employee*. In the oil industry in 1937 the overall investment for every worker employed was \$20,000, compared with \$11,000 for the steel industry and \$4,000 for the rubber industry. A further breakdown of these figures is necessary since no other industry includes transportation and marketing employees in basing its figures on the total number employed, whereas the oil industry does.

In an analysis called "Economics of the Petroleum Industry," Joseph E. Pogue, vice-president of the Chase National Bank, contrasts the investment in the two branches of the petroleum industry:

"The marketing division has an investment of \$6,000 per worker and an annual wage of \$1,055 per worker. Because of its high degree of mechanization, the ratio of capital to the number of employees is large, the entire industry relationship being about \$18,400 per worker for the entire industry. The amount of capital per worker is, however, much larger in production, transportation and refining where it averages \$43,500 per worker."
(1937 figures; emphasis mine—JF)

The current estimates of the total investment per producing worker is much higher than these. Since the real technological revolution in the industry has taken place after 1937, and the investment in the new type of equipment is five times greater than

the old type of refinery, while the number of employees is no greater than before, the total investment per producing worker is no less than \$250,000!

Thus it is that the oil industry is not only plagued with the same general disease — the decline in the rate of profit—which afflicts all of capitalist production. The gargantuan investment of capital on the one hand, and the relatively few production workers on the other hand, so sharpens the tendency of profits to decline as to call into question the whole expansion program in the hands of private industry. This, again, seems to contradict the actual picture since the oil industry is planning in the next few years to spend no less than \$13 billion for capital expansion. But a closer look at the expansion program will reveal its weakness.

3. Capital Expansion and Government 'Interference'

Let us take the largest company in the industry, Standard Oil of N. J., and analyze its capital expansion program. This will give us an excellent view of the masses of capital needed to keep production expanding. In the 24 months which will end December 31, 1948 the Jersey Standard will have expanded by one billion dollars! Appropriations of like size are in prospect for 1949. In the seven-year period, 1940-46, capital expenditures of this company and its affiliates reached a total of \$1,244,000,000, or an average of \$178,000,000 annually. The over-all expansion program includes hundreds of projects from new laboratories in New Jersey to modern refineries in Venezuela; the purchase of large-capacity oil tankers and development of Canadian oil fields.

In addition to this expansion, private industry "inherited" a billion dollars' worth of new refinery equipment built by the government at the expense of the taxpayers, and then turned over to the big monopolists. However, even this gift of the state to the industry helps private monopolists care only for normal expansion needs.

But there is, besides, the relation-

ship of the whole industry to the extractive industries and to transportation. And, above that, rises the question for a synthetic oil industry. According to Secretary of the Interior Krug that would require no less than \$9 billion. Here private industry does not even venture forth, but hides behind the argument that since such an industry would be predicated not upon world resources of crude oil, but only those at home (which may be the only ones available to the United States Government in the event of war), this becomes a matter of "national welfare," and is no longer a problem of private capital. It is not mere selfishness, however, that pushes the monopolists toward such an attitude. There is a lack of capital "venturesome enough" to be worthy of the new scientific age in which we live.

There was a time in the development of capitalism when it would have been impossible to build railroads, if society had to wait for private capital

to accumulate sufficient means. The state magnanimously stepped in as the true executive committee of capital. In this age, atomic energy would never have been explored if it were up to private capital to finance that technological revolution. The government had to build the atomic project at the expense of the people and for the needs of war because there was not enough "risk capital" found to start such a development.

If it was entirely beyond the capacity of private industry to launch this \$2 billion project, how much more is it true of a synthetic oil industry which requires no less than a \$9 billion investment. We see that in this age of decadent capitalism, private enterprise is neither enterprising nor private. The only thing that is private is the profits which the government allowed the private managers of the atomic project to coin from the sweat and toil of its workers. We need not doubt it will do as much for the oil industry.

Book Review

Bury the Dead

By Paul Shapiro

*Kaputt** is a vivid picture of the ruination of Europe by the war and the Nazi occupation, of the appalling decline in the cultural level, and of the hideous bestiality and decadence of the fascist regimes, drawn by a fascist journalist who was well placed to observe all of these phenomena. The author, Curzio Malaparte, a supreme opportunist, wrote the book to ingratiate himself with the bourgeois-democratic victors. He has only succeeded, however, in demonstrating that fascism is the gangrenous encrustment on the mortally infected body of capitalism and that he himself is among the most nauseating of the ex-crescences of fascism.

Malaparte prefixes to *Kaputt* an account of "the secret history of the

manuscript," which, he says, "is the most appropriate preface to the book." In this preface and throughout the book he carefully remains quiet about his position in Mussolini's state and depicts himself as a contributor to "the cause of liberty." The most appropriate preface to a review of his book, therefore, is a sketch of Malaparte's career, for that career gives the lie to his pretensions and helps us better to understand a work which is evidently a compound of fact and fiction.

In Mussolini's Service

A participant in Mussolini's "march on Rome" and the only talented intellectual in the fascist movement, Malaparte was acclaimed as its "strongest pen" by a regime which felt the need to clothe its naked brutality with a little cultural adornment. His *Coup d'Etat: The Technique of Revolution*, which

* *KAPUTT*, by Curzio Malaparte, E.-P. Dutton and Company, 1946, 407 pp., \$3.75.

purported to analyze the methods of seizing political power, made him its leading theoretician, if we can speak of fascism as having theoreticians. In this book Malaparte revealed the heights to which his imagination could soar by representing Trotsky as arguing against Lenin that no special conditions are necessary for revolution, only correct tactics which may be applied at any time and place. Trotsky was right, concluded Malaparte, and his tactics are a menace to the peace of Europe. Although a prize exhibit of fascism, Malaparte was also a minor torment, as he delighted in acting the *enfant terrible* and occasionally kicked over the traces. He was imprisoned for a time, but returned to the good graces of the régime, as evidenced by his intimacy with Ciano and his position as a specially favored war correspondent, hobnobbing with Frank, the Governor-General of Poland, and other Nazi luminaries.

It was during the time he was a war correspondent that he wrote *Kaputt*. Malaparte does not explain, however, one curious fact. According to his own account, in 1942 he was in neutral Sweden, the guest of his friend, Prince Eugene, the brother of the king, with most of his book written. Since he was so much opposed to the Axis, why did he not remain in Sweden, under the protection of his powerful friend, and publish his book at that time? Instead, he resumed his post as war correspondent, rushing to Italy after Mussolini fell, to await the arrival of the American forces at his sumptuous Capri villa which he had purchased and furnished with the money he had received for his services to fascism. He apparently succeeded in selling these services to United States imperialism, for, according to Richard A. Watts, Jr., former correspondent of the *New York Herald Tribune*, it was reported in Italy that for two years Malaparte was a liaison officer attached to the American high command.

This is the man who portrays himself unwittingly in his book. He represents himself as witty, culturally sophisticated, at ease with world figures, but with inwardly tormented by the horrors he has seen and ready to risk his life to do a kind deed for one of the victims of fascism. Talented Malaparte undoubtedly is, although ostentatious in his display of his talents, but one immediately senses a considerable amount of sham

in his posturing—the same kind of sham that characterized his master.

He pretends to have indulged in daring *double entendres* in his conversations with Frank, but the irony is often too transparent to have escaped the most stupidly complacent Nazi overlord. Above all, it is clear that, while Malaparte may have been repelled by the horrors he saw, he was also undoubtedly fascinated by them. As he lingeringly describes horror after horror in his lush, over-ripe prose, one gets the inescapable impression of a man delicately licking his lips. The feeling Malaparte evidently derived from his contemplation of death and decay is best described in one of his own sentences, which is at the same time a good example of his prose. He is speaking, in one of his occasional mystical flights from sense to nonsense, of "that indefinite tinge of sensuous passion and hidden repugnance that always goes with the Northerner's love for Mediterranean lands," and he goes on to characterize this "hidden repugnance" as "the same sensuous repugnance that is portrayed in the faces of the onlookers in the old *Triumphs of Death*, where the sight of the green corpses, exhumed and lying in the sun like dead lizards amid fleshy, strongly scented flowers, has aroused in them a reverent horror and a sensuous enjoyment that at the same time attracts and repulses them." It is this "reverent horror and sensuous enjoyment" which pervades Malaparte's book.

Intimate Glimpses

Occasionally he gives himself away, as when he describes the Nazi brothel of captured Jewish girls, who, at the end of twenty days, thoroughly exhausted and fit for nothing, would be shot and replaced by a new batch of inmates. Malaparte knew what their fate would be, and he knew that they must know or at least suspect their fate. Yet he visited the brothel. When he talked to one of the girls, he writes, "I no longer remembered why I had gone to that house, although I was aware that without letting Schenck know, I had gone not out of curiosity or from a vague feeling of pity, but for something that my conscience now refused to accept." We cannot be sure of Malaparte's conscience, but what must have sent him there in the first place could have been the same obscene curiosity which prompted him to explore the streets of the

"forbidden city," the Warsaw ghetto, accompanied by a Nazi Black Guard and observing "the bluish shadow of death" in the faces of the inhabitants, "just like the dead Jews in a Chagall canvas."

Although one can never be sure about the truth of the details of *Kaputt*, especially those which are used to place the author in a favorable light, the cumulative effect of the book is that of overwhelming truth. This is it—the decaying society whose grave-digger has not yet performed his historic task, a thousand times more loathsome than ever could have been imagined.

Malaparte's method is to describe himself in various oases of upper-class isolation from the war, telling their inhabitants his war experiences. The horror of the stories is enhanced by their contrast with the setting in which they are told.

The book is divided into six sections. In the first section Malaparte is talking with the sadly nostalgic esthete, Prince Eugene, in the latter's villa, furnished in the decadent *fin de siècle* Parisian manner; in another section, with Frank in the old Polish royal palace in Cracow, where Frank loved to fancy himself as an Italian Renaissance duke, presiding over a polished court which is an island of civilization in a sea of barbarism; in the last section, with the members of the Roman smart set that clustered around Ciano and dreamed of coming to terms with the Allies. Malaparte tells his stories as flashbacks and flashbacks within the flashbacks till they become a nightmare phantasmagoria. The stories in each section are grouped together by their relation to some underlying animal motif which furnishes the title for the section: "The Horses," "The Mice," "The Dogs," "The Birds," "The Reindeer," "The Flies." This contributes to the impression of human life reduced to the animal level.

The Gangrenous Society

The book is notable, however, not only for its pictures of the brutalization of life—the cannibalism of the starving Russian prisoners; the packing of the Jews into sealed freight-cars so that when the doors are opened at their destination they stream out as an avalanche of corpses; the forty pounds of human eyes sent as a gift to the fascist Croat chieftain Pavelic by his followers. It is notable for its revealing pictures of the

fascist leaders: Frank rhapsodizing over Chopin and seizing a guard's rifle to take a pot-shot at a Jewish child burrowing its way under the ghetto wall to hunt for food and clothing; a Nazi general trying for three hours to land a salmon and then, angered by its prolonged opposition and fearing that his dignity had been lowered before the Lapp spectators, curtly ordering his aide to shoot it; Ciano, his vanity touched, feeling himself when Malaparte jestingly remarks that they are both lucky to be provided with fat buttocks to take Mussolini's kicks and earnestly asking, "Do you really think my behind is fat?" These portraits are painted with genuine artistry. Malaparte spares no one.

His description of de Foxa, the Spanish minister to Finland, whom he acclaims in his preface as his friend to whom he is deeply indebted, reveals the innermost essence of the clerical fascism of Franco Spain. On one occasion de Foxa is asked by a Nazi officer if he would like to have a couple of shells fired at two Russian soldiers sauntering behind the lines. De Foxa refuses to accept this offer made in his honor because it is Good Friday. When the officer orders the shells fired, anyway, and they miss, de Foxa sighs with relief but adds regretfully, "Pity that it is Good Friday! I would have gladly seen those two fellows blown to pieces."

Malaparte's "Anti-Fascism"

Malaparte uses his "anti-fascism" as a mask for anti-German chauvinism and as an attack on his own people which serves as an excuse for himself: he has been "a whore," he admits, but so has been the entire Italian nation. He would have it that fascism is a national characteristic. Throughout his book, however, we see the tendency of the upper classes of all countries toward fascism. Frank boasts of the active support of the Polish clergy, the supineness of the aristocracy and the impotence of that section of the middle class which did not escape abroad. The Rumanian military authorities cold-bloodedly plan a pogrom which is countenanced by the nobility to distract the people from their sufferings. Mosley tells Malaparte that the English "Upper Ten Thousand" is ripe for fascism.

The members of "high society" are contemptuous of the fascist gangster upstarts, but they make use of them against the proletarian revolution. Princess Co-

lonna, "the first lady of Rome," who is said to have had the Nazi General Kesselring to dinner the evening the Germans departed, and the American General Mark Clark to dinner the evening the United States forces arrived, typifies their attitude. She regarded the fascists as being an illegitimate part of "high society" which had to be tolerated, the representatives of a "tamed revolution" which was "more advantageous for the object of social preservation than a raging, or merely a stupid and inept reaction."

Only through "the victory of the principles of illegitimacy," that is, fascism, comments Malaparte rightly, can be attained "the supreme and passionate

aspirations of the conservative classes during days of serious social upheaval to save what can be saved." The growing crisis of world capitalism is already stimulating new fascist movements in the countries of Europe and will on the morrow stimulate even more the fascist movement in the United States, the citadel of world capitalism. If the maturing crisis impels the capitalists, however, to find new political leaders, it also impels the workers, schooled by their experiences of the last three decades, to search for a genuinely revolutionary leadership which will teach them how to storm all citadels and to save humanity from new, greater doses of the horrors which Malaparte describes.

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