

"TROTSKYISM" ,

by

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(This issue translates pages 72-92, Chapters VI and VII of J.-J. Marie, "Le Trotskysme", which is no.15 of the "Questions d'Histoire" series edited by Marc Ferro. It deals with the history of Trotskyism since the death of Trotsky from a Lambertist point of view. It also contains a second part including extracts from documents and a discussion of controversies, but the only one of these that is at all useful is B. Nagy's (E. Varga) "The Reality of the Transitional Programme", which has already appeared in the "International Bulletin" of the R.C.L., no.1, Autumn 1970, pp.33-4.

Readers should excuse an occasional lack of clarity in the translation, as in places the French is so idiomatic as to be almost colloquial. Coming from the point of view that it does, this account stands in marked contrast to the two already published in this series, from the standpoints of Lutte Ouvrière and of Pablo.)

# CHAPTER VI: FROM THE SLAUGHTER<sup>1</sup> TO THE REVOLUTION BETRAYED

The Second World War plunged the two parts of the world into barbarism. The storm shook the organised working class movement more profoundly than the war of 1914 had done. The Socialist International and the Communist International perished, only to be reborn afterwards under the form of ephemeral caricatures. The IVth International bent, and the war split it up: liquidated by the massacres inside the Soviet Union and crushed in Hitlerite Germany, it was cut to pieces between the lines. The international leadership took refuge in the U.S.A., and had, according to Pablo, "only a reduced activity". It did, however, note, comment upon and explain the important events and principle turning points of the war" - in short, it was confined to an activity of criticism.

Broken up into its diverse national components from the beginning, the Trotskyist movement very quickly reorganised itself. The political bond of the programme, and even the existence of the Fourth International as an organisation as such, was to save it from disaster. This was, in fact, the prime objective that had occupied Trotsky in 1938 after fifteen years of continual defeat. The divergences that appeared inside it, and the waverings that manifested themselves within it, never really called it into question, in spite of the extreme harshness of the war period, in spite of the ostracism to which it was victim, and the savage repression that Nazis, democrats and Stalinists alike rained down upon it.

The war made a chasm in the splintered French movement: R. Molinier, J. Rous, Naville and Bardin left. The Trotskyists who had re-emerged from the P.S.C.P. founded the Committees for the IVth International. "La Verité" - a new series - reappeared duplicated on the 31st August 1940<sup>1</sup> subtitled "Bolshevik/Leninist Organ" with the headline "Neither Petain nor Hitler, But a Workers' and Peasants' Government".

The essential problem with which the Trotskyist movement was confronted was, to use the time honoured expression, the National Question: what its attitude should be with regard to the struggle against the "occupation". Three answers were sketched out:

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1-It appeared printed starting from no. 20.

(1) That, very much in a minority, of the German Section, the I.K.D., which affirmed in a document entitled the "Three Theses" : "The transition from Fascism to Socialism remains a utopia without an intermediate stage, which is basically equivalent to a democratic revolution" (19th October, 1941). The convulsions of capitalism having made it march in reverse and give birth to monsters like Nazism, the struggle for national independence and to safeguard democratic liberties had again become a priority, so that revolutionaries had to support national-democratic liberation movements so as not to cut themselves off from the masses and their real struggle, in short to integrate themselves into the national fronts.

(2) That of the P.O.I., originating from the Committees for the IVth - as summarised by a leader of the time : "The enslavement of Europe by the Nazis (.....) gives meaning again to democratic slogans of national independence (.....) The adherence of the big bourgeoisie to Hitler's Europe allows us to make these slogans into a springboard to unite against it the working class and petty bourgeoisie of town and country (even part of the bourgeoisie). They must be used to start off from the most concrete problems (supplies, opposition to the pillage of economic products by the Nazis) leading towards a concrete solidarity, particularly between town workers and peasants (.....). Finally, solidarity action must be organised against Nazism with the German workers (and soldiers) leading over towards the Socialist United States of Europe (against the Europe of the Nazi looters)".

The P.O.I. struggled to create committees of consumers, as well as attempting to create groups of revolutionary workers inside the legal and illegal trade unions, conceived of as assembling the workers around the "Transitional Programme" and at the same time as the embryos of Soviets, nourished by the perspective that the profound social shock engendered by the war would give rise to a new revolutionary crisis. "The red flags of the German revolution and of the Red Army will meet each other in Berlin", wrote "La Verité".

(3) That of the Comité Communiste Internationaliste (C.C.I.) founded in 1943, which considered that the struggle for national independence cloaked the reality of the

class struggle, and therefore counterposed work in the factories to activity in the underground.

The Trotskyists of the C.C.I. orientated themselves completely towards the factories, whereas those of the P.O.I. attempted to work in the underground, whilst refusing to subordinate themselves politically to the Gaullist resistance. Thus an article of "La Verité" dated May 20th 1942 was entitled: "Two Enemies of the French Workers: Laval and De Gaulle". Too weak to create their own underground, which no-one would have supplied, they were not really capable of implanting themselves in either the F.F.I. or the F.T.P. Under the leadership of the German Widelin they succeeded in constructing some clandestine cells inside the Wehrmacht that the Gestapo decapitated in 1943.

Repression fell upon the IVth International from all sides, so that at one time you would think that it would have been disrupted. The American S.W.P. was obliged to withdraw in 1941 after the passing of the Voorhis Act forbidding international affiliation for any American organisation, whilst at the same time 18 militants of the S.W.P. and militants of trade union local 504 of the C.I.O. at Minneapolis were convicted of propagating revolutionary ideas against the war and condemned to prison sentences of between 12 and 16 months. The Nazis shot the German Marcel Widelin, the organiser of the clandestine cells inside the Wehrmacht and editor of the journal "Arbeiter und Soldat", the former member of the C.C. of the German Communist Party Werner Scholem, the former General Secretary of the Greek C.P. Pantelis Pouliopoulos, the Secretary of the P.O.I. Marcel Hic, the Belgian Abram Leon, Henryk Sneevliet and the entire leadership of the Dutch R.S.A.P., close to the IVth International, Léon Lesoil, former member of the Central Committee of the Belgian C.P.; the Japanese shot Chen Chi-Chang, the successor of Ch'en Tu-Hsiu at the head of the Chinese Trotskyists, who died in the hands of Chiang Kai-shek; the P.C.F. carried out the execution of Pietro Tresso, the former organisational secretary of the Italian C.P., the commander of Mao's army had Chou-li-Ming, the leader of the Trotskyist partisans shot, Ho Chi Minh carried out the execution of the Trotskyist leader Ta Thu-Thau, a former leader of the Canton Commune, Tito smashed Slobodan Maculic and the Belgrade Trotskyists.....

It would be an exaggeration to affirm that this bloody purge in itself prevented the IVth International from "finding the way to the masses", but this massacre of "tops" in so young an organisation, a part of whose inexperienced leadership had just left on the morrow of the assassination of Trotsky, weighed heavily on its growth and made the thread even more tenuous that tied it to the historical tradition to which it laid claim.

In 1943, at the time when Stalin had dissolved the IIIrd International, a European Secretariat of the IVth International was constituted, which assembled a conference of the European sections in February 1944. So afterwards the two French organisations fused to give birth to the P.C.I., after having condemned the policy of both its component parts on the national question: "Instead of making a distinction between the nationalism of the defeated bourgeoisie, which is an expression of its imperialist interests, and the "nationalism" of the masses, which is only an expression of their reaction to, and resistance against, exploitation by the imperialist occupiers, the P.O.I. leadership deemed progressive the struggle of its own bourgeoisie; did not, right from the start, separate itself from Gaullism; and was satisfied to clothe the latter in more "revolutionary" terminology". Condemnation was equally laid down against the "sectarian "left" deviation" and against "the policies of the French C.C.I. on the national question, which under guise of safeguarding the heritage of Marxism-Leninism, obstinately refused to make any distinction between the nationalism of the bourgeoisie and the mass resistance movement".

The defeat of Nazi Germany left an exhausted Europe, along with the social upheavals on which Trotsky had based the development of the International seven years earlier. But the Trotskyists were much too weak to counteract the policy of stability of the Communist Parties, hallowed by the predominant part played in the victory by the Soviet people, bled white, and which Stalin was once more going to shut in, this time without much difficulty. Togliatti became a minister in the government of Badoglio, an old Fascist dignitary; Maurice Thorez, Vice President of the De Gaulle government, affirmed the necessity for national unity against any

embryo of dual power capable of emerging from the production councils in the trade unions supported by the Trotskyists from November 1944 onwards. "One state, one army, one police" he proclaimed, adding "the strike is the weapon of the trusts", expressly for the workers, whom he then advised to roll up their sleeves and produce, "above all produce".

Powerless to influence the course of things, the Trotskyists thus remained on the margin of events. The contradiction between the historical perspective on which the IVth International was founded and the reality of their intervention could not fail to give rise to a grave crisis in their ranks : the C.P., forced to take the lead in the Renault strike, led by the P.C.I. and the then Trotskyising "Voix Ouvriere" group, and spread by the P.C.I. to the Unic, Saurer and Renaudin factories where they had a base, was thrown out of the Ramadier government on account of this. This could not counterbalance a quite thin balance sheet. A new period opened up in the class struggle, whose rhythms and developments it was difficult to foresee.

# CHAPTER VII: ONE STEP FORWARD, TWO STEPS BACK

The new revolutionary wave which unfurled over the world even before the war was to end caused Europe to crack, exploded the unstable equilibrium of the peoples' democracies, achieved the triumph of the Chinese Revolution, swelled the Communist parties and shook the edifice of colonialism, but the IVth International gained little profit from it, and could only slightly hinder the C.P.'s from side-tracking the labour movement in the key European countries. In Eastern Europe the fragile political equilibrium of the "peoples' democracies" (bourgeois democracies based on the private ownership of the means of production .....but subordinated to the Soviet Union) did not resist the first pressure of the international class struggle. Stalin set up in Eastern Europe a series of socialisms in one (small) country, caricatures of the Soviet model. The U.S.S.R. organised the pillage of these microcosms, separated by impassable frontiers. Miniature iron curtains separated the complementary economies of peoples linked together by a thousand year

history, who now had no more contact between them than their common subordination to the economic, military and diplomatic interests of the Kremlin. But collectivisation, socialisation, planning and the monopoly of foreign trade were introduced and capital expropriated. Was this going to be the real path of the revolution? This idea made its way underground in the Trotskyist movement and blew it apart in 1952.

With its few working class cadres smashed by repression, only weakly implanted in the working class, saddled with a social composition in which petit bourgeois and declassed intellectuals predominated, led by young people who were only trained in the thick of war and slander from which a rare few of the vanguard had survived, more broken than ever by factional struggle rather than accustomed to mass work, the IVth International by the end of the war could not in effect resolve the tragic contradiction between its programme and its reality, i.e. the possibility of making this programme come to life.

This translated itself into internal dislocation, splits, an organisational rigidity without real political content and a search for substitutes which would allow the International Secretariat the quicker to cease to vegetate on the margin of history.

The 2nd "World Congress" met at the beginning of 1948 and assembled delegates from 22 organisations, whose name aspired to present the IVth International in reality as the World Party of the Socialist Revolution led by an International Secretariat resting upon an International Executive Committee, the whole structure being codified by minute new statutes.

The quest for a substitute manifested itself in France in the first place in the split of the right of the P.C.I., which watered down Trotskyism in order to find adherents in the R.D.R., a largely open grouping which did not last the space of a summer after swallowing 40% of the French Trotskyist organisation. The split between the Yugoslav C.P. and the Kremlin appeared to offer an international substitute. But in 1950 Tito, desirous of obtaining dollars, refused to condemn in the United Nations Organisation the American expedition in Korea.

A year later, in the number of February/March (Quatrième Internationale) 1951, Michel Pablo, the Secretary of the IVth International, under the title "Where Are We

7  
Going ?" published a veritable manifesto aiming at orientating the activity of the Trotskyists for the time being and for centuries in the future. Desirous of discovering an objective basis for the impotence of the IVth International since the war, and by the same token the easy way out, Pablo revised the famous formula of Marx and Engels ("The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles") and elaborated a transitory analysis of contemporary reality :

" For our movement objective social reality consists essentially of the capitalist regime and the Stalinist world. Furthermore, whether we like it or not, these two elements by and large constitute objective social reality, for the overwhelming majority of the forces opposing capitalism are right now to be found under the leadership or influence of the Soviet bureaucracy".

By virtue of this geographico-political division the world working class was no more than an appendage of the "Stalinist world" and its military and police apparatus:

"The revolutionary spirit of the masses directed against imperialism acts as an additional force, supplementing the material and technical forces raised against imperialism".

This subordination (which must involve the subordination of the Trotskyists to these "material and technical forces raised against imperialism", that is to say, the Soviet state apparatus and the various C.P.s) was moreover justified by the analysis made by Pablo of "centuries of transition" between capitalism and socialism :

"This transformation (of capitalist society into Socialism) will probably take an entire historical period of several centuries and will in the meantime be filled with forms and regimes transitional between capitalism and socialism and necessarily deviating from "pure" forms and norms".

During these centuries of transition which will separate the overthrow of capitalism and the installation of socialism ("to each according to his work"), the lowest stage of communism ("to each according to his needs"), the bureaucracy would therefore have an historical role to play : from that time it was no longer a parasitic excrescence upon an isolated and starved proletarian revolution, but an inevitable link in the unrolling of an extremely long revolutionary process.

At the same time Pablo affirmed in a pamphlet entitled "The Coming World

Showdown!" that war was imminent between capitalism and the Soviet Union which would unceasingly push the Communist parties where they have mass influence to the left, from which flowed the necessity for Trotskyist militants to enter the C.P.s to join up with the real mass movement in there. It was necessary to subordinate all the activity of the Trotskyists to this "entrism sui generis" (whilst maintaining their autonomous existence by the publication of an independent politico-literary organ) at no matter what price :

" In order to integrate oneself into the real mass movement, to work and remain for example in the mass trade unions, "ruses" and "capitulations" are not only admissible, but necessary".

Such were the general traits of the "Pabloism" which blew apart the IVth International. Refusing to submit to this analysis, and to the tactic which flowed from it, the majority of the French Section (the P.C.I.) was expelled in 1952. The following year the English, Chinese and Swiss sections, supported by the Socialist Workers Party, solidarised themselves with the P.C.I. and founded the International Committee of the Fourth International.

### THREE EXAMPLES : U.S.A., BOLIVIA, AND CEYLON

#### American Trotskyism After the War :

The death of Trotsky and the declaration of war brought a very harsh blow to the Socialist Workers Party, shaken by the split and persecuted since before Pearl Harbour. From 1941 onwards 18 leaders of the S.W.P. and of the Minneapolis Teamsters Union remained in jail ; at the same time the no-strike pledge forbade any strikes for the duration of the war.....

Isolated from the European movement, and only possessing a legal margin of reduced activity, the S.W.P. above all endeavoured to protect its trade union cadres, against whom the ultra-patriotic Stalinists were conducting a witch-hunt, and to train its militants. It took, also, only a small part in the strike movement that swept the U.S.A. from the end of 1944.

The end of the war was to see a rise in the class struggle just as in Europe.

9

The 12th national congress of the S.W.P. (April 1946) adopted a resolution entitled "The Coming American Revolution". The S.W.P. developed, recruited its cadres and doubled its full-timers, but American imperialism, which had taken upon itself the reconstruction of European capitalism, and had been led to assume the role of world gendarme, succeeded in surmounting the crisis that shook it by burying Europe in dollars and Korea in guns, bombs and men.....The McCarthyite witch hunt unleashed from 1948 onwards shook all the American working class organisations, including the S.W.P. The American Trotskyists tried to find an issue in order to break out of their ghetto. The crisis of the American C.P., shook by the repression of the Hungarian Revolution in 1956, brought them little short of nothing. They also began to orientate themselves towards an intellectual milieu more receptive to "ideas" and "propaganda", and when the Movement of the 26th July led by Castro took power in Cuba in 1958, this was the revelation. The revolution that they had awaited in vain in 1946 in the heart of the U.S.A. had broken out less than 250 kilometres from Miami. It brought together and involved as well a whole layer of "radical" or left intellectuals who saw in Castro the spearhead of a struggle they couldn't see their way to leading inside the U.S.A. It was these that the S.W.P. wanted to influence and recruit.

From that time on adaptation to Castroism and the circles of the American radical intelligentsia weighed like an unceasing heavy load upon the S.W.P. and its youth movement, the Young Socialist Alliance, and in 1963 it broke with the International Committee and supported "reunification" with the Pabloites, which in the same year gave birth to the "United Secretariat".

#### Bolivia :

The Revolutionary Workers Party founded at the Congress of Cordoba (Argentina) in 1934 under the inspiration of José Aguirre Gainsborg sprang from diverse oppositional Marxist groups of the then clandestine Bolivian C.P. in exile, and by the end of the war was strongly implanted among the miners : at the beginning of 1946 the miners trade union congress of Llaqua-Catavi adopted the theses presented in the name of

the Trotskyist faction led by Guillermo Lora. On the morrow of the July uprising that carried to power a conservative-Stalinist coalition the Trotskyists (still consigned to illegality by the Stalinist ministers of the R.O.S.C.A.-P.I.R. coalition government<sup>1</sup>) had the Theses of Pulacayo issued by them adopted by the second miners' congress : nationalisation of the mines and the land, workers' control of production and foreign trade, and the formation of workers' and peasants' militias. The Miners' Federation formed a miners' parliamentary bloc with the P.O.R. which conducted a campaign on the Theses of Pulacayo, and had six M.P.s elected by the mining district of Catavi, including Guillermo Lora and three other militants of the P.O.R.

After an uprising of miners exasperated by the measures taken against their standard of living at Catavi (March 1949) in which two thousand of them were massacred, the R.O.S.C.A.-P.I.R. government seized the funds of the Miners Federation and placed the P.O.R. outside the law.

In April 1952 the internal splits of the Bolivian bourgeoisie and of the junta that had taken power in 1951 to prevent the victor in the elections, the M.N.R.<sup>2</sup> from coming into office gave rise to the explosion. The workers overthrew the junta after powerful demonstrations, bringing an M.N.R. government presided over by Paz Estenssoro at the head of Bolivia, and created a single trade union confederation, the Bolivian Workers' Centre (C.O.B.), in which the Trotskyists of the P.O.R. exercised a serious influence.

The central demand of the masses in struggle was the nationalisation of the tin mines under workers' control proposed by the P.O.R. The Estenssoro government refused it.

At the moment when as a result of this setback the revolutionary tide fell back in the towns, the revolutionary movement spread by very unequal rhythms into the countryside and ranged dozens of thousands of peasants against the big landed proprietors, whose estates they occupied and collectivised. The P.O.R., which pushed for collective expropriation, launched the slogan of the nationalisation of the land without compensation and the handing over of the land to the peasants' organisations.

1-R.O.S.C.A. - name of the Right. P.I.R. - initials of the Bolivian C.P.

2-National Revolutionary Movement : a petty-bourgeois nationalist party influencing and organising wide layers of workers and peasants.

This slogan was taken up by the governmental Peasant Federation at its Cochabamba Congress in July 1953.....But the M.N.R., in which the majority of peasants and even workers still had confidence, supported the fierce repression organised by the phalangists and landowners against the peasant movement.

The isolated movement fell back beginning in 1954, and the P.O.R., shaken by the crisis that was then destroying the IVth International, saw a fraction of its militants practising "entrism" by leaving it to enter the left of the M.N.R. as demanded by Pablo and the International Secretariat, and the P.O.R. was expelled by them. "Independent" up to its adherence to the International Committee in 1969, and "illegal" since the coup d'état that carried General Barrientos to power in 1964, and in spite of blows that fell without respite (the assassination of miners' leader Cesar Lora and of Camacho, etc., and the arrest and deportation of its leaders, etc) the P.O.R. has maintained a serious influence, particularly among the tin miners.

#### Ceylon :

In 1935 a group of students who had trained at London University founded the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (L.S.S.P.), a workers' party struggling for the national independence of Ceylon and supporting the Trotskyist critique of Stalinism. The L.S.S.P. joined the IVth International in 1941 and was shortly afterwards dissolved by the British governor. After the proclamation of the independence of Ceylon (1947) it emerged as the foremost working class party - and the island's principle opposition party. The L.S.S.P. controlled a certain number of unions (dockers, transport workers and clerks) and had a parliamentary group of a dozen M.P.s at the time. Concerned about its "national independence", the L.S.S.P. supported Pablo in 1953 in exchange for the non-interference of the ex-International in its internal affairs.

Under the pressure of the Trotskyists, in August 1953 a great general strike set the Ceylonese workers against the galloping increase in the price of rice. In entire regions the "general strike had already reached the level of a real rebellion", as the annual congress of the L.S.S.P. affirmed in the following year.

But even if this mass movement did not result in the seizure of power, it did push<sup>12</sup> the centre left party of M. Bandaranaike (the S.L.F.P.) into government.

From that moment the leadership of the L.S.S.P., which described the S.L.F.P. as a "centrist party"<sup>1</sup> imagined its coming to power in a parliamentary form inside the limits of a Popular Front government. Thus in 1959, with the agreement of the leadership of the Pabloite International Secretariat, the L.S.S.P. considered a "non-aggression" pact in the elections of 1960 with the C.P. and the S.L.F.P. with which the leadership of the L.S.S.P. hoped to make a grand alliance in advance.

In 1962 the L.S.S.P. attempted to form a United Left Front with the Ceylonese C.P. and the M.E.P., a sort of Ceylonese P.S.U. led by an old Trotskyist. But this purely parliamentary United Front, limited as its outlook was solely to the terrain of parliament, fell apart, and in 1964 an extraordinary congress of the L.S.S.P. accepted the proposal of Perera for the entry of the "Trotskyists" into the government of Mrs. Bandaranaike. For example, in its statement of reasons the majority saluted "the marked weakening of the Catholic Church, AND THE ELEVATION OF BUDDHIST TRADITION AND CULTURE TO THE PLACE THAT IS THEIR DUE". The L.S.S.P. split: the overwhelming majority of the delegates to the congress and of the M.P.s were expelled from the Pabloite International Secretariat, and a minority led by two trade union leaders who were M.P.s at the same time, Bala Tampoe and Edmund Samarakkody, created the Revolutionary L.S.S.P., a small party that was smashed along with the governmental L.S.S.P. in the following elections that once again carried into power the extreme right ..... A little afterwards a small group joined the International Committee.

The Pabloites searched for a substitute for the impotence, at least for the time, of the IVth International to create real parties by decreeing systematic entrism into the Communist parties that were supposed to be fully in evolution

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1-In the Marxist vocabulary, a "centrist" party is a workers' party that oscillates between reformism and the necessary struggle for the revolution.

towards the left..... Four years later "destalinisation" broke over a revolutionary movement side tracked in Poland and a revolution smashed by Russian tanks in Hungary. Michel Pablo however was to suggest that Poland had experienced a happy democratic evolution from which Hungary could not benefit given the mistakes of its leaders :

"In Poland, thanks to the leading role that the workers party was able to play, transformed by the Gomulka tendency, itself an expression, however deformed, of the real movement of the masses, but a centrist tendency all the same evolving towards the left, the political revolution of the masses against the bureaucratic regime was able to minimise error in the uncertainty and confusion and avoid the dangers inherent in such a situation.

In Hungary the absence of any centralised political leadership however unclear has on the contrary, starting from a certain time, provoked exactly these defeats and dangers". Conclusion : "Outflanked, the Nagy government began to manoeuvre outside the class camp, instead of on the contrary trying to manoeuvre in the presence of the Kremlin inside this camp",<sup>1</sup> the Kremlin thus being "the class camp".

But nine months later the same Gomulka who had been leading the political revolution in Poland (that is to say, was more or less effectively realising the programme of the IVth International) launched the police against the striking Lodz tramwaymen, banned the left journal "Po Prostu", and organised the hunting down of the student demonstrations in the streets of Warsaw before taking part in the invasion of Czechoslovakia.....

So it became necessary to find other substitutes. The International

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1-IVème Internationale , December 1956, pp.6-7.

At that time the Trotskyists in their journal "La Verité" were appealing for support for the Polish and Hungarian workers' councils and for a united struggle of the workers against both Imperialism and Stalinism. Now in 1968 in "The Fourth International" Pierre Frank talks about the "events of 1953 in East Berlin ....." "the events of 1956 in Poland and Hungary.....", and of "the Czechoslovak affair" (p.57). "Events" and "affair" tell us nothing about the nature of these revolutionary upsurges.

14

Secretariat then discovered the "colonial revolution". The struggle for national independence that had disturbed the colonial countries since the Second World War was then breaking out in Algeria, Cuba, Vietnam and Angola..... The "National Fronts" of liberation, organised around a programme of the preservation of the private ownership of the means of production, isolated from the world class struggle in their colonial sector, were charged by the Pabloites with accomplishing historic tasks whose solution both Trotskyism and experience attribute to the revolutionary Marxist party. Castro and Ben Bella (like the Burmese or the Egyptian government) were forced to go on to quite extensive nationalisations to try to build up national capital. Immediately the Pabloites were to define their countries as workers' states. At the same time inside the international communist movement they discovered the emergence of a "third tendency" - in between China and the U.S.S.R. - that of Cuba, Vietnam and North Korea, the tendency of revolutionary fighters.

In 1961 the VIth World Congress of the International Secretariat decreed that, by virtue of the measures undertaken by the government of Castro (nationalisations, a "very advanced" agrarian reform, the existence of a "monopoly of foreign trade") "in Cuba, consequently, a workers' state of peculiar origin and of a new type has been created". Two years later the Ben Bella government nationalised some firms and placed "vacant agricultural enterprises" under self-management. The International Secretariat then declared: "Algeria has entered an eminently transitional stage from the point of view of its economic and social structure, from which will emerge the setting up of a Workers' state".

The logic of Pabloism, based upon the vain search for an immediate substitute for the apparently impossible construction of the revolutionary party, was after brief delays to give rise to three consequences:

(1) One wing of the International Secretariat pushed "entrism" within the traditional mass parties to its final consequences. Apart from the French (Mestre) and English (Lawrence) groups, that joined or attempted to join the C.P., an entire fraction of the International Secretariat behind the Latin-American Bureau led by

Posadas made a split in 1961 with the perspective of founding a new International with the Chinese C.P., the Syrian Ba'ath, etc.

(2) Another wing pushed the idea of colonial revolution to its ultimate conclusion. It saw the real home of the fight against imperialism in the colonial and under-developed countries, where the struggle against colonialism brought together peasants, national bourgeoisie and (rarely) workers : the waves that were sweeping across Asia, Africa and Latin America were one day going to engulf the slumbering citadel of the highly industrialised capitalist countries. The leader of this tendency, Pablo, at one time was a high official in the government of Ben Bella. In 1964 Pablo and his supporters broke with the International Secretariat (which had just fused with two or three organisations that had broken with Pabloism in 1953 and had taken the name of the United Secretariat) to form the "Revolutionary Marxist Tendency of the IVth International".

(3) Finally, a last faction, the majority, tried to take up and revise the programme to which they laid claim in maintaining formally the appearance of Trotskyism. Pierre Frank defined this delicate operation in 1962 :

"We Trotskyists ourselves must (.....) readjust our programme to the new situation that is being sketched out".

This readjustment based itself upon the idea that capitalism has entered into a new period which Ernest Germain was to call "neo - capitalism", characterised by a fresh development of the productive forces. "It is very doubtful whether in the entire history of capitalism have been produced such important changes, despite all, in so limited a period".

These lasting changes are full employment, an increase in the standard of living, and prodigious technical change : "At present, there are no unemployed, but full employment". It is thus necessary to "adapt the programme to the new conditions, to the new feelings of the masses, to the new level from which the inevitable struggles of tomorrow will start".

"In other words", Pierre Frank concluded, "our "Transitional Programme", which still contains many things that are valid for the less privileged layers of the

European working class 25 years after it was written, must be completed by a series<sup>16</sup> of demands corresponding to the new situation resulting from the intervening progress in the intermediate period following an exceptional period of high conjuncture".

As can be seen, this is revisionism in the true sense of the word, but it always claims to be Trotskyism. Ernest Mandel has just given its most finished expression in the course of conferences that he has addressed in the U.S.A..

"Capitalism has entered into a third stage of its development, as different from the monopoly capitalism or imperialism described by Lenin, Hilferding and others as monopoly capitalism was from the classical laissez - faire capitalism of the XIXth century". He defines this new stage as a "Third Industrial Revolution", or as "neo - capitalism". In place of the struggle for the overthrow of the centralised bourgeois state apparatus Mandel substitutes the prime demand of "workers' control", the main problem from now on not being not being "the distribution of income", but the definitive question, "who will control the machines, who will determine investments, who will decide what is necessary to produce and how to produce it ?"

The International Committee that had been founded in 1953 to defend the continuity of Trotskyism had set itself the objective of "reconstructing the IVth International destroyed by Pabloism", and experienced difficult beginnings. Its French Section (the P.C.I.), which had refused to jettison its political programme in order to enter the C.P., and which had intervened in the General Strike of August 1953, the strike of September 1955, and in the demonstrations called in 1956, bent in the wind. After the coming to power of De Gaulle in 1958 it ceased to call itself a "party", regrouped around its organ "La Verité", and in 1967 founded the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (O.C.I.). Supported by the F.É.R. (The Federation of Revolutionary Students) and by the Révoltes youth grouping that were influenced by it, it struggled against the systematic decentralisation of the strike movement of May/June 1968 to provide the General Strike with a single centralised expression over against the state by means of the slogan of a Central National Strike Committee. The O.C.I. was dissolved by Pompidou in June 1968, and its political continuity is assured today by the Organisation Trotskyiste (Trotskyist Organisation).

17

The English section developed beginning from the crisis created in the British C.P. by the Hungarian Revolution and its bloody liquidation. Having organised inside the Labour Party in the Socialist Labour League (S.L.L.) it was soon expelled, and expanded inside the youth of the Labour Party (the Young Socialists) and the factories. It became a majority inside the Young Socialists, who were expelled from the Labour Party in 1964, and since 1969 it formed a trade union grouping, the All Trades Union Alliance, which organises several dozens of thousands of workers. Finally, five years after the smashing of the Hungarian Revolution, a group of Hungarian Communists formed the Revolutionary Socialist League of Hungary, which is linked to the International Committee. For the first time since 1938 (with the exception of some Trotskyist activity in Bulgaria in 1946 that was soon decapitated by the police) the process of the political shrinking of the IVth International has thus been reversed. In this way Trotskyism has begun to break the infernal cordon that excluded it from the U.S.S.R. and the "Peoples' Democracies". As far as the International Committee is concerned, the present situation is marked by the "joint crisis of Imperialism and Stalinism". Imperialism is choking on a world capitalist market far too small to absorb the goods it produces, while at the same time developing the militarisation of the capitalist economy (one of the necessary methods for it to destroy the surplus of goods) as well as the will to reconquer, peacefully if possible, but violently if necessary, the huge markets that have escaped from it from Peking to Prague.

The countries of collectivised economy, after a very unequal development due to collectivisation, planning, and the monopoly of foreign trade, which had enabled them to pass from a backward stage to a more or less advanced stage of production, in spite of the absurd parcelling of them out into little "socialisms" in little countries, have also suffocated inside the limits of their national frontiers. Their economy could no longer develop, except, as the example of Czechoslovakia shows, by inserting itself into the international division of labour, i.e. into a world market still controlled by capitalism. Their fate is

thus closely bound up with the development of the class struggle in the advanced capitalist countries, which poses the alternative for them with a growing and increasing urgency of either the restoration of capitalism or the political revolution to overthrow the bureaucracy, the guarantor of the social order in the West ..... Industrialised Europe is the boiler of the imminent revolution, because it lies at the centre of the crisis which is shaking both capitalism and the bureaucracy at the same time : the coincidence in time of the general strike of May-June 1968 in France and the "Prague Spring" emphasises the unity of the world class struggle. The ambition to which the International Committee aspires is to articulate and organise this through the realisation of the IVth International that has to be constructed.

This goal also rests upon "subjective" grounds : at each crisis in the Eastern European countries, the Communist left that breaks free and guides the masses as much as it represents them rediscovers without knowing it the traditional analyses of Trotskyism, and even the slogans of the "Transitional Programme" : the analysis of the bureaucracy as a parasitic caste<sup>1</sup>, and of Stalinism as a monstrous cancer upon the revolution<sup>2</sup> ; the necessity for an international struggle against the bureaucracy<sup>3</sup>, against both Stalinism and capitalism<sup>4</sup>; the demand for workers' democracy<sup>5</sup>, the struggle for the republic of councils<sup>6</sup>. When the President of the

1-"The revolution left us a complete apparatus of government (.....) Never controlled by the masses, and often suppressing as of right any means of control, this apparatus has degenerated (.....) This caste has been an anti-progressive element and its interests were contrary to those of the workers" (Krzysztof Toplits, "Nova Kultura", Warsaw, 29th April, 1956).

2-"Stalinism was the antithesis of the Soviet system with which it cohabited and on which it lived as a parasite" (Mieczyslaw Bibrowski, "Nova Kultura", 19th February, 1957).

3-"We have introduced the spectre of the liquidation of the absolute power of the bureaucratic caste, that caste introduced onto the international scene by Stalinist Socialism (.....) We are in the act of drawing near to the destruction of the

Iauna Gardé Kolkhoz, Ivan Iakhimovi ch, proclaims "Lenin, yes ! Stalinism, no !", he is discovering the identical words of Ignace Reiss, the G.P.U. leader who passed over to the IVth International in 1937, and when Alexis Kosterin in the U.S.S.R. counterposes "reborn Marxist-Leninist Socialism" to capitalism and to Stalinist Socialism, they are expressing a convergence and a continuity, all the more remarkable because they are unconscious of it.

These are the deep echoes that made one write to Léo Figuères, a member of the Central Committee of the P.C.F. (French Communist Party) in October 1968 : "The task of the present day is yet again to demystify Trotskyism, and to demonstrate that it has nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism", and this explains the conclusion of the political resolution adopted by the Organisation Trotskyste (Trotskyist Organisation) : "The period just opening is that of the imminent revolution, of the construction of revolutionary parties in each country on the basis of the "Transitional Programme" and of the reconstruction of the IVth International".

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Footnotes (Continued from previous page)

power of this caste, now almost hereditary, which is attached by a thousand links of corruption and mutual interest to its equivalents abroad (.....). We are placing the bureaucracy in danger which is slowly, but surely, in the act of burying socialism on a world scale" (Jiri Hochman, "Reporter", Prague, 31st July, 1968).

4-"The necessary condition for the struggle against Stalinism is that it must not limit itself to the confines of only one country or party, but must be carried on precisely in the context of the international working class movement (.....) The persistence of Stalinism in our ranks is the surest guarantee of the victories of imperialism" (Roman Zimand, "Po Prostu", Warsaw, 4th November, 1956).

5-"Down with Stalinist political economy ! Workers' Control in the Factories ! Forward with Socialist Democracy !" (Slogans of the Petöfi Circle of Budapest, November 1956).

6-"The working class must organise in addition workers' councils in the factories (.....) of Councils of workers' delegates" (Kuron and Modzelewski, "Open Letter to the Central Committee of the P.O.P.U.", 1964).