

8/2/47

Dear J:

Today the British party began its convention. It had the air of an international congress because of the many fraternal delegates here to greet the convention--the Dutch (which has 150 members made of old Sneevliet group, the L-L, and youth who have never been in the movement previously; they have centered their agitation around the slogan of total boycott of goods to the Dutch imperialist armies in Indonesia; and now the trade unions have accepted that slogan; and the British RCP of course recorded its support to this movement); the French (who now command about 350,000 votes in the 3 electoral districts in which they function; control the SP youth movement--about 2,000 support us, and of these over 1,000 we fully expect to get at the next convention to be held on Aug 15th; we also expect to command about 20 delegates of the SP who are holding their conf. at same time, and who will join with the youth in coming over to us); the Indian (who have actively participated in both the Calcutta and Madras strikes); the American (SWP & WP) and the us.

I made the following declaration: "The Johnson-Forest Tendency, which is trying to integrate itself into the Fourth International, is happy to greet the convention of the RCP, whose revolutionary fight against the imperialist war served to inspire all sections of the Fourth, and particularly us in America. It is no accident at all that the RCP made its most forward strides precisely because of the anti-war work since the Stalinist International played the role of betrayer, that the Second played in WWI and only the Trotskyists held aloft the banner of revolutionary Marxism.

"The task facing the sections of the Fourth is the turn to mass work. It is with considerable pride that the Johnsonites record the fact that, although they are but a small grouping, they were the first Trotskyists to build a branch among the miners in West Virginia. That too was not by accident but because of their revolutionary perspective and beliefs, that the instinctive and elemental drive of the proletariat to reconstruct society is not a mere phrase. We firmly believe that the British proletariat which knew how to drive out Churchill although he brought them victory" will know how to drive out the labor fakery and know how to establish a truly workingclass government. The British RCP is girding itself for this task, knowing full well that Secretary of State Marshall cannot bring to Europe what General Marshall destroyed in Europe. We extend to this convention our fraternal greetings."

In the collection, I also donated a £ in the name of our group.

Thus far only the organization report was discussed--the Int. Report was delayed because of difficulty for G to appear; and the Political perspectives report is not till tomorrow; I am still very favourably impressed with the rank and file discussion, and not at all with the leadership; there was also quite a sour note set on question of minority representation on FB; I enclose the RES. presented by Min. and rejected by convention. Naturally I did not take sides in org. report or discussion; but I did record my consultative vote in favor of the Healy Res. for Min. representation, and sent Jock a personal note.

The Dutch comrade has made a wonderful impression on me--he is a very serious student type -29, but looks younger. I have given him Grace's article on Economism & our abstract on RQ, and he has promised to arrange a meeting for me in Holland, and also to introduce me to Pannekok, who belongs to some ultra-

*To American  
the 1st step  
in this direction  
is the union  
of the  
proletariat  
forces of the  
West Coast.  
While fighting  
for his blood  
our tendency  
wishes to  
align itself  
with the  
current of  
the  
Fourth*

SPIC

9171

leftist groupings, to which this comrade used to belong.

It is past midnight & I must hurry to sleep as I shall have to awake early to appear at sessions tomorrow.

By the way, did I tell you that the articles that have made the best name for me in Europe are those on M.P. It seems there have been many various discussions around them; perhaps the interest is also due to the fact that they are non-controversial although they claim it is because of the interest in Marxian economic.

Darling John - It'll be practically a matter of saying hello-godbye tonight since I am very sleepy - You know how swastika-filled conferences are one Of course, if you were here to go to bed with me & I might thrum otherwise - but what can a girl do alone but go to sleep. All my love

PPS I proved this evening to make over up / I left

9/21/47

Dear J:

Here, finally, is a brief resume of the sessions. BE SURE THAT NO COPY OR EXCERPTS OF THIS ARE MADE, although you can read its contents to the SC, resident. Many of the details will have to be filled when I first come back, and some of it on French party I will give you rather from my own point of view as soon as the series of meetings I'm having with the different tendencies is concluded.

I return instead to one point of information I have not yet related as to international discussion, which will at the same time throw a light upon what, other than putting our tendency on the map, and stating our position everywhere, I plan on accomplishing here. As a result of those discussions I got Hans, a young Austrian comrade, who was not a representative of any section, who carries no votes so to speak, and does not even have our position of state capitalism (though he is a defeatist, but prefers calling it "a degeneration of a workers state" in order to retain historic origin). What he does have is a sterling revolutionary nature, a real flair for the philosophy of Marxism, and youth. He was a seaman (may turn up in US) and has been throughout the world, including Palestine, and has established contact everywhere, including Germany. It is this type of worker-youth I ~~tried~~ concentrate on as a cadre to be left behind when I am gone. He considers himself a "near" Johnsonite already, is beginning to study Hegel, knows German, French and English, and has a conception of proletarian revolution that is alive. If I can work up a few like that in the various countries, the trip will have been worthwhile.

from you

Now to some details: I have heard nothing yet regarding my projected departure in November; also none regarding money, which now needs be only a total of \$250 (\$150 for IS, and \$100 for me) and which should be sent me pronto if not already been sent; also none from youth, either regarding the possibility of a donation from them to French youth, or whether they mimeographed that little essay by Krupskaya which the youth here is very anxious to get. The youth here is also anxious to get written contributions to paper, news or analysis of youth groups and situation in US.

Please tell Marty that I have had no time to answer him, but have very much appreciated hearing from him; he was the only one who gave me any news of the fraction, members, gains, losses; which I say is one person who is not so abstract as to forget the "details" of organization. Also, his article "Export Politics" is a masterpiece. In my rebuttal on the Johnson question, I took great delight in reading from it, and advertising it (Ike's "Question Mark over Shachtman" also got a blurb from me there), and it did sound as I was not only Johnny on the spot but actually a prophet, since Sh's quib had arrived but a few hours before session.

I'm getting lonesome for our bunch, which shows that even the charms of Paris have their limit, or, as the Frenchmen say, are "delimited from" the worth of our tendency.

Dear J - You can see  
by the length of the report how  
much I would be - so forgive  
not writing. Would you be so good enough to read  
Yours  
9173

1947  
EUROPE

Introd.

The first thing that strikes you upon arrival in Europe is the VITALITY of the masses. You have heard so much about "Europe isn't even there any more", and the rubble is still there to testify to its economic and physical destruction, and the ill-clad, ill-fed masses seem only the more to testify and emphasize that Europe isn't there, that the Marxist too seems to believe. But it takes only a few days, nay, a few hours to see that the Europe that isn't any more is the bourgeois Europe--there isn't a single European bourgeoisie from its "strongest" *Victory* Europe Britain to the defeated ruined Germany, from sabre-rattling de Gaulle to "prosperous" Belgium that could continue its rule without America--or, in E.E., without Russia. Europe is divided in two because the world is divided in two. To ~~reject~~ *reject* the one-worldness--which can only be socialism,

~~But the masses, by the millions, fight for a better world~~  
~~And their energy is amazing--surely it isn't the 2000 calories that produce this strive for a new world.~~ The British miner is played up as the most satisfied because he gave up his Saturdays for "his" govt.--but the British miners I met--and statistics verify it isn't the accident but the rule--saw, "Of course, I gave up Saturday--but I stay away all day Mondays." The women too play a magnificent role--as the women of the Ruhr miners who picketed the mines to make sure their husbands would be brave to strike despite the occupying powers. And we live in so social a world that the Italian masses have already achieved what it took the Russian revolution to bring together--the collaboration of farmers and rural workers with the urban workers. While I was in Europe we had the magnificent great general strike of Italian farm workers at the same time as that of the metal workers. As for the French workers, in whose every step you feel the line of revolutions from 1789, 1848, 1871 and the great sit-down strikes of 1936, I should like to describe to you the demonstration on Sept. 5 at Champ de Mars

II. The dissatisfaction with the Stalinists who led the demonstration dates back to the Renault strike

April.--Quote E.G., QI, May-June '47

*This is Europe - the masses are the only ones who can reconstruct it!*

*1936*

1st thing that strikes you in Europe is the VITALITY of the masses

PI

CHAMP DE MARS--Sept. 5th  
1789 1871  
1848 1936

The youth is trying to achieve <sup>2</sup> IDEOLOGICAL CLARITY so that it knows what to aim its ACTIONS at

Hyon

1840--Young Europe of Mazzini

1860--Nihilists in Russia

1903--VIL :duty of youth to have "COMPLETE PHILOSOPHY"

1907: young Liebknecht: ANTI\*MILITARISM

and it

bore fruit: 1915: 1st anti-war gathering in Switz.

and this

same youth 1919 founded YCI

STOP  
Revolution  
to

while on platform I was wondering, what as an American delegate could I give this youth, who, even in its SPORTS has its LEISURE MOVEMENT

but remembered 1919

Production  
YPSK BURE

our DELEGATE; Ovation at end of speech and demand he answer their own speaker on sectarianism & unity of action, which he demand by insisting now the 1st thing is to decide road of reform or revolution

Singing of International; decision to form COMMITTEES OF REVOLUTIONARY REGROUPMENT

To understand  
one must understand Europe

I. To understand the events in Europe today we must go back to 1933 when the rise of Ger. fascism posed the question of world counter-revolution against the inherent world revolution.

As LT then wrote "The decline of capitalism promises to be still more stormy, dramatic and bloody than its rise"

We have since had fascism descend upon Europe and through the centralization of capital and destruction of workers organization challenge "old capitalism" for world power.

The workers, on their side, from the sit-down strikes ~~from~~ in France ~~in 1936~~ the Spanish revolution in 1937 tried to get rid of the bloody capitalist rule, seeing well that there is no middle road: there is ~~is~~ only either fascism, ~~or~~ the gory rule of decadent capitalism, or there is the proletarian revolution. What, temporarily, seemed to spell the rule of world counter-revolution is, ~~the~~ as the TP states in its first and last words, the treacherous rule of the proletarian leaders.

Let us examine one country--France--to see what had occurred, once the road which opened to the proletarian rev., was not taken.

By 1938--production less than that of 1913.  
Munich removed possibility of E.E.  
allies previously propping up Fr. FEAR OF REV.  
ALREADY LED FR. BOURGEOISIE TO RELY ON HITLER.  
(Cf. Pertinax's analysis)

Thus: Vichy govt. was only completion of capitulation to Nazi control of Europe begun by Fr. bourgeoisie with 1936 strike.

V. Imp because it shows that counter-rev. vs. workers unrealizable by Fr. bourgeoisie without international support and backing. We will see later the parallel in US & de Gaulle. As a "personality" Schumann is less than Von Papen, of whom LT said:

"The Von Papen govt. (read Schuman) emerged from an immaculate bur. conception. With the right elbow it rests upon Hitler's shoulder (read: de G's). With the police fist (my army now) it wards off the prol. to the Left. Therein lies the secret of its 'stability', that is, of the fact that it did not collapse at the moment of its birth."

*See July 11, p. 14*

At the hour of danger, said LT, the Stalinist Party proved to be a corpse. "Nothing he added, can erase that fact from his." This, physically, may look untrue now. But it has never been truer. ~~Now~~ The present fiasco signify the beginning of the end of Stalinism.

9176

*But we must examine the strength of the Stalinist Party.*

*A*

During war--Stalinists led resistance to Nazis not on class but on national basis--and that only after Hitler turned against Russia. What was needed was fraternisation with German soldiers and boldly fighting for SUSE.

Stalinists achieved Govt. status with liberation in 1944--and to 1947. Policy of increased production. Revival of prod.--with consequent illusions in all heads of the already fear-battered (fear of prol. rev.) prol. leaders--90% of 1938 DUE ONLY TO CHECK STALINISTS EXERCISED OVER WKRS. Thus appearance of economic revival fake of actuality of social revolt.

Workers break strangle-hold of Stalinists with Reynault strike

*Quote Eg. B. J. May 1944*

IT WAS THE ACTION OF THE MASSES WHICH BROKE COALITION GOVT. & FORCED STALINISTS OUT. It also brought de Gaulle out as movement, and turned Truman Doctrine into Marshall Plan--

*Walter White*

Cominform

TOGLIATTI: "We ~~xxxxxxx~~ haven't changed our program for reform since we left the govt."

*Time 12/22/47*

No wonder the strike in Rome ~~xxxx~~ failed. ~~As~~ LT had long ago characterized this Stalinist betrayal for what it is:

"The Comintern has set out to follow the path of SD in an epoch of decaying cap: when in general there can be no discussion of systematic social reforms & the raising of the masses' living standards; when every serious demand of the prol. and even every serious demand of the p.b. inevitably reaches beyond the limits of cap. property relations and of the bourgeois state."

*(Handwritten initials)*

*III*

Dilemma of CP today is not the Kremlin's instigation of the strikes. Of course that is so. But the essence of the matter is that, confronted by de Gaulle, and the unbearable living conditions, the masses are prepared to struggle for power. THE CP CANNOT LEAD THIS MOVEMENT--they are more afraid of prol. power than ever the Mensheviks were. And they are but one shade removed from the miserable SP that helps pave the way for de Gaulle. So degenerated are the official prol.

Beginning with end of 1946 and early 1947, workers begin to take initiative away from Stalinist leadership. In 1946, e.g. postal clerks where influence of CP small. But in 1947 with Renault strike, bastion of CP power.

Renault strike marked definitive turn. Quote Germain:

Q: May - June 1947  
"For the first time in France, the Stalinists were held in check for 15 days by the Renault workers, their traditional bastion. These workers followed in their great majority the committee of struggle, democratically expressed, opposed to the Stalinist.t.u. leadership. It is a fact which marks incontestably an important step in the life of the French labor movement. This example was given before the whole Fr. working class. And all the maneuvers of the Stalinists to appear, after coup, as the initiators and defenders of the ~~workers~~ current of demands which animated the workers... will not allow them to repair their deteriorated relations with the advanced layers of the proletariat."

"Despite their numerically limited forces, the PCI the Trotskyist orgn in France appeared in the struggles which exploded against the will of the treacherous leaders ~~as~~ as the real revolutionary leadership to whom the future belongs."

"The Trotskyist militants did not simply support the struggle, they were at Renault and in ~~many~~ other sectors, the ~~key~~ inspirers, leaders and organizers who knew how to give a clear expression to the desire and the will of the workers."

"... the first victory of the Fr. proletariat over the ruling class since the Liberation, and more exactly, since 1936."





IN AMERICA we are likely to forget that even bourgeois education came because PROLETARIAT DEMANDED it. Sports and Jazz, much as the bourgeoisie hopes it, cannot feel the complete alienation the American young worker feels in the factory & student " ~~in the~~ in the policing of thought on campus: anti-Red drive

Yale  
UNIV.  
Learning 1st Americans

AND MAIN THING

*Unarmed Military Training*

is not yet a law and can and MUST BE FOUGHT ;

We must remember that the youth movements the WORLD OVER started not where the nation had achieved freedom but where it had not, so it was in 1840 in Italy, in 1860 in Russia. In other words, in the youth's fight for a freer, richer individual life they were in actuality fighting the HISTORIC struggle of humanity to escape the realm of necessity and leap into the realm of freedom. AMERICA too will find that road. Just as

*looked out generation*

first found way to Marxism

*the generation of generation*

will unite Marxism of thought and Marxism of deeds.

..

CONCLUSIONS: WHAT NEXT IN EUROPE WILL ANSWER ALSO WHAT NEXT IN AMERICA

*PS*

leaders, that ~~xxxxxx~~ the manner in which LT characterized the Radical Socialists, i.e. THE BOURGEOIS PARTY, now applies to the Socialists and Stalinists. Listen:

" Under the threat of fascism and still more under the threat of the prol., the Rad Soc. (read SP-CP) have found themselves obliged to pass from the camp of parliamentary 'democ.' over to the camp of Bonapartism. Like the camel under the driver's whip, Radicalism gets down on its ~~xxxxxx~~ four knees to let cap. reaction sit between its humps. Without the pol. support of the Radica~~x~~, the Doumerge (read: Schumann) govt. would at present be impossible."

*W. H. ...*

And all they ask is : to be part of the govt!

*2 1/2 mln. people on strike - and they settle for a ~~little~~ <sup>best</sup> ~~little~~ <sup>the management on</sup>*

Let us turn then to Italy

In Italy more than anywhere else the masses have the confidence that comes with the fact that, they, not the imperialist armies, brought about the downfall of fascism, that they, not the imperialists, got rid of Mussolini, and in good proletarian fashion. They threw off 20 years of fascism as a dirty rag which does not belong, and proceeded directly to the building of soviets, of taking over and running factories. Throughout the North, both in town and country, they could rule today. They held power for 1 day in Milan and Stalin turned it back to that nonentity de Gasperi; they held power in many town and villages, but they move not to take over power. They march 30,000 partisans into Rome for mere display, though those who remember 1922 say it made Mussolini's fascist army look like a clumsy parade of Boy Scouts, then march them out again--and, ~~xxxxxx~~ having invited defeat in France by not aiming for power, they now call a strike in Rome. It ripples, and the weakling de Gasperi gets the highest confidence vote he ever could have commanded.

Who doesn't remember Thaelmann's 21 mistakes and the empty bombast which when they finally called upon workers for pol. strike met with no response?

"FUNDAMENTAL FACULTY OF REV. IS TO SUBMIT TO A RAPID & FITILESS EXAMINATION OF ALL DOCTRINES & ALL METHODS. The punishment," concluded, LT, "almost immediately follows the crime."

9180

*Stalin ... will erase ...*

To really understand this period one must understand the OBJECTIVE BACKGROUND,

What? To look at Schumann in France and de Gasperi in Italy --and then see that all the Stalinists ask for is to be part of the Government--is to realize the DEPTH OF THE TREACHERY.

*In Italy*

Of Stalinism in Germany, Trotsky had said that when the hour struck, the CP was found to be a corpse, "Nothing," he said "can erase that from history." Nothing will.

~~What? In France, and in Italy, the Stalinists militant are moving toward us. But even of greater significance is what is happening to SOC. YOUTH.~~

~~AT~~

In the face of this actual movement toward establishment of a mass youth movement, what could I from America bring?

But discussion with Trotskyist youth

*Good & Reasonable  
Reasonable movement*

showed me we could :EDUCATION:

- 1) KRUPSKAYA'S HOW LENIN STUDIED MARX
- 2) CAPITAL

VIL: set as first task: TO ACQUIRE KNOWLEDGE and full grasp of MARXISM not for academic reasons but because CLARITY is first step to ACTION

*Alfons*

Conclusions

In this case the Roman workers fail to respond and 1 million of the 5 million CGT members tear up their cards.

WHAT NEXT? Can Jouheaux, ad behind him in this case are lined, not uncharacteristically, everyone from de Gaulle to anarchists--stop the movement?

Will he who "palms off a receding before fascism for a struggle against it" win the workers to his side? No, unless the ~~REV~~ REV. PARTY shows the way, there is the danger that fascism will be not only the p.b. but the prol.

Can the Marshall Plan? No, it is no more than the New Order of Hitler for Europe, 1947 ~~xxxix~~ pre-war version. Sec. of State Marshall cannot bring to Europe what General Marshall destroyed in Europe.

The economies of Europe can only "stagger on from one bankruptcy to another". As The London Economist sees very clearly:

"The cog wheels are turning, but they do not mesh, & the reason for this maladjustment is hardly economic at all. It is pol. & moral & its rootlie in distrust. The truth is that Fr. has not yet achieved the measure of cohesion necessary for its eco. system to work smoothly. The dream of the Resistance has failed, and French society is back in the impasses which destroyed the Popular Front in 1936." *W.H.M.*

No, the Resistance dream, as it was dreamt by the masses, not interpreted by their treacherous leaders is not dead. But the answer is not nat. but international. Never was the slogan SUSE more vital. Never was there a greater opportunity for the Tr-ists. The Stalinists have been defeated, but not the masses. It is July days, not Jan., and Oct. is still to come. Of course, no crisis, by itself, is fatal to the bourgeoisie. The decisive role will be given by the active masses on the historic stage. Our role, as described in Militant, has for the first time as brought us in contact with the ~~xxxxxx~~ ranks of the CP who are moving from their leaders, and aim, with the masses for rev.. As LT ~~xxxxx~~ wrote in Whither France "In order to bring the situation to its full maturity, there must be an immediate, vigorous, unremitting mobilization of the masses, under the slogan of the conquest of power in the name of socialism. This is the only way..."

Today there can be no turning back. The needs of hundreds of millions of people are crying out for an expression which only the soc. rev. can give. There is no power on earth that can suppress them.

9182

The American proletariat too has its role, and we must bring

T.P.p.58

"When a program or an org. wears out, the generation which carried it on its shoulders wears out with it, *of the movement is revitalized* the movement is revitalized by the youth who are ~~given~~ free of responsibility for the past. The FI pays particular attention to the young generation of the proletariat. All of its policies strive to inspire the youth with belief in its own strength and in the future. Only the fresh enthusiasm and aggressive spirit of the youth can guarantee the preliminary successes in the struggle; only these successes can return the best elements of the older generation to the road of revolution. Thus it was, thus it will be.--  
Open the road to the youth! Under the banner of the FI!

9183

...to them in the words of the founder of the Fourth:

"We live in an epoch of the universal liquidation of Marxism in the ruling summits of the labor movement. The most vulgar prejudices now serve as the official doctrines for the pol. & t.u. leaders of the Fr. wkg. class. Contrariwise, the voice of rev. realism rings against this artificial sounding board like the voice of 'sectarianism'. It is all the more insistently necessary to repeat over and over again the fundamental truth of Marxist policies before audiences of advanced workers."

9<sup>th</sup> Youth quotation

from T.P.

L.P.J.S.