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CONTENTS

Convention Call

Resolution of 15th Anniversary Plenum on
"Perspectives and Tasks of the Coming
European Revolution" Page 1

Draft Resolution of the National Committee on
"The European Revolution and Tasks of
the Revolutionary Party" 13

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CALL FOR THE SIXTH NATIONAL CONVENTION
OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
-- ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION OF AMERICAN TROTSKYISTS --

September 12, 1944

To all Locals, Branches and Members
of the Socialist Workers Party;

Dear Comrades,

Pursuant to the provisions of the party constitution, the National Committee hereby calls the Sixth National Convention of the Socialist Workers Party -- the Eleventh National Convention of the American Trotskyists -- to convene in New York City on Friday, November 17, and continue for three days (Friday, Saturday and Sunday, November 17, 18 and 19.)

AGENDA

The National Committee proposes the following agenda for the convention:

- (1) Political report on the situation in Europe.
- (2) Political report on the United States.
(Supplementary reports of national trade union fractions).
- (3) Organization report.
(Supplementary reports on Defense, Press and Publications).
- (4) Program of action.
- (5) International information report.
- (6) Election of the National Committee.

The political resolution of the National Committee will be ready for distribution in a few days.

PRE-CONVENTION DISCUSSION

The party pre-convention discussion is formally opened with the publication of this call. The Internal Bulletin is open for all party members on the subjects listed in the agenda or others which they may wish to present for the consideration of the party. Branch and membership meetings shall be arranged for discussion of the various subjects on the agenda. Our traditional provisions and safeguards for the adequate and free presentation of all points of view shall govern all discussions.

CONVENTION ASSESSMENT

As authorized by the party constitution, a convention assessment of three dollars per member is hereby levied, the payment of which is obligatory for every employed member.

BASIS OF REPRESENTATION

- (1) Representation from branches shall be as follows: One delegate for the first 15 members or less, and one additional delegate for each 15 additional members or major fraction thereof.
- (2) Each branch having five or more members is entitled to a voting delegate.
- (3) Delegates are to be elected by branches in accordance with the actual number of members in good standing who have been admitted to the party prior to September 12, 1944 (the date of the Convention Call) and who have paid their convention assessment, as certified by the branch executive committee on the day of voting.
- (4) Branches organized after the date of this convention call are entitled to send fraternal delegates as provided by the party constitution.
- (5) Members admitted to the party after the date of this convention call are entitled to voice in the party discussion but no vote on resolutions or in the selection of delegates.
- (6) Absentee votes on political resolutions and in the election of delegates shall not be permitted except in clearly established cases of occupational necessity (for example, sailors on ships, regular night workers, etc.) In all such cases the votes must be submitted in writing and recognized by motion at the branch meeting at the time of the branch voting.
- (7) Members transferring from one branch to another within the same locality subsequent to September 12, 1944 must vote in the branch from which they transferred.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

(1) In case of political differences defined by conflicting resolutions, the election of delegates in the branches is to be on the basis of proportional representation. Delegates shall be elected on the basis of the vote on resolution or resolutions voted on at the meeting at which the delegates are elected. Members voting for a given resolution are entitled

to designate the delegate or delegates to which they are entitled on the basis of proportional representation laid down in this call, the designations to be ratified by the branch. Abstentions in no case count as votes.

- (a) If a branch is entitled to one delegate, the delegate goes to the majority of those present and voting at the time of the election.
- (b) If two delegates, a minority with 40% gets one.
- (c) If three delegates, a minority with 33% gets one, the majority getting the others.
- (d) If four delegates, a minority with 25% gets one delegate, but a minority with 40% gets half the delegates.
- (e) If five delegates, a minority with 20% gets one.
- (f) If six delegates, a minority with 16-2/3% gets one delegate but a minority with 40% gets half the delegates, etc.

CONVENTION ATTENDANCE

The National Committee proposes that all party members in good standing who present proofs of membership may attend the convention as visitors.

Fraternally yours,

NATIONAL COMMITTEE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

M. Acin

Acting National Secretary

MS/sc

PERSPECTIVES AND TASKS OF THE COMING
EUROPEAN REVOLUTION

Resolution Adopted by the Fifteenth Anniversary Plenum of the
Socialist Workers Party, November 2, 1943

This plenum of the National Committee meets one year after the Tenth National Convention of the Socialist Workers Party. The Political Resolution unanimously adopted by that convention set forth the basic position of the Fourth International and the Socialist Workers Party on the imperialist war and the tasks of the proletarian world revolution.

Everything that has happened since has operated to confirm our Marxist analysis of the world situation and to reinforce our political and strategic conclusions based upon the revolutionary conviction that the workers in alliance with the peasants and colonial peoples will prove capable of overthrowing capitalism and organizing the foundations of an international socialist society of peace, security, human solidarity and unbounded progress.

The course of world events during the past year can be summarized in four major developments of historical significance. These are; (1) the downfall of Mussolini and the collapse of Italian fascism, signaling the beginning of the Italian, and consequently, the European revolution; (2) the growing preponderance of Anglo-American military power over that of the Axis camp, which has already exposed Wall Street's aspirations to replace Nazi Germany as master and oppressor of Europe and thrown into bold relief the counter-revolutionary role of American imperialism on the world arena; (3) the colossal victories of the Red Army; (4) the formal dissolution of the Comintern.

Lessons of the Italian Events

Italian fascism which set out in 1922 to rejuvenate tottering Italian capitalism over the broken bones of the revolting workers and peasants utterly exhausted itself within two decades. The murderous regime which its leader boasted would build a new Roman Empire lasted just long enough to celebrate its twentieth anniversary. The workers and peasants simply refused to fight, to work, or to sacrifice for the fascist state which gave them nothing but oppression, misery, starvation and broken promises. The middle classes lost all confidence in the corrupt, incompetent, vainglorious Bonapartist gangsters headed by the mountebank Mussolini. Finally, even the ruling classes, the capitalists, landed proprietors, the Church, the Royal Family, the military caste and part of his own governing clique found it expedient to dump Mussolini in the hope of saving themselves from complete catastrophe. With the entire people in opposition, the African Empire lost, the national economy bankrupt, facing occupation by two superior hostile armies, "fascism, at the end, broke apart like a rotten apple." To this epitaph Marshal Badoglio added; "Not the slightest resistance to

the change was met even from any of the 7,000,000 belonging to the fascist party proper."

This annihilating collapse of Italian fascism pricks like a soap bubble all those theories spawned by the renegades from Marxism that fascism is some new form of managerial or bureaucratic-collective society destined to replace capitalism and bar the road to socialism. It is now clear that these pretentious theories really represented a special form of intellectual capitulation and adaptation to fascism. The Italian experience has once for all demonstrated that fascism is essentially the political instrument of monopoly capitalism in its death agony.

The crumbling of fascism in Italy provides further evidence of the bankruptcy of bourgeois rule. All the repressions, pretensions and demagogy of their fascist mercenaries did not enable Big Business to stifle the class struggle and prevent it from developing. On the contrary, under the iron lid of fascism the class frictions generated enough explosive pressure to blow the regime to bits.

The Italian events have demonstrated the indomitable vitality of the working class. Fascism had smashed all the mass organizations of the Italian workers, their unions, cooperatives and political parties; murdered, imprisoned, exiled their best leaders; excommunicated revolutionary ideas and prohibited their expression; chained the workers to the bosses through the totalitarian state; isolated them from the rest of the world. Nevertheless, the defeated and atomized proletariat gradually reassembled their forces, lifted themselves to their feet, resumed their struggle for freedom and bread; brought forth new leaders out of their ranks; and moved to settle accounts with their oppressors at the first favorable opportunity.

Mussolini signed his death warrant by dragging the Italian people into the imperialist adventure of the Second World War. After three years of torture and horror, the masses began to revolt. Workers and peasants in uniform refused to fight, deserted, retreated or surrendered. As early as March 1943 strikes broke out in the northern industrial cities. The fascist regime was unable to cope with the revolt. Power was beginning to slip from Mussolini's hands. Further strikes and demonstrations during the following months made it apparent that Mussolini's murder machine was breaking down.

Terrified by the rising revolt of the people, by the military disasters and total bankruptcy of fascism, and by the prospective invasion of the mainland by Anglo-American armies, the possessing classes, headed by the monarchy and its military aides and inspired by the Vatican, hastened to depose Mussolini and set up a military-monarchist dictatorship in place of fascism. By a timely coup d'etat these palace conspirators hoped to forestall the workers' revolution.

But their removal of Mussolini provoked the most unintended and contradictory consequences. Instead of dampening the rebellious spirit, this move enormously heightened the revolutionary mood and spurred the masses to more daring actions. No sooner did the news

of Mussolini's downfall become known than the pent-up revolutionary feelings of the people manifested themselves with titanic force. The people poured into the streets in continual joyous demonstrations; they hunted out and vented their wrath upon the fascist vermin; opened prisons and liberated political prisoners; exulted in their newly regained freedom. They demanded an end to the war. Parties came out from underground, trade unions arose, a free press was established, workers and soldiers councils were organized, and fraternization began. Returned exiles and liberated political prisoners took their places at the head of the masses. Through a series of militant strikes the workers addressed their demands to the Badoglio government.

These developments disclosed the indubitable features of a genuine revolutionary uprising in which the masses directly intervene as an active and decisive force in the determination of events. This stormy movement threatened to sweep over the heads of King Victor Emmanuel and his Marshal Badoglio and upset their new monarchist-militarist government which had succeeded fascism. To prevent any further development of the revolution, all the forces of reaction combined against the insurgent workers and peasants. Badoglio decreed martial law, outlawed public assemblies of more than three persons, took measures to drive the workers back into the factories, shot and jailed their leaders, censored the press, duplicating all the practices of Mussolini's dictatorship.

While trying to beat down the revolution in the first weeks, Badoglio dangled the prospect of peace before the war-weary Italian people. He utilized against the workers the military forces both of the Nazis and of the Anglo-American bloc with whom he was negotiating terms for collaboration. Badoglio and his generals permitted the Nazis to occupy northern Italy while Anglo-American planes bombed the revolutionary centers of Milan, Turin and Bologna.

Military-Monarchist Plots

These military-monarchist plots against the revolution were facilitated and shielded by the treacherous policies of the Socialist, Stalinist and liberal parties. Instead of arousing and organizing the people for the overthrow of the Badoglio dictatorship and the creation of a Workers and Peasants Republic, these parties restrained the workers from struggle; advised them to trust the new government; and to wait until peace and liberty were bestowed upon them by the King and Badoglio in alliance with the Anglo-American forces. This combination of repression and deceit enabled the ex-accomplices of Mussolini to arrest the development of the revolution and to flee when ready into the embrace of the Allies.

After ruining the country, the utterly reactionary possessing classes have helped convert Italy into a battleground for the rival imperialist camps. Whichever side they may deal with at the moment, both sections of the divided bourgeoisie side with the foreign oppressors against their own people. While Mussolini calls upon the Italians to die for the resurrection of fascism and for nazism, the King and Badoglio solicit them to die for a military-monarchist dictatorship and for Anglo-American imperialism.

The cynical conduct of the Italian ruling classes confirms the great political lesson taught the workers by the French bourgeoisie after the fall of the Third Republic. The capitalist class cares nothing for democracy, national independence or the welfare of the masses. Profits, power, privileges and property are their sole concern. Whenever their political predominance and their social and economic interests are imperiled by the proletariat, the possessing classes are capable of unlimited crimes against the nation and the people.

The Italian workers and peasants can find their way to peace and freedom only by tearing political and economic power out of the hands of the capitalists and uniting with their fellow workers of Europe in a war for socialism. The revolutionary fighters of Italy have already performed deathless deeds. They were the main force which toppled Mussolini and his rotten regime. Their actions constituted a magnificent prologue to the forthcoming European proletarian revolution. They inspired with fresh hope and courage the masses of all Europe.

The Italian workers, isolated and caught between the armies of the rival imperialist camps, have been temporarily driven back on the defensive. They were not given time to organize their own strong Marxist party. The treacherous Stalinist and reformist leaders therefore had a free hand to restrain and disorient the masses. The Axis and Allied armies are now, each in their own way, striving to finish the work of strangling the revolution.

Despite betrayal and bloody repressions, the Italian workers fight on. They thereby serve notice that the Italian revolution still lives. The continued resistance of the workers under the prevailing adverse conditions gives assurance that they will resume their forward march as soon as the opportunity presents itself.

The sequence of events since the fall of Mussolini has shown the interconnection between the Italian revolution and the European revolution. The further course of the Italian revolution is bound up with the development of the European, and especially the German, revolution. The heroic actions of the Italian workers have kindled revolutionary sentiments and ideas throughout the continent and shaken regimes from Madrid to Berlin and Budapest. The subsequent unfolding of the maturing revolution elsewhere in Europe will in turn impart a powerful new impetus to the temporarily arrested Italian revolution.

The developments in Italy have posed point-blank all the major problems of the European revolution. They have confirmed the Marxist conclusions that the only revolutionary social forces are the workers in alliance with the peasants. The only kind of revolution the working class can and will lead is the socialist revolution. The only alternative to the continued rule of monopoly capitalism is the Workers' and Farmers' Government based upon Workers, Soldiers and Peasants Councils.

Bourgeois Democracy

The decay of capitalism and the acuteness of class conflicts forbid another extended period of bourgeois democracy for war-torn Europe. While interim bourgeois-democratic regimes may be set up here and there as by-products of uncompleted revolutionary movements, they must by their very nature prove unstable and short-lived. They must either give way before the conquest of power by the revolutionary workers or the military-police dictatorship of the capitalist counter-revolution.

The fact that the economic pre-conditions for an extended period of bourgeois democracy in Europe have disappeared does not, however, put an end to the role that bourgeois and petty-bourgeois democrats can play to stem the advance of proletarian revolution. With the collapse of fascism, capitalism will attempt to rule by means of naked military force, as already demonstrated in Italy. When this device proves powerless to control the insurgent masses, the native capitalists, allied with the invading imperialists, will push forward their treacherous democratic, social-reformist and Stalinist agents in an effort to strangle the revolution in a "democratic" noose. When all other defenses crumble, the forces of capitalism will strive to preserve their dictatorship behind the facade of democratic forms, even to the extent of a democratic republic.

This stratagem of the bourgeoisie may be aided by the revival of democratic illusions among considerable sections of the masses, especially in the absence of revolutionary mass parties. Under such conditions it is possible and even probable that the treacherous parties of social-reformism and Stalinism can play the leading role in the first stages of the revolution. The definitive victory of the revolution can be assured only by the leadership of a revolutionary Marxist party. The creation of such parties is the most important task of the revolutionary proletarian vanguard of Europe. Amid the gigantic convulsions which will shake European society this task can be accomplished in a very short time.

The revolutionary wave may be so overwhelming as to enable the workers to take power immediately following the collapse of the fascist dictatorship. Hence it is necessary to put forward the slogans of Workers Councils (Soviets) and All Power to the Workers Councils, as soon as the masses begin to move against the fascist regime or any makeshift substitute.

The Trotskyist parties everywhere have the basic duty to expose and fight against the illusions that stable bourgeois-democratic regimes, which have lost their material foundation, can be restored in Europe. They must wage irreconcilable warfare against the reformist and Stalinist parties, and their perfidious "People's Fronts" which attempt to limit the struggle of the workers to this reactionary utopian program. The Fourth International has long ago foreseen the emergence of this question in the first stages of the downfall of fascism and has spoken explicitly in regard to it. The program adopted by the Founding Conference of the Fourth International (1938) affirms that "once it breaks through, the revolutionary

wave in fascist countries will immediately be a grandiose sweep and under no circumstances will stop short at the experiment of resuscitating some sort of Weimar corpse." The same program makes clear the value and necessity, as well as the limitations and subordinate character, of democratic slogans as a means of mobilizing the masses for revolutionary action.

To win the masses will require linking ourselves with them as we find them with all their illusions. Our task is rendered all the easier by the fact that democratic demands have revolutionary implications in Europe today, if seriously fought for, because the bourgeois governments cannot satisfy them. Appearing before the masses with the fundamental slogans of the Socialist United States of Europe and All Power to Workers Councils, the Trotskyists must also show themselves as the most resolute fighters for democratic demands. These democratic demands (freedom of press, the right to unionize, etc.) will be intertwined with the transitional ones and all of them connected with our fundamental slogans of the Socialist United States of Europe and All Power to Workers Councils.

The proletarian revolution may begin in one country, but no European country can make its way out of the war and the catastrophic crisis of contemporary civilization by itself alone. A victorious revolution in any single European country would immediately be compelled to defend itself from military attack by the imperialists and would have to appeal for international proletarian aid by revolutionary means. In the ensuing struggles it would not be possible to maintain the outlived and arbitrarily drawn borders of the existing national states and the proletariat has no interest in attempting to do so. The national state which once provided the historical arena for the development of the productive forces has long since become a reactionary fetter upon them. The unpostponable historical task of the European peoples is the revolutionary destruction of the reactionary national state and the creation of the Socialist United States of Europe. Peace, security and prosperity can be assured only by the economic unification and socialist collaboration of the free nations of Europe. The only power capable of solving these tasks is the revolutionary proletariat. The central unifying slogan of its fight is "The Socialist United States of Europe."

Europe, today enslaved by the Nazis, will tomorrow be overrun by equally predatory Anglo-American imperialism. By their attempts to replace the Nazis as masters of Europe the Allied imperialists will thereby transfer to themselves all the consequences which prevented Hitler from "pacifying" the continent. The hatred of the European peoples, now directed and vented against their Nazi oppressors, will be turned tomorrow with intensified ferocity against Yankee imperialism. The burning desire of the European masses to get rid of the invaders and to achieve national freedom will necessarily become fused with their social struggle against the native ruling classes and their Anglo-American overlords; and impart a powerful impetus to the proletarian revolution. Fraternization between the European workers and the soldiers of the occupying forces will become an imperative necessity on the road to the socialist revolution in Europe.

The entire combined forces of the European proletariat will be needed to organize and lead the people in revolutionary struggle against their oppressors. The slogan of The Socialist United States of Europe will serve as the great rallying cry of unity against the counter-revolutionary schemes of the Anglo-American bloc to colonize, exploit, and dismember the European continent. This slogan will inspire and guide the European workers in their struggle for power. Through the Socialist United States of Europe--and not otherwise-- they will achieve their economic unification, fraternal solidarity, social and cultural progress. Only on this basis will ruined and shattered Europe be lifted to its feet again and rise to new heights.

The Counter-Revolutionary Role of American Capitalism

The preponderance of American power has everywhere begun to assert itself with increasing force. The industrial, financial and military might of the United States has become the decisive factor in the inter-imperialist struggle for world domination.

Washington's diplomatic dealings and political acts during the past year have served to expose the pretense that this war is being waged to defend democracy against fascism and to extend the "Four Freedoms" throughout the world. They have disclosed the real reactionary character of the war aims of Washington which are dictated by the drive of American Big Business for political and economic mastery of the world.

The slogan of "the war for democracy" was considerably tarnished from the outset by the inclusion of the Vargas and other despotic governments in the "United Nations" coalition; by demonstrative friendship for the butcher Franco of Spain and Dictator Salazar of Portugal; by the wooing of Petain, the patronage of Otto of Hapsburg and various European monarchs-in-exile. Today the deals with Darlan and Badoglio outline in precise terms the counter-revolutionary policies and imperialist aims of Anglo-American capitalism.

The deal with Darlan, the executioner of Vichy and Hitler's collaborator, served to maintain French imperial relations and to secure the collaboration of the French capitalists, colonial governors and military caste. The old system of colonial oppression and super-exploitation remains unchanged under de Gaulle as under Darlan and Giraud; neither the African natives nor the French colonial workers have acquired democracy through Anglo-American occupation.

In Sicily AMGOT kept at their posts all but the most notorious and hated fascist officials and police. The people are forbidden to carry on political activities; the press is controlled. "The fascist label is removed," cables the N. Y. Times reporter, "but the same men carry on the same functions."

Allied Policy in Italy

This policy has been climaxed by the deal with Marshal Badoglio and King Victor Emmanuel, who supported fascism for more than twenty years and whose sole backing comes from the industrialists, bankers and big landowners. Roosevelt and Churchill are using their armies and resources to prop up this military-monarchist dictatorship, detested and distrusted by the Italian masses. They do not want the Italian people to have a government of their own free choice for fear that such a regime would make inroads upon capitalist property and power.

The policies pursued by the Allied leaders in North Africa, Sicily and Italy demonstrate that their backing of ultra-reactionary forces is due neither to accidental deviations nor "military expedients" but flows from a calculated plan which is dictated by the interests and necessities of the Anglo-American imperialists. They provide a preview of the Anglo-American program for Europe. These capitalist powers aim to impose new forms of servitude upon the European peoples. They propose to crush all manifestations of revolutionary independence by the European workers and to set up military-monarchist-clerical dictatorships under the tutelage and hegemony of Anglo-American Big Business. They have concluded an alliance with the world general staff of reaction and obscurantism, the Vatican, to promote the realization of their counter-revolutionary schemes.

The Allies shrink from encouraging popular democratic movements of liberation because they fear that these would release the powers of the working class and flow toward the channels of socialist revolution. Roosevelt and Churchill understand that it is not in the cards to establish stable "democratic" capitalist governments in Europe today. Given free scope, given their democratic rights, the European working class will not require overly much time to organize their revolutionary parties and to overthrow all of their capitalist oppressors. The choice, from the Roosevelt-Churchill point of view, is a Franco-type government or the specter of the socialist revolution.

The greatest contribution American revolutionists can make to the fight for socialism in Europe is to expose these counter-revolutionary aims; struggle relentlessly against them; arouse the American workers against the reactionary program of Big Business and awaken sentiments of solidarity with their hard-pressed class brothers in Europe and all other parts of the world.

Significance of the Soviet Victories

The prodigious vitality of the October revolution is strikingly demonstrated in the Red Army victories over Nazi imperialism. While France and Italy, victors in the last war, crumpled before invading armies, the Soviet Union stood up under unprecedented defeats and losses and flung back the assault of the mighty Nazi military machine. The superior powers of resistance and recuperation of the USSR flow essentially from the fact that the proletarian revolution, which was crushed in France and Italy, conquered in the Soviet Union.

The unbreakable will to struggle and high morale of the Soviet armies and peoples refute those deserters who, recoiling against the crimes of the Stalinist bureaucracy, abandoned the workers' state in its hour of mortal peril. They gave up the Soviet Union for lost at the very moment when, despite the incubus of the Stalinist bureaucracy, the state which issued from the October revolution was about to exhibit unprecedented defensive powers in the supreme test on the field of battle.

The USSR, by virtue of the social foundations laid down by the October revolution, still remains a workers' state in fundamental contradiction with world imperialism. The reactions of the Allies to the Soviet successes and their repercussions among the capitalist rulers of the neighboring countries once again show that the imperialists recognize this fact. The prospect of further Red Army advances has terrified rather than encouraged Stalin's "democratic" allies.

The recently concluded Moscow pact, based upon an agreement to join forces against the European revolution, has not and could not eliminate the fundamental antagonism between the economic systems of the Soviet Union and the capitalist world. Stalin's pact with Roosevelt and Churchill, counter-revolutionary in its essence as was his previous pact with Hitler, will prove no more enduring. Neither Stalin's subservience to imperialism, nor his counter-revolutionary aims in Europe, can abolish this basic antagonism. At a subsequent stage the underlying antagonisms must break into the open and, unless the European revolution intervenes or Stalin makes concessions to the imperialists which change the basic character of Soviet economy, will lead to armed conflict between the USSR and Anglo-American imperialism. In combining with the Anglo-American imperialists against the European revolution Stalin is aiming a mortal blow at the Soviet Union itself.

Stalin's False Policies

The "enigmatic" character of Stalin's policies which so perplexes bourgeois commentators is explained by the contradictory position of the Soviet bureaucracy which conducts its reactionary nationalist policies upon the social foundations of a degenerated workers' state encircled by imperialism. Stalin's nationalist outlook impels him to bargain with the imperialists for territorial and strategic concessions on the periphery of the USSR at the expense of the betrayal of the international proletariat. The inevitable consequences of such a treacherous policy have already been demonstrated by Stalin's dealings with Hitler. No sooner had Stalin's ally, Hitler, conquered Western Europe than he hurled his might against the Soviet Union.

Stalin's Anglo-American allies cannot act otherwise. Once established in a dominating position upon the European continent, they, like Hitler, would of necessity seek to surround and strangle the USSR in order to crush and dismember the Soviet Union, restore capitalist private property, and open up a vast field of resources for imperialist exploitation.

Stalin is aware of the perils to the USSR implicit in the conquest and consolidation of Europe by the Anglo-American imperialists over the prostrate body of Germany. His foreign policy can

appear to be temporarily effective only so long as Europe is divided between conflicting imperialist camps which can neutralize each other and permit him to maneuver between them. A decisive victory of one over the other can be followed only by war against the USSR.

The Soviet Union could frustrate the imperialist designs of the Anglo-American war-camp and secure itself against attack by stimulating and supporting revolutionary uprisings of the European peoples. But the Moscow ruling caste will no more dare to pursue this course against its present allies than against Hitler. A victorious proletarian revolution in any major European country would arouse and heighten the self-confidence of the Soviet masses, regenerate the October revolution and doom the hated Kremlin clique.

Stalin's policy, bankrupt through and through, consists in seeking a middle way between these two fundamental alternatives. On one hand, he sets up "Free Germany" and "Free Poland" Committees and supports the Yugoslav Partisans and similar movements as counterweights to Anglo-American influence. He plays with the hopelessly reactionary program of reconstituting pseudo-democratic regimes upon a capitalist basis with a "friendly" orientation towards the USSR. On the other hand he concludes agreements with the Anglo-American imperialists to cooperate with them in the subjugation of Europe.

But Stalin's attempts to find a middle course are doomed to failure. Either the socialist revolution will triumph throughout Europe or the helpless continent will become the victim and vassal of Anglo-American imperialism. Either the Soviet Union will secure itself in alliance with the victorious European proletariat or it will be eventually conquered and destroyed by the imperialists. There are no other alternatives. The Stalinist bureaucracy is doomed in either case. It is not a new "class", as renegades and philistines denominate it, but a parasitic caste, transitory in nature. There is no solution for the contradictions of Stalinism any more than for the contradictions of imperialism.

Stalin, exploiting the enhanced prestige of the Soviet Union as a result of the Red Army victories, seeks to gain control of the popular movements in Europe in order to use them for bargaining with the imperialists and, when nationalistic considerations require, sell them out. The Stalinist bureaucracy is capable of any treachery to socialism and the international proletariat. Past experience, particularly in Spain, leaves no doubt that the Stalinists, confronted with mass uprisings on the continent of Europe, would be ready to join hands with the imperialists and undertake to do their hangman's work. But to attempt such an enterprise is one thing; to carry it out successfully is another. There exists a vast difference in conditions between the Spanish revolution and the coming European revolution. A pre-war revolution in the corner of Europe could be isolated, strangled and sold out as part of the Kremlin's diplomatic maneuvers. A revolution issuing from this war in any one country will rapidly spread across the national borders and assume continental proportions. Such a revolution cannot be harnessed by any bureaucracy, including the Stalinist, or permanently held down by any imperialist power, including the Anglo-American.

Those who draw defeatist conclusions regarding the prospects of proletarian victory in Europe ignore above all the independent revolutionary action of the masses and assign them a purely passive role as though the Stalinist bureaucracy and the Anglo-American imperialists were two gangs of butchers cutting up a dead carcass. The task of revolutionary fighters is to arouse the masses for independent action under their own banner, and not to speculate, as passive observers, on the designs of Stalin and the imperialists, and still less to take for granted the success of these designs.

The decisive power in Europe is the revolutionary proletariat. Upon this fundamental social force we Trotskyists stake our hopes and base our policy through all the twists and turns of Stalinist and imperialist diplomacy.

The End of the Comintern

Stalin's dissolution of the Communist International officially ends the career of an international workers' organization which once, under Lenin and Trotsky, was the vanguard of the world proletariat and the hope of all the oppressed. The history of the Comintern since 1924 is a record of degeneration and capitulation. The betrayals of the Stalinist bureaucracy have inflicted the most disastrous defeats upon the world working class.

The successive steps in this process of degeneration after Lenin's death embrace the promulgation for the first time in 1924 of the theory of socialism in one country; the bureaucratization of the Comintern and all of its parties; the expulsion of the Bolshevik-Leninist opposition, first in the Russian party and then internationally; the capitulation of the German Communist Party, with its 600,000 members and its 6 million voters, without a fight, to Hitler fascism in 1933; the systematic betrayal of the proletariat of the world in the interest of the diplomatic policy of the Kremlin; the murder of the Old Bolsheviks; the assassination of Trotsky; the betrayal of the proletariat in the Second World War, first to Hitler and then to Roosevelt and Churchill.

Stalin's cynical repudiation of internationalism and international proletarian organization renders the greatest ideological service to capitalism which aims to keep the workers divided along nationalist lines and to dupe and enslave them with nationalist illusions and prejudices. The renunciation of internationalism is the renunciation of the basic principles of scientific socialism. Ever since the Communist Manifesto of 1848 proclaimed "Workers of the World Unite!" the Marxist movement has taught that the emancipation of the workers could be achieved only by their common action on an international scale. The First, Second and Third Internationals were all originally organized to promote the class unity of the workers on a world basis in struggle against the capitalist system for the creation of socialism.

The Third International was born out of the experiences of the last world war, 1914-1918. From the first day of its birth it taught the necessity of international solidarity and fought every variety of national self-inclusiveness. Now, a quarter of a century

later, when the bankruptcy of capitalism and its system of national states has developed into its death agony, in the midst of a second world war which threatens the existence of civilization, Stalin and his traitor gang tell the workers there is no need of international cooperation and organization.

The formal burial of the Comintern ten years after it had ceased to exist as in any respect a revolutionary force, does not signify the end of Stalinist intervention in the world labor movement. The Stalinists still retain their organizations, their GPU apparatus and connections, and remain as always the cynical agents of the Kremlin's foreign policies. The Italian events have shown the capacity of the Stalinists for perverting the struggle of the workers, demoralizing and betraying the working class. The struggle against the false policies of the degenerate servants of the Kremlin remains as one of the most important tasks of the revolutionary vanguard in Europe and the rest of the world.

The Coming Triumph of the Fourth International

The Third International which has been buried by Stalin in shame and disgrace nevertheless left behind the greatest treasures for the future. Its founders, Lenin and Trotsky, belong to us. Their teachings, their example, their traditions are ours. The record of the long internal struggle from 1923 of Trotsky and his co-thinkers and disciples is the basic literature upon which the new generation which is destined to lead the revolution will be trained and educated. The first four Congresses of the Comintern produced documents which are the basic program of the movements of the Fourth International.

Out of the Third International, long before it died and was buried, came the initiating cadres of the Fourth International. The Fourth International is today the only workers' international. The Fourth International is Trotsky's crowning contribution to the liberating struggle of the world working class. The Fourth International rests upon the granite foundations of unfalsified Marxism. Trotsky incorporated into its program all the great lessons of the post-Leninist epoch and armed the revolutionary vanguard with the indispensable ideological weapons of the coming struggle for power. The Fourth International alone carries on the progressive traditions of the first two Internationals and the work of the Comintern in its first years. The critical test of the war has destroyed every other international grouping except the Fourth International. Nothing and nobody can dissolve this International, the heir of the Communist International of Lenin and Trotsky. Today the numbers of the Fourth International are small but they exist in every important country. They are bound together by common principles and a common goal. Their ideas are correct, their program represents historical necessity, their victory is assured.

Under the banner of the Fourth International, World Party of the Socialist Revolution, the workers and colonial peoples will emancipate themselves from capitalism, fascism and war and create the socialist society of peace, freedom and plenty for all mankind.

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THE EUROPEAN REVOLUTION AND TASKS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

(Draft Resolution of the National Committee)

1. The events of the past nine months have served to underline the validity of our previous analysis of the world situation and of the perspectives in Europe as embodied in the resolution adopted on November 2, 1943 by the Fifteenth Anniversary Plenum of the National Committee. The Plenum resolution has guided our analysis of the unfolding events and helped to formulate the slogans for our agitation. This resolution is a reaffirmation and an extension of the Plenum resolution.

The Italian Experience and its Lessons for the European Revolution and the Counter-revolutionary Role of Anglo-American Imperialism.

2. The Italian experiences have provided the proving ground for the development of revolutionary events in Europe, of the revolutionary temper and power of the European masses, of the status and role of the European capitalist class, as well as a preview of Anglo-American aims, methods and plans. (Italy provides a key to the understanding of events in France, in Germany, in all Europe.) *logon deletes*

3. One year ago in August, the Italian capitalist class, faced with the prospect of a revolutionary overthrow of its rule, proceeded to call in through the Badoglio regime the aid of the foreign imperialists. The ruling circles decided their best chance for survival lay in throwing in their lot with the Allies, and on September 3 the armistice was signed between the Badoglio Government and the Allies. At the same time, Badoglio's generals in the North turned over the revolutionary proletariat to the Nazi wolves. With guns and bayonets, the workers were pushed back into the factories. By the timely assistance of Allied and Nazi imperialism, the Italian revolution was, for the time being, arrested.

4. In September 1943 Allied airmen dropped leaflets in Southern Italy which stated: "We are coming to liberate you and not to conquer you." But the Allies soon revealed themselves to be not liberators but tyrants, exploiters and conquerors. First, they imposed on Italy "Armistice" terms reputed to be more Draconian than those Hitler imposed on France in 1940. To this day, neither the Allies nor the successive Italian governments have dared to make public the full Armistice terms. After the Armistice, Italy was converted into a battle-ground of the Second World War. (The Allied military campaign was organized on the basis of a two-fold objective. (1) to destroy the Nazi armies, and (2) to convert Italy into a semi-colony of Allied imperialism, imposing on the Italian people a military dictatorship based on the monarchy, the Vatican and the capitalist and landlord cliques.

5. In pursuit of their program the Allies systematically employed all their power, prestige and armed might to impose on the Italian people the dictatorship of Badoglio and the House of Savoy. To this

end they conducted virtual warfare against the civilian population. While systematically disarming the fighters of the independent anti-fascist militia, they supported Badoglio in his attempt to reconstitute an army under the leadership of monarchist and ex-fascist generals. The Allies shielded the Black Shirt cutthroats from the wrath of the people and returned to public office many of the self-same rascals, crooks and tyrants who had lorded it over the Italian masses under the Mussolini regime. A new brazen attempt was launched to refurbish the power of the Church. Thus far the AMG has permitted only religious schools to reopen and education to be conducted under the direction of the ecclesiastical authorities. At the same time a reign of terror was carried on against the Italian masses; the suppression of newspapers, the prohibition of meetings, demonstrations and strikes, the disarming of anti-fascist militants, the arrest of political opponents. Such is the sum and substance of Allied political "liberation" of Italy.

6. In the economic field, the Allies quickly dispelled the illusion that under their rule living conditions would improve. With Italy a battleground, its cities destroyed and fields devastated, with the Italian people paying the full costs of Allied occupation, if not additional huge war-indemnities, the economic situation in Allied-occupied Italy has not improved but drastically worsened. One year of Allied rule of Italy has made it unmistakably clear that the Anglo-American imperialists, in this sphere, will continue the robbery, looting and oppression practiced by Nazi imperialism in its rule of occupied Europe. The Allies moreover will take advantage of the hunger of the masses and utilize their control of the food supplies at their disposal as an additional lever for counter revolution.

7. The first important economic measure introduced by the Allies -- in emulation of Hitler's occupation of France -- was the setting of the exchange rate at 100 lire to the dollar, as against the pre-war rate of 20 lire to the dollar. This measure immediately accelerated the inflation. All metal currency vanished. The Italian farmers, losing all faith in the currency diverted their produce to the black market.

8. Prices immediately soared, goods were unobtainable except on the black market, the daily bread ration was reduced to 100 grams per person -- three slices of bread -- about a third of what the average Italian received under Mussolini. The daily food ration in Allied-occupied Naples is reputed to be one of the lowest in Europe -- lower even than the food ration in Warsaw under the Nazis.

9. On September 1st the Allied authorities declared all wages frozen. These wages had been set under contracts during Mussolini's regime. With prices soaring, with goods obtainable only in the black market, and black market prices averaging ten times the legal maximum prices, the working class faces abject starvation. This is further aggravated by the mass unemployment. Over 100,000 workers are unemployed in Naples alone. The white collar, salaried and professional workers, ruined by the inflation, face a similar fate. Disease is ravaging the population. The death rate has increased about four-fold. The masses of Naples are facing famine.

10. In Rome the cost of living, which had gone up 749% between November 1940 and June 1944, registered a further sharp increase, as soon as the Allies entered, due to the same causes that operated in Naples. Pietro Nenni, pro-Allied social-democratic leader in Rome, declared; "If eight or ten more Italian cities get into the state of Naples, where three-quarters of the citizens live by beggary, prostitution, peddling and black marketing, Italy will cease to exist."
11. Hunger grips the land. The thieving fascist officials and businessmen who made price control and rationing a mockery under the Mussolini regime, continue, with Allied blessings to fleece the Italian people and pile up profits on black market operations. Such is Allied "liberation" of Italy in the economic sphere.
12. And Italy, it must be remembered, has become a "co-belligerent" of the Allies and thus comes under the provisions of the Atlantic Charter. What the Allies plan for Germany can well be imagined from the fact that the German people have already been declared outside the pale of humanity and the Atlantic Charter declared not applicable to Germany. The projected dismemberment of Germany spells economic ruin and starvation not for the German masses alone, but for the masses of all Europe. The highly developed German industry constitutes the indispensable backbone of Europe's economy.
13. The Allied program of counter-revolution and the conversion of Italy into a semi-colony of Anglo-American imperialism has produced a political crisis of the greatest tension and explosive power. The early sympathy of the Italian people for the Allies, based on the hope that conditions would improve, soon turned into consternation, bewilderment, distrust and hostility. Today the masses of Allied-occupied Italy understand that Roosevelt and Churchill are not liberators, but imperial plunderers and enslavers. Even the capitalist correspondents report that the political temper of the Italian masses is white hot, that the masses are turning to communism.
14. Politically, this is translated into the fact that of the six "opposition" parties that make up The Committee of National Liberation, only the two "working class" parties, the Social-Democratic party and the Stalinists, have any measure of mass support and following in the cities. The fact that the liberal politicians of the Sforza type continue to walk the political stage is to be explained solely by Allied support of these politicians and the perfidy of the so-called working class parties.
15. The Italian masses are today ready for another gigantic step forward on the road toward their political and social emancipation. What, then, accounts for the present slow tempo of development of the Italian revolution? This is explained primarily by the treachery of the so-called working class parties that at present dominate the political stage in Italy, and by the absence of a revolutionary party.

16. No sooner did the masses begin to participate actively on the political arena after the fall of Mussolini, than they brushed aside the liberal capitalist parties and politicians (who paved the way for fascism after the First World War) and in the main gave their support and allegiance to the traditional parties of the Italian working class -- the Social Democratic Party and the Communist Party. (Under the fascist regime the Italian masses were for twenty years forcibly deprived of the opportunity of testing the various programs, leaders and parties through their own experiences). In this was revealed the leading role of the proletariat that has characterized every revolution of modern times; it also testifies to the fact that the Italian working masses ardently desire a decisive revolutionary change. They give their backing and support to the parties that in their minds stand for socialism and communism, in the mistaken expectation that these parties will lead them in revolutionary struggle. S

17. How terribly have these so-called working class parties betrayed the Italian proletariat! The masses supported the "Socialists" and "Communists" because they wanted a leadership in their fight for peace, bread and freedom. The Social-Democratic and Stalinist traitors assumed the leadership of this struggle only to behead it.

18. Organized in the underground, the Social-Democrats and the Stalinists emerged in the open immediately after Mussolini's downfall as part of a five-party (later six-party) coalition: The Committee of National Liberation. This miserable replica of the People's Front -- the bloc of the working class with the liberal bourgeoisie -- lacks even the alibi given in 1935 for the formation of the People's Front of France. The primary power and mass following in Italy reposes in the so-called working class parties. The liberal bourgeoisie enjoy no mass support. Actually the "people's front" bloc has only one purpose -- to rehabilitate the liberal capitalist politicians of the Sforza-Croce stamp and to use their presence in the coalition as justification for the policies of upholding capitalism and supporting the war.

19. In the course of a single year, The Committee of National Liberation has piled up a long record of sell-outs. The Stalinists, who comprise the most important party in the coalition and exercise the most extensive influence over the working class, have already emerged as the very spearhead of the counter-revolution inside the working class movement. delete

20. When in June the Badoglio government simply melted away under the hostility of the masses, it was the 6-party coalition with the Stalinists in the van, who stepped in to break the deadlock for reaction. For a brief period they served to prop up the Badoglio dictatorship by providing the facade of a 6-party "coalition" cabinet. When the Allies entered Rome, the city was already under the control of a working-class anti-fascist Junta, which refused to tolerate a government of Badoglio and the monarchy. After the Allies disbanded the anti-fascist Junta, they called in their lackeys of the 6-party coalition. A new government, headed by the liberal Bonomi, made up of the representatives of the 6-party coalition, again stepped in to

fill the political vacuum. In other words, the Stalinists, Social-Democrats and their liberal allies directly took over the task of keeping the Italian masses subservient to the Allied invaders, of carrying through the infamous Armistice terms and acting as lackeys, helping to prop up the disintegrating rule of Italian capitalism.

21. The Bonomi government, like its predecessor, is a shadow government. It is a miserable caricature of a coalition government. First, it has no power. It is merely the servant of the Allied military authority, pledged to carry out the conqueror's demands and terms. Second, it is a hand-picked government, with no mandate from the people or even its own party constituencies. It "rules" by decree. The real power continues to reside first, in the Allied military authority and in the second instance the officer corps, the monarchist camarilla, the church hierarchy. The new coalition merely serves as a screen for the military dictatorship of the Allies and their Italian accomplices.

22. The Bonomi government is no more able than its predecessors to solve one single problem which confronts it. It cannot give the people bread because it is committed to supporting Allied looting of Italy under the terms of the Armistice. It cannot abolish the black market and fight the high cost of living because the Italian capitalists, with Allied protection, are making fortunes in the black market. It cannot purge the fascists and give democratic rights to the Italian people because the Allies are returning the fascists to the seats of power and are determined to prevent the masses from exercising their democratic rights and electing a government of their own choosing. The Bonomi government cannot abolish the monarchy smeared with the crimes of fascism because it is pledged not to raise the question of the monarchy until after the war. The Bonomi government cannot struggle for peace. It openly and brazenly demands that the Allies equip a new army so that the Italian people may again be hurled, as full participants, into the imperialist slaughter. The Bonomi government is a government of betrayal and impotence.

23. Masses learn very rapidly in revolutionary periods. In Italy they have seen several changes of ministries; they have even seen the representatives of the supposed working class parties enter the capitalist government. And yet everything remains as before. The people are still starving, they have no freedom, Italy remains a battleground. The wrath of the masses is sure to rise against the new government of repression and hunger, the pitiful lackey of the Allied imperialists and the Italian capitalists. The Bonomi government will prove no more stable or durable than did its predecessors.

24. The proletariat of the Northern cities has for many months fought with the greatest heroism against the Nazi butchers and their Black Shirt accomplices. In March this struggle culminated in the calling of a general strike. 6,000,000 workers downed tools and presented their demands to the Nazi command. Despite the Nazi terror, they won significant concessions.

25. As soon as the separation between Northern and Southern Italy ends, the Northern proletariat, imbued with the ideas of socialism and comprising the most militant and decisive section of the population, will take its rightful place at the head of the struggle. Italy stands on the verge of a new forward development of the revolution.

26. This makes the creation of a new revolutionary party the most immediate and unpostponable task for the Italian proletariat. The pernicious influence of the Social-Democrats and the Stalinists must be fought and destroyed. For victory in the struggle, the Italian proletariat must have a firm, honest, devoted, revolutionary leadership. Such a leadership can only be provided by the Marxist revolutionary party.

27. The sources for the formation of the new revolutionary party exist and are numerous; among revolutionary elements inside the Communist and Socialist Left who have become disillusioned by the treachery of their leaders; among the leading militants of the trade union movement; in the ranks of the anti-fascist militia.

28. The advanced workers of Italy do not have to invent a new program and a new banner for the revolutionary party of Italy. Such a revolutionary program and banner exist. The revolutionary working class party will be organized on the tested program and methods of Lenin and Trotsky, the program and methods of the great Russian Revolution of 1917. The revolutionary workers party of Italy will be a Trotskyist party, because Trotskyism is the only movement of genuine Marxist Internationalism today.

29. The Trotskyists have prepared themselves during the years of reaction for the revolutionary upsurge. The Trotskyist movement has a tested program, a firm cadre and an International organization. Upon its shoulders rests an historic responsibility. It must render every assistance to our Italian and European co-thinkers to assemble the forces for the revolutionary Marxist parties and strengthen those that already exist. Toward this end, the Trotskyists will pay the closest attention to all the new manifestations of the European labor movement, and work with the greatest energy to attract all leftward-moving groups to the Trotskyist program and banner. This work the Trotskyists will carry through with the greatest tactical flexibility and in a comradely spirit. At the same time the Trotskyists intend to wage unremitting struggle against centrist charlatans, professional confusionists and sterile sectarians. Through all the abrupt turns and tactical readjustments necessary to aid the rapid crystallization of the revolutionary forces, the Trotskyists will remain programmatically irreconcilable.

30. Today the Fourth International is confronted with tremendous tasks, opportunities and responsibilities. The decks must be cleared for action. There is no room for careerists, adventurers, cowards, philistines, petty-bourgeois windbags and quacks or sectarian incorrigibles. Long ago the Fourth International turned its back on these political invalids. The Fourth International turns its face toward the fresh revolutionary forces of the European proletariat.

All its time will be devoted to rallying the fresh layers of workers in the struggle for socialist emancipation. That is how the Trotskyist parties will grow strong!

31. The Italian revolutionary party, unfurling the glorious banner of Trotskyism, will call on the masses to struggle for the program of socialist revolution and working class internationalism. The party will explain that Italy can avoid disaster and famine only by a program that leads to the abolition of the capitalist system and the establishment of a socialist Italy based on the workers' and peasants' councils; that only by a firm alliance with the revolutionary masses of the rest of Europe can the imperialist invaders be driven out and peace, economic security and freedom be achieved in Europe. Herein lies the motive power of the slogan of the Socialist United States of Europe.

32. The Socialist United States of Europe is the central unifying slogan of the European revolution; the cooperation of the European proletariat and their combined forces are needed to drive out the imperialist invaders and oppressors; the proletariat of any single European country will be forced to safeguard and secure their victorious socialist revolution from the military assaults of the imperialists by calling for immediate revolutionary assistance and support of the European proletariat, by boldly disregarding the outlived and reactionary national boundaries and working to extend their revolution on a continental scale. The Socialist United States of Europe is the revolutionary answer, the only alternative to the imperialist schemes of balkanizing Europe and enslaving its peoples. It corresponds to the needs and experiences of the European masses who are learning that only by the destruction of the outlived and reactionary national state and through the economic unification and socialist collaboration of the free peoples of Europe can the menace of recurrent devastating wars be abolished and freedom and economic well-being assured. The slogan of the Socialist United States of Europe will become the great rallying cry to unite the European masses against the despotic schemes and counter-revolutionary designs of Anglo-American imperialism and to inspire and guide the working class, through every stage of the struggle for socialist emancipation.

33. To rally the masses for the revolutionary struggle, the revolutionary Marxist party will elaborate a bold program of transitional and democratic demands corresponding to the consciousness of the masses and the tempo of developments, e.g., free election of all officials, freedom of the press, armed workers' militia, nationalization of industry under workers' control, etc. It will audaciously put forward those partial, sharp fighting slogans dictated by the circumstances of the day and the mood of the masses in order to advance the struggle and prepare the proletariat for power. It will become the leader of the masses in all their partial struggles, strikes, demonstrations, protests. It is in the tumultuous revolutionary battles that the proletariat will gather experience, cohesion and strength, that the revolutionary party will win the masses to its program and establish its right to revolutionary leadership.

34. The revolutionary Marxist party will be the leader in agitating for and building Soviets (Workers' Councils). Soviets may begin on a very modest and elementary scale. They may begin with united front Consumers and Price Committees to fight the black market and the high cost of living. They may be set up as factory committees to establish workers' control and to fight unemployment. They may be set up as committees to fight for the free election of all officials. They may be set up as unions of farm workers to confiscate the landlords' estates and to operate them cooperatively or to combat and resist the disarming of the masses and to organize an armed workers' militia.

35. Thus in the very process of propaganda, agitation and struggle, the revolutionary fighters will become not only the propagandists, but the foremost organizers of the Soviets (Workers' Councils). The Soviets, in the course of the struggle, will clash with the government apparatus and the Allied military authorities. They will be forced to reach out ever further in their fight for the people's rights. Thus, and only thus, will real meaning and revolutionary significance be lent to the slogan "All Power to the Workers' Councils." Only through the struggle and in the struggle will the Italian revolutionary party grow, learn how to lead the masses and how to conquer. There are no blueprints on how to make a revolution. We do have, however, the program and tactics which brought victory to the Russian Revolution. These need to be mastered and correctly applied. What is necessary now is to organize the party and plunge into the battle!

36. Let skeptics shrug their shoulders! The Trotskyist fighters will conduct their revolutionary struggle with the conviction that they have every opportunity to build, in the crucible of events, a revolutionary party, fully capable of leading the revolution to victory. The Trotskyists need only display the necessary programmatic intransigence and loyal adherence to Marxist principles, the necessary audacity and energy in action, the necessary flexibility in their agitation and organization.

37. Trotsky taught us that "The October Revolution also once began with its swaddling clothes, . . . The mighty Russian parties of Social Revolutionaries and Mensheviks who made up the 'People's Front' with the Cadets (The Russian Sforzas) crumbled into dust in the course of a few months under the blows of a 'handful of fanatics' of Bolshevism."

38. The Trotskyists in the United States, as well as our British co-thinkers, bear an especially heavy responsibility. They must expose and struggle relentlessly against the counter-revolutionary aims of American and British Big Business. Around the slogans; Hands Off the Italian Revolution! Hands Off the European Revolution! the Trotskyists will conduct an energetic campaign to rouse the working class to fight against all counter-revolutionary intervention.

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Stalin's Counter-Revolutionary Program

39. Despite the degeneration of the Soviet Union under the rule of the counter-revolutionary Stalinist bureaucracy, the Red Army and the Soviet masses have found sufficient resources within the economy nationalized by the October revolution to deal devastating blows to the Nazi military machine and to smash Hitler's attempt to destroy the Soviet Union and subject this one-sixth of the earth to capitalist exploitation and oppression. The heroic feats of the Red Army soldiers and the Soviet masses in the field of battle have revealed to all who have eyes to see, that the Russian Revolution, though stifled and desecrated, still lives. The Soviet masses who have rallied to the defense of the remaining conquests of the October revolution, have proven that their instinctive understanding of the class nature of the Soviet Union is far superior to that of all the renegades, skeptics and turn-coats who deserted the Soviet Union in its hour of mortal peril and gave up the Russian Revolution for lost.

40. The Trotskyists stand for the unconditional defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack. Despite Stalin's crimes and betrayals, the Trotskyists everywhere urge the masses to work and fight for the victory of the Red Army against the military forces of imperialism, for the preservation of the nationalized property relations of the Soviet Union against all imperialist assaults from without or counter-revolution from within.

41. The victories of the Red Army have inspired the masses of Europe and provided a powerful impulse to their revolutionary struggle. The Stalinist bureaucracy, nationalistic and counter-revolutionary through and through, has utilized its enhanced prestige, derived from these victories, to seize control of the liberating movements in Europe in order to betray them and sell them out to the capitalists as chattels of Stalinist diplomacy.

42. In Yugoslavia the Stalinists, headed by Tito, took the leadership of the revolutionary mass movement under the guise of aiding and organizing it and then proceeded to bend it to their own reactionary purposes. They were able to do this because they are still able to cloak their reactionary designs with the moral authority of the October revolution. The Yugoslav Partisan movement originated as an indubitable movement of the masses, whose worker-peasant sections aspired not only to drive the Nazi conquerors out of their country, but to abolish the rule of the rapacious and reactionary landlord and capitalist cliques represented by King Peter and his government-in-exile. The determination of the masses to drive out the imperialist invaders and to win national freedom was fused with the social struggle against the native exploiters. The Stalinists have betrayed the aspirations of the masses; they have already united with the hated regime of King Peter, set up a class-collaborationist government, and have proclaimed their intention of preserving the capitalist set-up under the rule of the same old crew of monarchists, landlords and capitalists. Utilizing the slogan of

national liberation, the Stalinists are working to deliver the Yugoslav masses into the hands of their oppressors.

43. The Stalinist program of betrayal is not, however, proceeding unchallenged. Already in Greece active opposition and resistance has appeared in the ranks of the Greek Partisan movement to the Stalinist leaders who have conspired to perpetrate a similar betrayal to Tito's and to unite with the Greek Government-in-Exile, representative of the Greek capitalists and landlords. Undoubtedly, similar developments, to one degree or another, are taking place in all the movements of struggle which the Stalinists head in order to behead.

44. In Rumania, the Stalinists are carrying through the program proclaimed by Molotov in April when the Red Army first entered Rumanian territory. Molotov assured the capitalists that the Stalin bureaucracy will not alter "the existing social structure of Rumania." Stalin is keeping this promise. The Stalinist military authority is preserving all the totalitarian filth of the semi-fascist regime of the Rumanian landlords and capitalists. The Stalinists are pursuing similar reactionary aims in Poland and are pledged to the same policy in Czechoslovakia and elsewhere. Thus Stalin assures the Allies that under his rule the Red Army will be used in Europe as a gendarme of capitalist property.

45. The catastrophic defeats which the Red Army has dealt the Nazi military machine, the impending defeat of Nazi Germany and the emergence of the Soviet Union as a first-class military power has dazzled many and provided the Soviet Union with the appearance of unlimited strength. The appearance does not correspond with reality.

46. Stalin's foreign policy was based on the attempt to avoid war, to secure for the Soviet Union neutrality in the coming world conflict. For this, Stalin perpetrated his worst betrayals of the international proletariat for the sake of currying favor with the "democratic" imperialists. This was accompanied by the organization of pacifist show congresses, by the signing of "Peace Pacts" with the "democratic" imperialists and crowned by the Soviet Union joining the "thieves' kitchen of imperialists," the League of Nations. Stalin sold out the only reliable allies and true defenders of the Soviet Union for the sake of illusory "Peace Pacts" with the "democratic" imperialists under the slogan of "collective security against aggressors." With the collapse of this policy at the 1938 Munich Conference, Stalin frantically turned to Hitler. He granted impermissible concessions to Nazi Germany in the shameful Stalin-Hitler Pact, which provided the signal for the opening of the Second World War. All of Stalin's treacherous maneuvers and betrayals proved impotent, however, in securing peace for the Soviet Union. It was precisely the Soviet Union that was converted for more than three years into the main battlefield of the Second World War. As in all other spheres, Stalin's foreign policy proved thoroughly bankrupt.

47. The Soviet Union will emerge from the war a devastated country. Millions of the flower of its manhood are dead, wounded or missing. A great section of its industry is destroyed, and innumerable cities as well as great sections of the countryside lie in ruins. Far from having increased its independent strength, under Stalin, the Soviet Union has been debilitated and is today weaker than ever in relation to the capitalist world.

48. The Kremlin bureaucracy is fully aware of the fact that with the defeat of the Axis, their ability to maneuver between the imperialist groups becomes very sharply restricted and the Soviet Union will face the concentrated pressure of the victorious Anglo-American imperialist camp. Stalin attempts to secure himself against this new threatening danger by guaranteeing the preservation of the capitalist system in Europe while employing the Soviet military power to establish "friendly" governments under its influence on the periphery of the Soviet Union (Poland, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, etc.)

49. At the same time, fearing the independent action of the masses and the approaching Socialist revolution, Stalin has given guarantees to Roosevelt and Churchill -- and that is the major significance of the Teheran Conference -- that he will join with them in their program of trying to strangle the European revolution, dismembering Europe, subjugating its people and propping up reactionary dictatorial regimes.

50. Paralleling his program of counter-revolution and capitalist rehabilitation in Europe, Stalin has taken further steps inside the Soviet Union to destroy the remaining conquests of the October revolution and to arrogate to the Kremlin bureaucracy added powers and new privileges. In the past year the Stalinist bureaucracy has issued new reactionary decrees governing education and other fields; the Bolshevik divorce laws and much of the progressive legislation for women have been abolished. Alongside of this increased regimentation of Soviet life, Stalin is making renewed frantic efforts to build up stable bases of support for the parasitic bureaucracy. The past year has witnessed a monstrous extension of the highly privileged officer caste, standing above the population. The bureaucracy is further attempting to strengthen its hold on the most backward sections of the peasantry by granting state support to the Holy Synod and the Greek Orthodox Hierarchy.

51. Stalin seeks to preserve his rule by reintroducing, encouraging and propping up all that is most reactionary and backward. In place of the liberating internationalist ideas of Bolshevism, Stalin disseminates among the Soviet masses the doctrines of Pan-Slavic chauvinism and war revanche, deifies the old Czarist butchers and oppressors, glorifies a privileged military caste, reintroduces the obscurantism of the Greek Orthodox Church.

52. Stalin's program both internal and external is reactionary through and through. It represents a terrible danger for the European revolution, and to the further existence of the Soviet Union itself. This program only plays into the hands of world

capitalism and, if successful, would help convert Europe into the vassal of Anglo-American imperialism. If the dastardly conspiracy which Stalin hatched with Roosevelt and Churchill at Teheran to crush the European revolution were to succeed, it would simply open the road to capitalist restoration inside the Soviet Union itself, by internal counter-revolution or military intervention or both. The alliance of the Soviet proletariat with the European revolution is indispensable for the preservation of the Soviet Union.

53. The Bolshevik fighters inside the Soviet Union face the task of organizing the revolutionary forces to oust Stalin and his arch-reactionary gang and to restore the Soviet Union on the principles of its founders, Lenin and Trotsky. In the words of the 1940 Manifesto of the Fourth International on The Imperialist War and the Proletarian Revolution: "The preparation of the revolutionary overthrow of the Moscow ruling caste is one of the main tasks of the Fourth International."

54. The Social-Democrats and renegades from Marxism who propagate the idea that the Kremlin bureaucracy intends to "Sovietize" Europe under Stalin's Bonapartist dictatorship misrepresent both the nature of Stalinism and the meaning of Stalinist foreign policy and they slander the European proletariat. The European revolution cannot be harnessed by any bureaucracy. If Stalin with the aid of his henchmen succeeds in betraying and beheading the proletarian revolution, he can do so only for the benefit of the bloodthirsty capitalists and the Allied imperialists. Out of a defeated revolution will arise not a Stalinist dictatorship but the most savage capitalist military dictatorship. This theory of the Social-democrats, which can only disorient the proletariat and divert it from its necessary tasks, represents in essence a theoretical "justification" for their own abject surrender to Allied imperialism.

55. Stalin is betraying the European revolution through his agents from within and, has given clear warning that he will if necessary attempt to drown it in blood from without. The decisions of the Teheran Conference as well as the actions of Stalin's agents in Yugoslavia, Greece, Rumania, Poland, Italy, etc., constitute unmistakable danger signals that Stalin is prepared to repeat his hangman's work in Spain on a continental scale.

56. To be forewarned is to be forearmed. The advanced workers of Europe must sound the alarm! They have the clear duty of warning the working class of the counter-revolutionary schemes of Stalin and his native henchmen. The working class must be prepared to combat Stalinist treachery and sell-outs. The Stalinist cancer must be burned out of the labor movement. This is an indispensable prerequisite for healthy growth and all future successes.

57. In the countries under Red Army occupation, the advanced workers will have to organize workers and peasants councils, factory committees, trade union bodies, etc. in a spirit of deepest distrust of the Stalinist agents. They will warn that all Stalinist promises of reforms are lies. They will urge the masses to organize their independent actions to confiscate the landlords' estates, to place

factories under workers' control, to arm the masses. Only in this independent activity of the masses lies the guarantee for the success of the European revolution and its protection from the Stalinist hangmen.

58. Through these measures and in no other way, will the European masses be able to approach the Red Army soldiers and organize fraternization with them in order to protect the European revolution. Only in this way, and in no other, will the European proletariat be able to forge bonds of solidarity with the Red Army soldiers and the Soviet masses and help the latter to settle accounts with the murderous Stalinist bureaucracy.

59. And what if Stalin nevertheless succeeds in using Red Army troops to suppress workers revolts? How will we reconcile our position on the defense of the Soviet Union with support of the European revolution? There is no contradiction between the two. The Trotskyist movement has long since given a precise answer to this question.

60. Trotsky wrote in 1939: "What does 'unconditional' defense of the USSR mean? It means that we do not lay any conditions upon the bureaucracy. It means that independently of the motive and causes of the war we defend the social basis of the USSR, if it is menaced by danger on the part of imperialism. . . . And if the Red Army tomorrow invades India and begins to put down a revolutionary movement there shall we in this case support it? . . . Is it not simpler to ask; If the Red Army menaces workers' strikes or peasant protests against the bureaucracy in the USSR shall we support it or not? Foreign policy is the continuation of the internal. We have never promised to support all the actions of the Red Army which is an instrument in the hands of the Bonapartist bureaucracy. We have promised to defend only the USSR as a workers' state and solely those things within it which belong to a workers' state. . . . In every case the Fourth International will know how to distinguish where and when the Red Army is acting solely as an instrument of the Bonapartist reaction and where it defends the social basis of the USSR." (In Defense of Marxism, pg. 29-30).

61. The independent revolutionary action of the European masses, in deadly combat against the Stalinist scoundrels, will assure the victory of the European revolution and the survival and further development of the October Revolution inside the Soviet Union.

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Revolutionary Perspectives

62. European capitalism has been in a state of sharp decline since the First World War. Today, after five years of slaughter, Europe is in the throes of disaster.

63. Hitler, as the representative of resources-starved and colonies-hungry German imperialism, attempted to unite all of European industry and agriculture around the highly industrialized economy of Germany. Despite German economic and military hegemony in Europe and its tremendous initial victories, which established Nazi Germany as the temporary master of the continent, Hitler could only bring havoc to the occupied countries. Nazi imperialism could not unite Europe and stimulate economic development. It only enslaved the European masses, further wasted the resources of European economy and converted the unhappy continent into a prison house of tortured peoples.

64. Today, the Allies, under the hegemony of the Wall Street plutocracy, enter Europe as the new imperialist overlords. For their part, they aim not to unify Europe, but to balkanize it. The Anglo-American empires lie outside of Europe. The Allied imperialists therefore do not desire the revival of European economy to a competitive level. On the contrary, the program of the Allies calls for the dismemberment of the continent to render impossible the revival of an economically strong Europe. Their program of dismemberment, despoliation and political oppression can only deepen Europe's ruination. Allied occupation, as already demonstrated in Italy, spells not the mitigation of Europe's catastrophic crisis, but its aggravation.

65. This cold-blooded program of the Anglo-American imperialists is supplemented by Stalin's program of chauvinism, oppression and brutality. Stalin proposes to plunder Germany and her war-partners by the imposition of war reparations and slave labor. Stalin has joined with the imperialists in their efforts to plunge Europe into permanent ruin.

66. The program of the economic and political unification of Europe, under the aegis of the Socialist United States of Europe is today the only alternative to descent into barbarism. Working class internationalism is thus no academic issue in Europe today, but an imperative necessity. By their combined efforts the European masses will drive out the foreign conquerors and succeed in tearing power from the hands of the capitalist exploiters. Economic and political necessity push the masses of Europe toward the acceptance of the Socialist United States of Europe as the only program that can save Europe.

67. The Italian proletariat was the first to take the revolutionary road. One year after the downfall of Mussolini and the destruction of the fascist apparatus, Nazi Germany finds itself in the throes of a similar mortal crisis. A group of Junker generals, fearing the collapse of German capitalism, organized a coup d'etat to remove the Nazi leaders and make peace with the Allies. The fact that this initial conspiracy failed does not detract from its deep symptomatic significance.

68. That section of the German ruling class which seeks to overthrow Hitler, aims solely to preserve German capitalism by setting up a Badoglio-type dictatorship in order to forestall the maturing uprising of the German masses. The fact that the Junker and capitalist circles have initiated and carried through this desperate conspiracy, in the midst of Germany's colossal military defeats, is an unmistakable indication that the pressure of the masses is reaching the bursting point and that the revolutionary explosion is near.

69. The German revolution is the key to the European revolution. Because German industry is the heart of European economy and above all because of the dominant position of the German proletariat, by virtue of its numbers, its revolutionary traditions and organizing capacities.

70. Both the imperialists and the Kremlin bureaucracy are fully aware of the preponderant position of Germany and the leading role which the German proletariat is destined to play in the coming revolution. That is why they attempt to saddle the German masses with responsibility for the crimes of Hitler and German imperialism. The formula of "unconditional surrender" and the plans for dismembering of Germany and dismantling of its industries, is directed first and foremost against the anticipated German revolution. These measures are deliberately designed to pin down the German people under a Badoglio-type dictatorship subservient to the conquerors.

71. The German masses, who have been tortured by Nazism for eleven years, are not moving to overthrow Hitler in order to accept the rule of foreign dictators. In 1918, over twenty-five years ago, the German toilers first proceeded to take their destinies into their own hands and set up Workers' Councils. The Social-Democratic traitors aborted the revolution and cheated the workers out of their victory. This time the workers will secure their victory and carry through the revolution to the very end.

72. The Anglo-American imperialists as well as the Kremlin bureaucracy, fearing the sweep of the proletarian revolution, are preparing in advance to isolate the German workers. They seek to utilize the hatred of the European masses toward Nazism and all its fiendish works as a weapon against the German masses, who were the first victims of Hitlerism. But the German workers will break through this dike of hatred by raising the banner of the Socialist United States of Europe. The German working class will find allies in their revolutionary struggle throughout Europe. The proletariat, not of this or that country, but of the entire continent is in a revolutionary mood.

73. The petty bourgeoisie, especially the peasantry are likewise seeking a way out of the madhouse of capitalism, starvation and war. In the course of the last years they have lost all faith and hope in the capitalist system. Fascism, the last bulwark of capitalism, has pauperized and disillusioned one layer of the population after the other. The leading capitalist circles have discredited themselves in the eyes of the masses by collaborating with

Hitler and will disgrace themselves again by collaborating with the Allied invaders. Fascism bereft in its last days of all mass support, could rule only as a naked military-police dictatorship. The Allies and their native accomplices are today ruling Italy in virtually the same manner. This is the pattern of their intended rule, in all Europe.

74. Bourgeois democracy, which flowered in the period of the rise and expansion of capitalism and the moderation of class conflicts which furnished a basis for collaboration between the classes in the advanced capitalist countries, is outlived in Europe today. European capitalism, in death agony, is torn by irreconcilable and sanguinary class struggles.

75. The Anglo-American imperialists and the native capitalists do not intend voluntarily to grant the slightest democracy to the peoples of Europe. They understand that democracy is today incompatible with the continued existence of capitalist exploitation.

76. Economic and political conditions forbid the restoration of bourgeois democracy even in the crisis-torn forms which existed after the last war. Bourgeois democratic governments can appear in Europe only as interim regimes intended to stave off the conquest of power by the proletariat. When the sweep of the revolution threatens to wipe out capitalist rule, the imperialists and their native accomplices may attempt, as a last resort, to push forward their Social-Democratic and Stalinist agents and set up a democratic capitalist regime for the purpose of disarming and strangling the workers' revolution.

77. Such regimes however can have only a very unstable, short-lived and transitional character. They will constitute a brief episode in the unfoldment of the revolutionary struggle. Inevitably, they will be displaced either by the dictatorship of the proletariat emerging out of the triumphant workers' revolution or the savage dictatorship of the capitalists consequent upon the victory of the counter-revolution.

78. There will be no lack of opportunities in Europe to lead the masses in victorious struggle. The only question is; will the advanced workers succeed in building strong revolutionary parties, and will the revolutionary parties display the necessary courage, energy, programmatic firmness and tactical flexibility to unite the masses behind their leadership and successfully lead the fight for the socialist revolution?

79. The might of the Anglo-American imperialists and the Kremlin oligarchy, and their joint plans of counter-revolution represent only one side of the European situation. Far more decisive is the other side; The continued disintegration of capitalism, the inexhaustible resources of the European proletariat and the power of the European revolution. There is no foundation for pessimistic conclusions.

80. The Trotskyist fighters build on the heritage of the Russian Revolution and the Bolshevik Party, as well as Leon Trotsky's struggle for the recreation and rebuilding of the international revolutionary movement. The Trotskyist fighters of all countries are part and parcel of the programmatically grounded and organizationally stable international Trotskyist movement. They have the opportunity of telescoping their revolutionary tasks and building the revolutionary party by bold methods, in the very heat of the coming revolutionary battles.

81. The Fourth International stands today on the eve of its greatest struggles and triumphs. Europe is on the verge of stupendous revolutionary developments. The reserves of capitalism are melting before our eyes. Out of the agony of the battlefields, out of the devastation, horrors and ruins of the Second World War, is being shaped the anger and determination of the peoples which will burst in a revolutionary storm. When that avenging storm breaks, it will sweep away all the tyrants and exploiters. The Trotskyist party of the socialist revolution, like the Bolsheviks of 1917, will take its place at the head of the people and ride the revolutionary storm to victory. Under the banner of Trotskyism, the peoples of Europe will wipe out the rule of the capitalists and rebuild the continent on new socialist foundations.

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