

INTERNATIONAL BULLETIN

NO 1.

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American Committee for the Fourth International
114 West 14 Street
New York City

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DECLARATION ON THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

The utter collapse of the two old Internationals even before the outbreak of the Second World War, has only been spectacularly emphasized since the war began. Also emphasized, over again, is the burning need of reconstituting the world vanguard of the working class, of regrouping all the revolutionary Marxists who have remained true to their principles, and of organizing them on the basis of the fundamental program of the Fourth International. Now, more than ever before, can it be said that without this program, the downward march of mankind into the abyss of barbarism will remain unhalted, its upward march to the new order of world socialism, of freedom, peace, abundance, security and Brotherhood of the peoples will not be crowned with triumph.

Not since the last war has the spirit of nationalism been so prominently engendered in the minds of the people. Nationalism, chauvinism, defense of the fatherland are the indispensable weapons in the bourgeois artillery of the war. As always the war is accompanied by a strict censorship resulting in severe interference in international contact.

But the war too has demonstrated the international character of modern economy and has demonstrated that the solution to the problems posed by the war and moribund capitalism is the international, the world revolution. If Nationalism is the weapon of reactionary capitalism, Internationalism is the weapon of socialism. Not since the last war has the need for internationalism become so vital an instrument of the struggle against war and capitalism. Ours is the Party of World Revolution.

It is the task of the Party to demonstrate this, first by an internationalist attitude on the development of events; by active propaganda and agitation for the solidarity of all workers the world over, and by a common effort with 4th Internationalists throughout the world in struggle against the imperialist war. For this, it is an imperative necessity that our Party maintain active contact with 4th Internationalists in every country and work in a single effort to accomplish our socialist goal.

The events of the past year, filled with many working class defeats have not been without their injurious effects upon the Fourth International. The war brought with it not only a certain dispersal of our movement, and an enormous accentuation of difficulties for it, but also the destruction of an organized, authoritative central body speaking for the Fourth International as a whole.

The split in the American section of the International has had direct and immediate repercussions in the International as a whole and in its central institutions in particular. The Socialist Workers Party, led by the Cannon group, followed the split with a call for an "Emergency International Conference." This Conference was called in direct and flagrant violation of the Statutes of the Fourth International solemnly adopted at its Founding Congress. The call for the Conference was not supported by any of the important sections of the International outside of the Cannon group and a dozen comrades in Mexico and Canada. The duly elected Bureau of the International was neither consulted about the Conference, nor informed that it would take place. The majority of the members of this Bureau were not invited to the conference. They were, indeed, excluded from it by virtue of the monstrous condition placed upon their attendance, as well as upon the attendance of the Workers Party, namely, that they omit themselves in advance to support of the decisions taken by the Cannon group. Members of the International Bureau, who were expelled from the S.W.P. by the Cannon group, had their expulsion ratified by the same Cannon group sitting as an "international conference". The judges, the prosecutor, and the appellant judges were all the same people!

Throughout the existence of our movement, we have repeatedly condemned the Stalinists for their cynical violation of their own Comintern statutes. We cannot do less when the same, or even worse, violations occur in our own International, for to condone them means to deprive

ourselves of the right to indict Stalinism. In the fight of the Left Opposition in Russia, however, the expelled or suspended Oppositionists were at least given the formal right to appear before the International to state their appeals against the decision of its Russian section. In the case of the "emergency conference" of the Cannon group, the expelled Minority was not even given this right.

The Cannon conference could not and did not represent the Fourth International. The Executive Committee elected by it has even less claim to such representation. It is a falsehood to say that a single one of the European sections mandated a representative to this spurious conference. It is false to say that a single one of the South American sections mandated a representative. It was a conference of the Cannon faction, plus a delegate representing two others in Canada and a delegate representing ten others in Mexico.

Whatever claims to authority this conference, and the committee elected by it, might have made at the time, the last vestige of any authority for it to speak in the name of the Fourth International was disappeared with the tragic death of comrade Leon Trotsky. We cannot tolerate by silence the attempt of the Cannon group, representing at best only one tendency in the Fourth International, to usurp the authority of our world movement or to speak in its name.

The undersigned comrades represent the majority of the International Bureau of the Fourth International, as duly elected by the authorized and representative institutions of the International. These comrades supported, as is known, the viewpoint of the Minority of the Socialist Workers Party, now organized as the Workers Party. This viewpoint has also been endorsed by the Brazilian Section of the International, the Uruguayan section, by two important sections in Asia which have recently come over to the program of the Fourth International, and by groups of comrades and individuals in other sections throughout the world.

However, despite our formal authority, the realities of the situation prevent us from arrogating to ourselves, as the Cannon group has done, the right to speak in the name of the Fourth International. We must establish the tragic fact that while the movement for the Fourth International exists and will grow, that while sections exist - the Fourth International as an organized, centralized, authoritative and representative body does not now exist. We see our primary task to be the painstaking work of reconstituting the Int'l as it should be constituted. This involves the work both of restoring relations with other sections and groups throughout the world, and clarifying and elaborating our fundamental international program in light of the developments in the world situation and in the working class movement. Towards this end, the undersigned comrades have constituted themselves as a Committee for the Fourth International. It invites all true Fourth Internationalists and Revolutionary Marxists throughout the world to follow suit by establishing everywhere similar committees, entering into closest relations with each other, collaborating politically and organizationally to the maximum extent possible, and preparing for the convocation of an authentic and representative world congress of the Fourth International.

Our movement has suffered severe blows. We have felt the first blows of the imperialist war reaction and repression, and been buffeted by the first waves of social-chauvinism. We have had defections - the withdrawal of the Burnhams, the shift to reaction of the Riveras, the flight to the democratic imperialists of the Chen du-hsiu. But we are more than ever convinced of the power of our principles, of the triumph of our program, of the invincibility and victory of the socialist working class. Long live the Fourth International, regenerated and more powerful than ever! Long live the struggle against imperialist war and reaction! Long live the struggle for a workers' world and international socialism!

Brown - Anthony - Alberts - Trent
(Members of the Bureau of the 4th Int'l) 67

SUMMATION OF ASIATIC-COLONIAL TOUR

- I. Duration: End of April, 1940 through September, 1940
Approximately 5½ months.
- II. Countries Visited: Japan, China, Hongkong (British colony), French Indo-China, Federated Malay States (Singapore & Johore), Ceylon and India.
- III. Fourth International Sections Contacted: (a) The Communist League of China; (b) Singapore group; (c) The Ceylon Socialist Party; (d) The Revolutionary Socialist League of India.

Note: (a) There is no section in Japan.
(b) The Hongkong section is part of the Chinese Communist League.
(c) It was impossible to contact the Bolshevik-Leninists of Indo-China due to fierce, unprecedented repression and lack of time.

IV. Work Accomplished and Conclusions:

- (a) Separate reports have been submitted on the two most important countries - Ceylon and India.
- (b) In all countries, contact was most comradely, friendly and welcome. The fact that our newly organized Party was the first and only section of the Fourth International to conduct such a tour impressed all comrades and has given us an "in" that will bring big returns in the future, dependent upon the growth and successful participation of these sections in revolutionary actions. They will look to our Party in time of need.
- (c) Greater knowledge of this all important section of the colonial world, its general situation, the methods and structures of colonial revolutionary sections etc. was gained. In addition, much concrete information as to Fourth International strength and potentialities has been gathered for our Party's general use.
- (d) Regarding the faction situation in America and the political causes of the split, all sections and groups contacted now have the full story of these happenings, instead of the previous half-way and distorted version.
- (e) Political faction solidarity can be claimed from the Ceylon Party and the India League. The Chinese section is solidly "Majority", the position of French Indo-China is totally unknown to anyone.

In general, it must be born in mind that the situation in the colonial world is not far different from that of the imperialist world, with a similar decline and depression of the revolutionary movement due to causes we all are familiar with. It would be wrong to expect sensational developments at the present stage of the world war. Such, unfortunately, is not the case. In my opinion, the most important result of the tour will be that outlined under IV (b) - in the future. The "World Manifesto" of the Majority "Pan-American Conference" spoke of the necessity of aiding the colonial sections and establishing a strong section in India. They spoke, we did something!

V. Future:

- (a) We must continue to reach these sections and groups with our Party literature.
- (b) A similar tour will be necessary only in the event of an important revolutionary development - such as a successful colonial uprising - in one or more of these countries. If the status quo remains, or if the colonies are merely switched to another imperialism, no political tour would be called for. But under today's lightning-like events we must think in terms of the first probability.

October, 1940

Sherman Stanley

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REPORT ON CEYLON

On the small colonial island of Ceylon (pop. 6,000,000) there exists a genuine section of the Fourth International. Beginning a bare 5 years ago as a nationalist, vaguely socialist formation this Party has steadily developed and evolved until today it represents a movement of which all Fourth Internationalists can well be proud. Taking into account the relative size and importance of Ceylon, the Lanka Sama Samaj Party (Ceylon Socialist Party) is by far the strongest and most powerful section of our International today! The fact that our American party has, by its literature and exchange visits, assisted in the ideological and practical growth of this movement is likewise something of which we can be proud.

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GENERAL: There is no basic change in the status of Ceylon since the outbreak of the World War. The war in Ceylon is an abstraction and has no direct effect upon the masses. No soldiers are recruited or conscripted, no rival imperialism at present threatens the country and there is no colonial bourgeoisie worth speaking of to whip up any pro-British war spirit.

However, the indirect effects of the war are obvious. The breakdown of communications means that the country loses all its international markets for its rubber, tea, coconut, etc., products. There is no industry whatsoever, except that connected with the railway system. All layers of the population (plantation owners, Ceylon compradore bourgeoisie, Ceylon small peasant proprietors, plantation laborers etc.) are hard hit by this economic collapse.

Ceylon

Ceylon is basically a raw material producing colony, depending completely upon the outside world (that is, shipping) for its finished products. In addition, it is partly a sub-colony of India with whom it conducts a large part of its trade. Its fate in a political and economic sense is closely intertwined and dependent upon events in India.

PARTY SITUATION: The Party (LSEP) today has been driven completely underground by the imperialist repression. This repression (directed entirely against our comrades, since there is no other political opposition on the island) is organized by the Ceylon Planters' Association, the ruling force of Ceylon. They have an armed Rifle Corps and various vigilante organizations for conducting systematic terror against the Party and workers. As in India, the clear objective of the Ceylon imperialists is to hold on to power by sheer military strength when the collapse of England occurs, while awaiting the new world division.

Four outstanding leaders of the Party, including its two representatives of the Ceylon State Council, are in jail for conducting revolutionary defeatist propaganda. They are held as detenues, without trial or charges, for the duration of the war. A man hunt has been under way for months to capture the remaining leaders, but with no success. The Party lives on and is the terror of the imperialists!

PARTY STRENGTH & ORGANIZATION: The Party membership lies between 2,000 and 3,000, but since the repression active party members have been reduced to several hundred. It has units established in all the important cities of Ceylon and in numerous peasant villages. A system of communications exist between the various units and the center. The composition of the Party is proletarian on the whole, with professional revolutionists furnishing the organized leadership.

The Party had prepared itself for illegality and was ready to meet the new situation which began with the arrest of the State Councilors. It has an illegal directing executive body and an illegal press which publishes its papers (in Tamil and Sinhalese) regularly each fortnight. Although hard hit financially it keeps going through the sacrifices of its comrades who do not hesitate to sell their personal property.

PARTY ACTIVITY & INFLUENCE: The Party is the recognized leader of the nationalist, trade union and peasant movement. It has no rivals in the field. The overwhelming bulk of its activity is directed among the 600,000 Tamil (South Indian) tea laborers, who form the bulk of the island's proletarian population. Since the war it has conducted many militant strikes among these workers with fair success. Blood battles, including shootings have occurred and in isolated places embryonic soviets have been established during the course of the struggles. These strikes are continuing. In addition, the Party influences the transport workers, small peasantry, fishermen, students., etc.

Aside from the daily economic struggles, the Party conducts consistent nationalist, anti-war and socialist propaganda through its papers, classes, etc. It is decidedly not a trade-union grouping, but a

Ceylon:

genuine revolutionary party with mass influence. Its name is on the lips of every worker and peasant on the island, all of whom are sympathizers. Its influence ascends even to the upper bourgeois and governmental circles, which accounts for its success in outwitting the repression.

As an example of its strength, I may cite the fact that after the arrest of the State Councilors in Colombo a demonstration of 10,000 Colombo workers was organized. They marched to the jail, sang revolutionary songs and were addressed by the Councilors who spoke through the bars of their cells!

PARTY POLITICAL PROGRAM Simultaneously with the expulsion of a small Stalinist nucleus (several of whom were GPU men sent from England), the Party began consideration of a Draft Program which was completely in accord with the resolutions of the First World Congress of our International. A conference had been planned at which formal adherence to the International was planned, but this was indefinitely postponed by the repression. However, the Party in every sense but a purely technical one should be looked upon as a part of our movement. At the earliest opportunity it will hold its conference and formally apply for admission to the proper body. The Party has specifically condemned the old Internationals as well as the centrist London Bureau group.

On the political issue of the American factional dispute, namely, the question of Russia's participation in the war, the entire leadership was and remains in accord with our views on the matter. Specifically, as between the Minority and Majority resolutions on the Soviet-Finnish war - both of which they have studied - they openly support ours. Because of circumstances no formal declaration has been made, but I am authorized to state that they do not support the position advocated by Trotsky and the SWP.

It should be made clear, however, that the Party considers Russia to still be a workers' state and that it would advocate unconditional defense in a progressive war, regardless of who leads it. So far as the slogan of "Third Camp" is concerned, it has no propaganda value in a colony such as Ceylon, but the Party certainly endorses our analysis of the war as one between rival imperialist camps in which Russia's role is purely reactionary. In short, I believe that its political program is in fundamental agreement with that of ours.

RELATIONS WITH INDIA: The Party recognizes its fundamental dependence upon revolutionary developments in India. An extremely delicate balance and relationship exists between these two countries. The Party must avoid on the one hand the danger of advancing too far and isolating itself from India because of the latter's extremely slow development. (It is quite conceivable even today that the L.S.S.P. could, with careful preparation, organize a successful insurrection on the island and seize power, such is its support. But without the immediate aid of India, it would quickly degenerate into an adventure and would be destroyed by the British Navy). On the other hand, it cannot permit itself to lag behind and slow down its tempo to suit that of India. This is perhaps the most serious political problem confronting the Party and its leaders are aware of it.

Clearly, the only solution is the utmost assistance and aid to the development of our Indian section. My sole criticism of the L.S.S.P. is that, while recognizing this theoretically, it has been slow to put it into effect. I laid constant emphasis on this point and believe it will now be put into effect. Some work has been done as is shown by the fact that in addition to the distribution of literature and visits to India, the organization of the Calcutta group can be directly traced to Ceylon. But in the future, regular visits, with literature and finances, plus the sending of organizers, is planned. If I know this Party

Ceylon

correctly, then these tasks will be carried out with success. Without India, there can be no colonial revolution in Ceylon.

FUTURE The Party will continue its revolutionary activities of today, adapting its broader perspectives to the international situation in general and the Indian situation in particular. Greater emphasis will be laid on aid to India, theoretical development and general strengthening of the Party apparatus. It is fully prepared to meet the future.

Its greatest needs are literature and politically educated visitors from the outside world, from which it is largely isolated. Under present circumstances, only the American section is in a position to fulfill these needs. For us, this is not merely a duty but a genuine pleasure for these are fellow comrades in every sense of the word.

Sherman Stanley

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POLITICAL SITUATION IN INDIA TODAY (August - 1940)

My trip through India covered approximately 5,000 miles and was accomplished by train, auto, foot and bullock cart. It included - in addition to political activity - much observation of general conditions in the city, as well as a short period living in an Indian peasant village. In this report I shall confine myself to the general political situation, the various organized tendencies at work, our movement and future possibilities.

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GENERAL I was successful in contacting our comrades, reporting to them and arranging various practical matters. In addition, I met the leading representatives of the official Congress (Gandhi, Nehru etc.); representatives of the various "left" tendencies; addressed the Executive Committee of the Congress Socialist Party and gave several lectures in Bombay to general left-wing gatherings. In addition, I was at Poona during sessions of the A.I.C.C. (Congress Executive Committee).

From the viewpoint of the colonial revolution, the situation throughout India is; unfortunately, unfavorable. It is not that there has been any improvement in the lot of the peasant and labor mass. On the contrary, the effect of the war upon India has been disastrous. As in most colonial countries, this effect is only indirect but much sharper in India because many tens of thousands of Indian soldiers are serving overseas and because of the collapse of the country's foreign markets. All of India's great markets (cotton, tea, jute, fats, etc.) have either been entirely lost or greatly reduced. The condition of the peasant mass is probably today worse than ever, particularly in Bengal and the Punjab where small peasant uprisings have already occurred.

The cause for the present disintegration and quiescence of the revolutionary mass lies in the official policy of the Congress leadership and the total

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bankruptcy of the Congress "left-wing". The policy of the Congress High Command (Gandhi, Nehru, Patel., etc.) has been disastrous in the extreme since the war began. Even as a bourgeois nationalist movement Congress influence has gone down considerably and its membership is more largely urban petty-bourgeois than ever before. The growth of various communal, pro-Nazi and gangster groups (still only on a provincial basis) further testifies to this decline. The only real success of the Congress has been the complete route of the general left-wing, beginning with the opposition of Subhas Bose (Forward Bloc).

Firmly held in line by a small bourgeois clique at the top (so-called Working Committee), the Congress clearly expresses the intention of becoming a constitutional-administrative organ for imperialism (not necessarily British imperialism!). There are three illustrations of this policy: (1) Since the war, not a finger has been lifted to hinder or hamper in any way the British exploitation of the country for war purposes. Every Congress leader openly sympathizes with the Allies. Everything has been done to sabotage any struggle tendency - and with success, too. (2) The controversy which is supposedly going on between Gandhi and his 100% orthodox followers (perfect non-violentists) and the bourgeois "realists" of the High Command is a smoke-screen to divert attention from the real issues. Gandhi's "withdrawal" from the Working Committee (a pure fake since he still dominates all policy formation) likewise aims at placing him in a favorable position from which he can "return" and call a halt if internal disorders should arise. He is held in reserve for the future. (3) The concrete objectives of the Congress and the Indian colonial bourgeoisie are expressed in the Delhi resolution. This resolution demands the creation of a National Government at the Center, under Congress leadership. Gone is all mention of independence, Constituent Assembly, New Constitution, etc. The Delhi resolution expresses the desire of the bourgeoisie to strike a bargain with the imperialists by means of which they get a share in the administrative power and assist in the country's exploitation as junior partners of the British. In exchange for this sharing of the power the Congress promises full material support in the war, as well as the violent crushing of any internal peasant or labor uprising. (Thus, the doctrine of non-violence has been officially abandoned for both external and internal purposes).

The Delhi resolution has an equally important negative meaning. It expresses the impotence and lack of confidence of the Indian bourgeoisie. Faced with the question of power (the threatened collapse of England), it feels itself historically incapable of assuming any responsibility on its own. It is far too weak as a class and also far too closely intertwined with pure British capital, especially insofar as war industries are concerned. It dreads the very thought of power because it knows the impossibility of any bourgeois solution to the agrarian, labor or international problems which would immediately confront it. The most it can demand is a sharing of administration (National Government at the Center); plus various economic concessions (control of some tariff boards, India Reserve Bank and control over internal revenues and taxation).

Today's situation in India brilliantly confirms along classic lines the theory of the Permanent Revolution. Not only can the colonial bourgeoisie not solve a single problem of the bourgeois revolution, but it is apparently even incapable of launching it or organizing a Kerensky government. No matter what happens this feeble class

will reveal itself to be counter-revolutionary from the first day of the revolution. Only under pressure of the most violent mass upheaval will it force itself one step forward. Such pressure it totally lacking today. If a genuine revolutionary party existed in India the bourgeois democratic stage of the revolution would pass so quickly that one would hardly be aware of its existence.

What is the attitude of the English? Recognizing the nature of the Congress leadership they scorn to have dealings with them at present. They know these people can be bought and deposited in their pockets at any moment. The only real fear of the British is of an attack on India from the outside - specifically, Russia at present. They are confident of holding on with the forces they have at present, even if London should fall, just as - for example - the French are holding on to Indo-China, the Dutch to the East Indies, etc. At present their confidence is warranted because the Congress has successfully dampened any spirit of struggle. There is the possibility that Gandhi may shortly lead a small, specialized "satyagraha" (Civil Disobedience) movement as a symbolic gesture. This shrewd old fox is a skillful manipulator and clearly directs the petty game of bluff and bargain now going on. Spontaneous peasant risings - particularly in the Punjab and Bengal - are to be expected, but they can amount to little in the present state of disintegration. In short, I believe things will drag on much the same whether England falls or stands and that it would be illusory to expect major developments in India at the present stage. The situation is as objectively revolutionary as possible. But there is no revolutionary leadership.

THE GROUPS: (1) Revolutionary Socialist League of India: For the first time in the history of our movement there exists a genuine section of our movement on Indian soil! This in itself represents a major step forward and is the most encouraging news I can bring out of India. Although the group is very small and exists primarily on the literary-propaganda level, nevertheless it is made up of fine elements with a sound education. Its center is in the city of C., with one branch (trade-unionists) in the great industrial city of C.. The League is alive, functioning and publishes a monthly magazine in the Hindustani language. I met often with these comrades and together we analyzed the general situation, from which we drew up a program of practical action. The carrying out of this program can only lead to the growth of the group, for everything lies in its favor.

On the question of Russia's participation in the world war, all of them were and remain in absolute agreement with our position. They had come to these conclusions long before my arrival and - although acquainted with Trotsky's attitude from the public press - could not understand or approve of it for a moment. Their political statements are in accordance with our policy.

The problem of M.G.P. of B. has, I believe, been satisfactorily solved by his agreement at my insistence that he place himself entirely under the direction of the R.S.L.I. P. to date has been an abysmal failure - totally isolated and without a single follower. He has agreed to withdraw and destroy his pamphlet and attempt to integrate himself into the genuine group.

(2) The Royists: This is one of the most miserable opportunist

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sects and discredited cliques it has ever been my displeasure to run across. It has a completely patriotic position on the war - for unconditional support to England. It receives the widest publicity and support from the imperialist and Anglo-Indian press, and is the only "left" group whose organ is still permitted legal publication. Naturally, it is totally without support and there is good reason to suspect our old friend M. N. Roy of more "intimate" connections with the British. He is probably India's most discredited public figure.

(3) Forward Bloc: This group, the creation of Subhas Bose, now calls itself the Forward Party. Except in the province of Bengal, it has been totally routed by the Congress High Command and by its own disgraceful political actions. It is a loose, petty-bourgeois opportunist formation, capable of the most criminal blocs - especially blocs with communal organizations such as the Moslem League. It is organizationally non-existent (it accepts all the methods, doctrines and practices of Gandhism) and ideologically equally non-existent. Proof of this is the fact that at the A.I.C.C. meeting some of its members voted for the Delhi resolution, some against. Actually, Bose favors the Delhi resolution and a return to ministerial office. At a nod from the High Command, Bose and his followers will fold up and return to their camp. Bose is an extremely ambitious man personally, with definite fascist tendencies in his make-up. His dictatorial and bureaucratic methods with his own followers have further discredited him, so that he has now probably lost any opportunity to emerge as an extreme left-nationalist leader.

(4) The Stalinists: It is difficult to lay one's finger on the exact policy or strength of the Stalinists, particularly since I was careful to avoid too intimate contact. They are laying low at present because the heaviest blows of repression are directed against them and their sympathizers. Also, as the Soviet bureaucracy more and more participates in and yields to the imperialist power politics of Hitler, the natural tendency is for the C.I. to yield to centrifugal forces and to disintegrate. Its policies become confused, its slogans contradictory and decentralized.

The Indian C.P. is by far the strongest "left" force organizationally and possesses some sort of an All-India apparatus. At present, its policy is constantly shifting "leftward", with a distinct tendency to return to the slogans and language of the "Third Period", bearing in mind, of course, the differences in motivation. They are very critical of the Congress and all its sections - particularly the Congress Socialists. In the interests of defeatism, they issue "radical" slogans and even talk of "united front from below", although not yet of leaving the Congress from which they are, in reality, already out. Their spokesmen and writers are, even from a Stalinist viewpoint, a singularly ignorant and incompetent lot. I could observe them at the A.I.C.C. meeting.

I would say they have the following perspective: to keep their apparatus alive, while conducting military defeatist propaganda and awaiting the day (which all of them are convinced will come) when Russia will invade India and "liberate" them into comfortable GPU posts. In general, they do not intend to furnish initial or independent leadership to the Indian movement since that would conflict with their function as agents of Stalin and one of the imperialist war camps.

(5) The Congress Socialist Party: This Party today is a hollow shell of its former self. Scattered to the winds is the vast, pulpy and spineless organization of a few years back. Its reformist policies, its ideological crawling before Gandhism have reduced it to its present sorry state of skeleton existence in a few sections of India. The Stalinists have left or been expelled, the rank-and-file has evaporated into indifference or the Gandhi camp. Only the petty bourgeois radicals and left-wing social democrats remain. All this is tacitly admitted by its leaders (Meherally & Co.) who now talk of making the CSP a homogeneous (?) Socialist Party. But among themselves they have hardly any agreement - most of them tending to outright social democracy or Gandhian Utopian socialism. Little can be expected from these people because of their long and woeful association with Gandhism and Nehruism for so many years, in addition to the petty-bourgeois nature of the group as a whole. Their series of capitulations to the High Command have resulted in a thorough discreditment and isolation from the masses. This has reached its heights during the present war when the Party as a whole refused to act or offer leadership, under the slogan of "Wait for Gandhi".

At the Poona A.I.C.C. session the Party, at any rate, opposed the Delhi resolution. This was due to the efforts of a few left-wing members of its Executive Committee, but it is something that has meaning only for the record. The attitude of our comrades towards what remains of the CSP is friendly and co-operative in various types of practical work. While the CSP holds out no future as an organized group, many of its remaining members are receptive to fresh ideas and can be utilized for gaining an audience, etc. If the Congress should form a National Government at the center the CSP will probably leave the Congress, but it will mean little as its past actions have cancelled out all chances of its furnishing revolutionary leadership.

There is a vague tendency towards forming a new, Gandhian Socialist Party. This movement, expressing the radical disillusionment with Bolshevism, a la Souvarine, is headed by M. R. Masani who has quit the CSP. I found Masani, a man of keen intellect and wide acquaintance with the movement, India's most brilliant revolutionary failure. He calls himself a "Trotskyist-Gandhian"!

(6) Labor & Peasant Unions: With the exception of the few established and skilled unions (such as Gandhi's textile union in Ahmedabad) most of the unions are empty of membership. All important strikes since the war began (under Stalinist leadership) were lost. At present there are no important strikes on and industrial labor is silent. The elements for revival are there and an upsurge will inevitably come at the first opportunity, but organized labor is badly hit by the general decline.

Still going strong and in a much more favorable position are the peasant unions (Kishan Sabhas). However, these militant unions are confined to the two provinces of Bihar and Orissa and are under the control of tenants and small proprietors, as distinct from agricultural laborers who have no organization. These Kishan Sabhas certainly represent the most fruitful field of work among the peasantry.

CONCLUSION: A major revolutionary possibility has been sabotaged by the historic impotence of the Indian colonial bourgeoisie and by the

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political bankruptcy of India's "left-wing" forces. From an objective viewpoint, the revolutionary crisis will continue indefinitely in India because of the impossibility of even a temporary serious solution.

Naturally, the primary responsibility falls upon the shoulders of our young All-India organization, the R.S.L.I. The task of practical and material aid to them is above all the duty of the Ceylon movement and they have assumed their responsibility (see Ceylon report). The American section has already proven its understanding of international responsibilities and will surely reap the reward for its actions in the future. Meanwhile, with greatly increased commercial relations between India and America and with the distinct possibility that the remaining British colonies will be turned over to America for custody we shall await the next opportunity to assist our comrades in India and the colonial world.

Sherman Stanley

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REPORT ON FRANCE

The following notes are a hasty complement to the evaluations and information contained in previous texts and articles. They aim to enable you to evaluate more concretely the development of the situation. Let us specify a number of points right at the beginning:

(1) The defeat means concretely the collapse of the economic and administrative apparatus of France. Three forces are contending: German imperialism, the French bourgeoisie, the French proletariat. Whence there arises an extraordinary complexity in the evolution of the situation, complicated by the real power of the forces on the field: German imperialism beginning to get winded, occupied with other tasks; the French bourgeoisie temporarily dispossessed by its own flight, incapable of reestablishing its apparatus of production; the proletariat extremely divided economically, and politically disoriented.

It is important in these conditions rather to point out the essential characteristics of the coming developments than to predict where and when they will come about:

(a) This development will be chaotic, with numerous zigzags necessitating each time a new tactic and permitting at each turnabout new alliances;

(b) Politically the weakness of our adversaries gives us a great power of penetration: the organization must therefore know how to carry out an audacious policy in all questions, and not to anchor itself in

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the routinistic "tran-tran" of the past; it must have an extreme organizational mobility, which presupposes an extremely rigid leadership, exercising control at every instant, and therefore fulltime;

(o) A persevering effort to preserve and reinforce the organization's cadres in a period of systematic reaction and repression.

(3) The evolution of the situation in France will be considerably influenced by the evolution of the military operations and their consequences: the disruption of the German army by successful English resistance or the disruption of world economy which the fall of the "City" of London would bring about, or the eventuality of a conflict between Germany and the USSR - all these are so many factors which would modify the correlation of forces and the orientation of the three forces on the field.

Articles have defined the general orientation of the French bourgeoisie and the General Staff. There has been emphasized the way in which French political life tends to form itself in accordance with profound analogies with the politics of Balkan countries. There will be here noted what particularly interests the working class.

(1) The economic dispersion of the working class: scarcely one quarter of the workers are actively participating in production. On this basis, there is to be observed a differentiation and a constant lowering of working conditions - work with reduced hours per week; work at reduced salary, militarized work, etc. At the same time a growing radicalization is being brought about in the marginal groups (youth, unemployed, war prisoners). It is the struggle for these groups which stands out foremost in French politics. We must on this terrain engage in a time-race with fascism. Similarly, we must be the first to bring the solution of the essential problem of the workers - how to get the factories going again.

(2) The ripening of a revolutionary spirit in the masses: In a general way we are witnessing a political ferment which is extremely active. It tends to develop in two steps, which are however closely interwoven: (a) The deep desire of the masses to understand the why-and-wherefore of the recent events, to replace the bankrupt regime by a new regime, a mistrust toward all old formulations; (b) A work of political research (literal: perhaps better translated, "tentative re-groupings") which goes from bourgeois milieu to working-class milieu, passing through the petty-bourgeoisie, which shows itself by the creation of multiple groups, centers, nuclei, all in search of a national and social program. In the present state of our forces, it would be well to concentrate on the second aspect, to intervene in all these groups in order to bring them a program of action and principles

(3) These manifestations are being produced around three essential problems: the problem of responsibilities (for the war and defeat), the national problem and the problem of bread - they are all of course intimately interconnected.

(a) The defeat has rendered very unpopular bourgeois democracy, capitalism and the army officers. On this terrain the difficulty of a fascist utilization of the anger of the masses comes specifically from the depth of the masses' reaction and its extremely sharp political character. Particularly among the prisoners there is already noticeable a spontaneous tendency toward soviet democracy.

(b) The problem of bread which tends on the one hand to solder together all the poor classes of city populations, and on the other hand to drive a wedge between the city and the country. The bond between the city and the country will be created largely on the political terrain - by the ex-servicemen and the youth.

(c) The anti-Hitler movement necessarily has a both national and social character. There can be noticed as a matter of fact (a) A more and more marked hostility on the part of the workers towards the forces of occupation, reinforced by the fact that machinery is being transported into Germany, etc.; (b) A permanent vacillation in the opinion of the petty-bourgeoisie of the cities between economic hostility ("they're eating our butter") and political sympathy ("there are the boys who've brought some order in France"); (c) A marked tendency in certain country districts toward sympathy with the occupying troops (the occupation and its resultant purchases of food for sending to Germany have caused a rise in prices for agricultural produce). In the country districts in the non-occupied zone, on the contrary, where prices have a tendency to go down for lack of marketing facilities, a nationalist movement tends to take root. But one notes the specific fact that the nationalist milieux feel that they cannot really crystallize the movement except on a social basis. These contradictions open broad perspectives to us.

(4) Labor Organizations: The Confederation General du Travail, already reduced in membership by the war to between 700,000 and 800,000, and made up furthermore almost exclusively of functionaries and statute-workers (railwaymen, miners, etc.) finds itself in point of fact completely wiped out by the latest events (dispersal of plants, considerable diminution in the number of genuinely employed workers, break with its center (Jouhaux) and its right (Belin, who went into the Cabinet). A meeting of its National Committee, held discreetly a few days ago, decided to change article I of its statutes (class struggle) and introduce instead a forbiddance to strike. Nevertheless, it is possible does not intend to set up immediately a system of corporations, but on the contrary will allow the syndicates (separate trade-unions, composing the CGT) to continue. The latter, reduced to their cadres, can develop again only to the extent that they can guarantee work to their members; this is exactly what the Germans are trying to do (production cooperatives, etc.); and it is what we should ourselves try to get into operation - and through this effort try to get hold of the greatest possible number of leading positions.

(b) The Socialist Party has been definitively split by the events. The Paul Faure and Leon Blum tendencies have not only exposed themselves by their attitude toward England, but also toward the Vichy government and Germany. In reality the party tops have no longer any contact at all with the federations, and we are witnessing a falling-to-pieces analogous to that which the German social-democracy underwent organizational crumbling away, political disintegration ranging from the extremes of rallying to Hitlerism as far as sympathy with Bolshevism.

(c) The Communist Party is busily engaged in rapidly pulling its apparatus together; already it is expending an enormous activity, tacitly protected by the Germans. The contacts at the top, between the Stalinist leadership and the Kommandantur (Germany Army Command) is certain; the united front with fascist groups gets firmer on each occasion. On this basis, one notes: (a) the influence of Stalinism

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among the youth as well as in the prison camps is non-existent; (b) their influence among the unemployed is due to an agitation which is enormous but aimless and with no clear perspective; it is incapable at the present stage of translating itself into action; (c) the numerical importance of the party, and especially its internal cohesion, have much diminished. Nevertheless, even reduced to an illegal active membership of from 20,000 to 30,000 it remains not only the most important, but indeed the only, working class party. It influences a zone of former "faithful", now reduced to half, say 300,000; especially in case of developments in the East (meaning not the Far East, but the German-Soviet frontier), it will still play an important role in the situation in France.

(d) The PSOP: For some months it has totally ceased to exist. The center (Naoquier), and the Masonic Right had in fact separated and become completely inactive. The reappearance of the centrist leadership, a slight evolution of the freemasons (being unable, despite all their desire to, to come to an agreement with the Hitlerians, they are now seeking allies on the left) has ended in a rapprochement between the center and the left, but on the basis of their recognizing the non-existence of the PSOP; at the same time the left intends to constitute with us a permanent community of action and doesn't exclude the possibility of building together the revolutionary party.

(5) The "Comite pour la IV Internationale": a document (herewith appended) briefly describes our positions. Let us nevertheless make this clear. The position expressed by the word "pour" (for) in no way conceals a fundamental political divergence with the way of posing the problem of the Fourth International, such as it was defined by the World Conference of 1938. It simply expresses the observation that the practical evolution of our movement has developed in a way noticeable different from what we had foreseen, and that it is important now to work for the practical realization of that foreseen eventuality, by intervening in the various national and international regroupings, while not neglecting to bring about the evolution of the international situation.

Organizationally, what does the "Comite pour la IV" represent? Numerically and politically more even than in the case of the old POI, the work of reorganization is still far from being finished. One can say that it represents:

(a) The return into the organization of elements which were practically separated from us in the course of various crises; (b) bringing to the new organization the gains won by each of the currents during the war; (c) the definitive inclusion of a fraction of the PSOP. This means practically, that in the course of the next few weeks we can organize illegally between 700 and 800 militants and spread the organization very rapidly starting with this base.

As a matter of fact, through the war, a rather large number of comrades have acquired positions which makes them centers of influence in different milieux. The work in the Auberges de la Jeunesse has enabled us to take control of the leadership of this numerically and politically most important of the youth organizations (40,000 members); we have means of influencing seriously the trade-union and ex-service movements; we enjoy a certain prestige among illegal organizations, including nationalist organizations. In order to gain all the benefits of this situation, certain things are necessary. We intend to:

(a) Orient the present activity of the organization towards the creation of solid fractions in different organizations; to give a solid structure to these fractions by the creation (either by these organizations' own means, or by our own means) of a certain number of full-time functionaries.

(b) Multiply our propagandist activity (frequent publication of material on each specific question; (c) give the organization an extremely flexible system of functioning; but at the same time to guarantee political and organizational coordination and control by an extremely strict functioning of the leadership and the apparatus. Here is the need of fulltime functionaries.

In general, we must get over our mania for agitation-for-our-own-satisfaction, and plunge each militant into a well-defined milieu in which he should work; and to respond to the needs which arise therein by a concrete application of our transitional program.

Within the framework of these remarks, we beg to draw your attention to a few specific points:

(1) The urgency for the French organization of being able to find safe asylum for a few comrades in case of a new wave of reaction. Several comrades are living in illegality, which would become very dangerous in such an eventuality. The IS should examine the possibility of enabling four or five comrades to get abroad.

(2) In the same way the situation of foreign comrades in France is becoming very precarious. We believe that in the present condition of Europe the majority of them ought to return to their respective countries. There are, however, a certain number (about ten perhaps) who also should be enabled to find a place of refuge.

(3) Getting the apparatus into action requires an immense financial effort. The French organization is poorer than ever before. There are many unemployed, and many comrades whose whereabouts are still unknown. The work undertaken may enable us to develop rapidly if we are not checked at every step by the financial question.

(4) The French organization is very anxious that interrupted political contacts shall be established between the IS and the Comité pour la IV. It insists that the correspondence shall not have a solely administrative character, and that it not contain merely more or less disputable evaluations, but that on the contrary it try to create an active political collaboration.

(5) The French organization particularly asks to be given detailed information on the situation in the various countries; it very particularly requests that it be informed in an uninterrupted way about the situation in India and Indo-China.

Paris, August 7, 1940

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APPENDIX TO REPORT ON FRANCE

(1) Under the name "Comite pour la IV Internationale" there have just been regrouped the comrades of the former majority and minority of the POI, as well as the members of the minority of the PSOP. The Comite pour la IV Internationale does not pretend in the present circumstances to play in France the role of the revolutionary party which is historically necessary.

It is by assuming the immediate tasks imposed by the situation, by trying to draw the masses towards the revolutionary solution of the world crisis, that we are pursuing our primary objective - the building of the revolutionary party. We believe that in the course of the future development of the political and economic situation of France there will be produced new regroupings within the French proletariat, which has more and more lost confidence in the Socialist and Communist parties, which are now completely falling apart. We consider ourselves as the nucleus which should intervene the most actively for the completion of this process of regrouping.

(2) The principles of the Fourth International constitute the political basis of our organization. It is that which we have wanted to signalize precisely in its very name. But the mere existence of these principles is not sufficient to create an international. Just as a revolutionary party cannot be made to exist by decree; on the contrary, the indispensable condition of its existence is to be organically tied up with the working class - so one can really speak of an International only to the degree that it is based on parties well-rooted in the working class. Whether or not we approved the creation of the World Party of the Social Revolution (IV International), we agree in noting the fact that, if the principles of the Fourth International have today proved themselves more correct than ever, the practical bases, on the contrary, of the existence of the International have been in the last period constantly shrinking.

(3) Recent events have, as a matter of fact, lessened the organization and political cohesion of the World Party of the Social Revolution (IV International). The period of the war has been marked by an indisputable organizational retreat. After the POI, it is the SWP of the USA which has been struck by a split which threatens its very life. These two essential strong bases being eliminated, the existence of the International itself is in peril. The Executive Committee of the International, which had never seriously functioned, ceased to exist at the time of the French crisis. The transfer of the IS was carried out in such a way as to break any continuity in the work. The refusal on the part of the IS to set up in Europe a collective Subsecretariat, the absence of any political document by the IS on the situation in Europe, and principally in France, over a very long period of time, are so many indications of the impossibility at the present time of considering this organism as the directing center, or the WPSR (IV International) as the definitively constituted Bolshevik International. They are only the representatives of the movement for the creation of the Fourth International, the most important in view of its international liaisons and the cadres they have organized, the decisive nucleus in view of its political program; but it is not the International itself.

(4) In these conditions, the Central Committee decides;
 (a) to ask to be affiliated to the IS of the WPSR (IV International); (b) to undertake the necessary initiatives for the creation of a European Secretariat grouping all organizations which

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RESOLUTION OF THE BRAZILIAN SECTION

The Central Committee of the Revolutionary Socialist Party (Brazilian section of the Fourth International) approved the following resolution in a special meeting called to determine the Party's position with regard to the discussion opened in our international organization on the international situation and defense of the Soviet Union.

WHEREAS:

(1) The context and the aims of the war crisis which dominates the world prove its character is typically imperialist since it strives to redivide among the great magnates of capital all markets and sources of raw materials;

(2) It was possible to unchain this new world wide carnage only because Stalin's treasons have encouraged the bourgeoisie to try to solve the contradictions of its regime by means of a war since it did not fear an immediate revolutionary action by the masses who have been discouraged by the continuous defeats they have suffered;

(3) At the present time, the fundamental contradiction in international politics is not, therefore, between the USSR and the imperialist powers as it was after the October Revolution, but between the expansionist necessity of German imperialism and the opposition it meets above all from British imperialism;

(4) After the Hitler-Stalin pact, the partition of Poland and the invasion of Finland which are the latest developments of the Thermidorian process in the USSR, it is impossible to maintain the least doubt as to the character of the relations between the Berlin and Moscow oligarchies and the characteristics of the military alliance disclosed in their agreement;

(5) The position of unconditional defense of the Soviet state was justified by the fact that while Moscow kept a certain independence of action and withdrew from open alliances with any of the imperialist blocs the possibility of an imperialist coalition against the USSR could not be possible;

(6) The policy of "unconditional defense of the USSR", as advocated by our American section, constitutes a dangerous manifestation of conciliationism in our ranks and, in spite of the attenuating effect of the criticisms of Stalin's war policy, would finally result in a restraint to the development of the Fourth International and would mean direct support to the Kremlin's policy;

(7) Under present conditions, in which Stalin is nothing more than a collaborator of Hitler in his imperialist policy, this position would not contribute to saving the conquests of the October Revolution or to advancing the world proletariat along the revolutionary path, but, on the contrary, would reinforce Stalinism, and compromise the Fourth International before the workers of Russia and the other countries.

(8) Furthermore, the policy of unconditional defense would in the present circumstances place us under the danger of becoming direct agents of Hitler and Stalin in their pretended struggle for emancipation of the colonial peoples, in view of the "anti-imperialist" demagoguery that the Nazi and Stalinist agents are beginning to carry on in India and other dependent countries.

Brazil

(9) The defensist orientation at present would be justified only in the face of a complete change in the international situation in which the opening of a revolutionary period in the USSR would endanger the bureaucracy's power and bring about an imperialist intervention;

(10) In view of the actual delimitation of the imperialist camps in the struggle for a new partition of the world, the only really revolutionary policy in the capitalist countries as well as in the Soviet Union, in the colonies and dependent countries, is the defeatist policy;

(11) Only this policy will lead to the transformation of the imperialist war into civil war, to the emancipation of the colonial peoples and the world proletariat, to the restoration of the workers' state in Russia;

The Central Committee of the Revolutionary Socialist Party resolves:

(a) To give all support to the position defended by comrade Lobrun in the IEC of the Fourth International in accordance with the thesis he wrote and which was sent to the R.S.P.;

(b) To condemn the policy of "unconditional defense of the USSR" as theoretically false and as dangerous to the interests of the Russian masses as well as of the proletariat of all other countries;

(c) To suggest to the IEC the necessity of publishing a manifesto indicating the position of the Fourth International in the present war, to be issued as soon as the discussion is closed in the various national sections and groups.

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