

following the Russian revolution the counter-revolution was triumphant.

[2] CHINA IN 1946

Another instance closer to the contemporary era was in 1946, when Secretary of State Marshall was sent by Truman to negotiate a coalition government between Chiang Kai-shek and the Chinese Communists. The Chinese Communists agreed to the negotiations and agreed in principle to join the coalition. However (and this is a point very much obscured in the post-liberation history of the Chinese revolution), the CCP made it a condition of the coalition that the PLA (Peoples Liberation Army) remained strictly under the jurisdiction and orders of the PLA military command.

What this condition meant was that the coalition would merely be a cover for what were already two separate states, one an embryo workers' state, the other a bourgeois puppet regime. Chiang's jurisdiction was being severely limited anyway. Although he had a great number of arms under his control, the revolutionary resurgence in Chiang's own areas was such that accepting the CCP condition would have meant a disastrous acceleration of the disintegration of his armed forces, which was already in progress.

Had the CCP leadership agreed to surrender jurisdiction over the PLA or hand it over to Chiang, that would of course have meant a capitulation to the compradore bourgeoisie and imperialism.

MILLERANDISM REBORN

It was the acceptance of precisely such a condition by the Italian and French CPs immediately after the end of the Second World War which spelled their complete renunciation of the revolutionary class struggle, when they had such a splendid opportunity to pursue it. Both the French and Italian CPs voluntarily liquidated their armed resistance movements in exchange for ministerial posts in a bourgeois imperialist cabinet.

It was Millerandism reborn, and this time there was not the threadbare excuse of the danger of fascism which had been utilized to construct the Popular Fronts of the 1930s. Those were also betrayals of the working class. The CPs assumed ministerial posts in capitalist governments and were forced to carry out capitalist objectives: contain the revolutionary fervor of the masses, limit the workers' struggles so as not to go beyond the confines of bourgeois property relations, and curb the peasants from taking the land of the

landlords. In a word, they enforced continuing capitalist exploitation.

The Italian CP will, of course, not really be making a qualitative change in its political outlook by taking cabinet posts. Its parliamentary representatives today are practicing class collaboration with the Christian Democrats even without being given a cabinet post. Why then, are some sections of high finance and industry in this country and Italy so fearful of according the PCI the responsibility of "sharing power" with the bourgeois Christian Democrats?

Of course, it's not sharing of power. By sharing the administration of power on behalf of the bourgeoisie, the latter-day Millerands will merely be office holders, **not power holders**. State power consists of the armed forces, the police, the courts, and all the other repressive forces which make up the capitalist state. These are solidly in the hands of the bourgeoisie. The Italian CP liquidated the old resistance movement and is by no means building a new one.

WHAT IMPERIALISTS FEAR

The ruling circles in the Pentagon and State Department fear that the consummation of a so-called historic compromise might impel the resurgent, confident popular masses **to go beyond the limits of bourgeois legality, and commence to take things into their own hands**.

Isn't this really what has terrified the European and American capitalists about Portugal? Isn't it because the workers began to take things into their own hands, taking over factories, mills, and landed estates, that a revolutionary situation exists in Portugal?

Isn't it these measures of workers' control, **which became nationwide**, that so frightened large sections of the Portuguese possessing class with the revolutionary energy and resistance of the masses that they had to flee, some without their bank accounts? And isn't this what has roused the world bourgeoisie?

This is exactly what worries the bourgeoisie about the historic compromise! Both Washington and Rome worry whether the PCI leaders **will be able** to control the masses, in the aftermath of the consummation of the historic compromise.

OPPORTUNITY FOR REVOLUTIONARY ELEMENTS

For our part, we can only hope that the Italian ruling class, which is reeling under an economic crisis more severe with each passing