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No. 9

PROBLEMS OF THE AMERICAN WORKING CLASS. NO. 1

Some Aspects of American Imperialism

World Capitalism and the United States

Special Features of the Crisis

The New Imperialist Policy of the United States

Workers Control of Production

The Coming American Revolution

The Character of the Latin American Revolution

The Negro Question

PROGRAMATIC DOCUMENTS

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WORLD CAPITALISM AND THE UNITED STATES

(A) - The fundamental factor determining the role of American imperialism in the world is the ever-growing discrepancy between the gigantic economic strength of American capitalism which, in the economic sphere, has made it the leading world power - and its failure up until now to consolidate this economic world hegemony by a corresponding political control of the world. For, while it is true that even in the political sphere America's shadows hang over each and every country in the world, mighty Great Britain not excluded, still it is as yet far from being able to impose its will directly and unchallenged upon the rest of the world. In fact, it has, within recent years, suffered a number of very serious defeats on the political field (the successful refusal by the European powers to pay their debts; America's failure to stop Japan's conquest of northern Asia, without or against England; the temporary loss of political influence in Germany as the result of the victory of Hitler; the recent successful attempts by England to bring, after Germany, the Soviet Union into the orbit of its influence). Each of these defeats in the political sphere endanger America's hegemony in the economic sphere.

(B) - England, America's great rival, is able today to hold its own against America in the economic field mainly by its formidable political position in the world, heritage of the past. With the political loss of its rich dominions, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa, and of India, the "crown-jewel of the empire", England could no longer maintain its economic world position either: in other words, England's strong position in the world, its ability to resist America's claim to complete control of the world, rests upon its huge territorial possessions.

(C) - America's weakness consists in the lack of territorial possessions. Recent developments have demonstrated that American imperialism would be still more handicapped in its fight for world control if it did not have at least those few possessions which it conquered or "bought" from weaker or defeated imperialist powers (Alaska and the Aleutian Islands from Russia, Puerto Rico, the Phillipines and Guam from Spain, plus the right to maintain a naval station in "independent" Cuba, etc.), from weak and helpless capitalist countries (the Canal Zone from Panama, or rather from Colombia), or from still more helpless pre-capitalist peoples (Samoa, Hawaii). Without the Phillipines as a jumping-off board, American imperialism would be still more handicapped in its struggle to conquer the huge Chinese market; without the little island of Guam, in the midst of the Japanese islands of Micronesia, it would be still more impotent to stop Japan's advance in the Pacific, economic and military; without the islands of Hawaii and Samoa, America's naval battle line would be thrown back directly before the American coast; without Alaska and the Aleutian Islands the new strategy of the American navy, to outflank Japan and England in the northern Pacific, would have been impossible; without the Canal Zone, Puerto Rico, and the naval station in Guantanamo (Cuba), America's position in the Caribbean would be totally different from what it is now; even the tiny and uninhabited islands, Midway and Wake, now prove to be indispensable for America's plans for linking its Far Eastern possessions and its commercial interests in still unconquered Asia by air with the American continent: the direct

line of attack right into the heart of the enemy England and Japan; to accompany the flank attack via the Aleutian Islands. Now, while these examples prove very clearly the enormous value of these territorial possessions to American imperialism, their enumeration also shows how utterly insufficient they are for America's struggle for world control.

(D) - Only in the Caribbean, America's position appears to be well-nigh impregnable: what American imperialism needs is to make the Pacific an "American sea" in the same sense the Caribbean is already today the "American Mediterranean". First, Canada must become American politically, as it is already today more than half American economically. This conquest of Canada is inseparable from America's bigger plans. Already today the fact that connection by air with Alaska, so vitally important of a sudden, is via Canada, is a source of embarrassment. But bigger things still are at stake: England's naval stations in Newfoundland and British Columbia must be eliminated. The raw material sources of Canada (timber, and above all the indispensable nickel, for which Canada has a world monopoly), must be completely in American hands. Then British (and Japanese and German) influence in South America must be eliminated: the American continent must become the exclusive property of U. S. imperialism. Only then America, which cannot drive a wedge between England and Japan (in spite of their antagonisms), and therefore has to fight both of them at the same time, will be strong enough to do so. Only then will it be strong enough to reach out for the conquest of some part of Asia, be it in China, the Dutch East Indies, or British India. Such a territorial foothold in Asia is the central task before American imperialism. Only this way can it bring England's world position to an end and stop Japan's further advance. Any further delay works to the advantage of Japan and indirectly to that of England.

(E) - American imperialism needs a new war, and this soon. Its fundamental needs can be fulfilled only by war.

The accumulating contradictions confronting the economic superiority of American imperialism, without its political counterpart, cannot be "solved" except by a new war. In this struggle the United States has the most important and dangerous tasks. Japan attempts to "organize" the Orient. England, Germany and France struggle to "organize" Europe, as the first step toward a greater share of the world. The United States' economic and political needs demands that she attempt to "organize the world".

(F) - The task of "organizing" the world for the needs of the American imperialists have met with several important defects in the immediate past, and unless these mounting difficulties are overcome, the pacifist face of the United States will be dropped for its ruthless aggressive self. The economic superiority enables, with losses, the United States to weather the six-year economic crisis with less negative results than such countries as Japan and Italy. But the changes taking place, due to the crisis, will soon reach the explosion point, because the power (and the weakness) of American imperialism no longer rests upon the foundation of the forty-eight states of the republic. Its economic existence depends upon the successful defense of its world position and the further extension of its needs within world capitalism.

SPECIAL FEATURES OF THE CRISIS

The present crisis-depression period, which began over five years ago, continues as the most disastrous and far-reaching shake-up the world system of capitalism has yet witnessed. It is by no means over, even though the crisis period reached its nadir in the middle of 1932, and the present stage constitutes the depression phase of the crisis. All indications are that this crisis will not be solved on the "peaceful" economic plane, and that it will pass over to the stage of war and revolution. In fact, this has already occurred, in the Japanese invasion of China, the British-American dispute in Gran Chaco, in Germany where Hitler took power and now threatens in France and in a new imperialist war with Ethiopia as the springboard.

One thing is certain, so far as the United States is concerned, the Golden Age of the twenties, which was the highest peak of bourgeois production in any part of the world, was followed by the most devastating crisis the country has ever seen. This marks the shift of American imperialism into the decay stage. As a young giant of capitalism, it seems cruel to so suddenly drive it into a decay stage, nevertheless, this is the fact. Its lateness upon arriving at this world position in no way exempts it from the decay stage of capitalism which embraces world capitalism as a whole. The task of the American imperialism is to find a formula and a way out of this contradiction; the young leading imperialist power that takes up its key position in the decay stage of capitalism. No doubt, this relationship, which has not existed before, will present new and untold forms, but in essence it cannot escape the fundamental laws of the capitalist mode of production and the world system of capitalism. These new factors within this framework must be understood by the vanguard.

One of the special features of the present crisis-depression in the United States (which is world-wide), is the two-fold character. It is at the same time a cyclic crisis and a crisis of decay. Its roots can be traced to the contradictions which create over-production, which is the surface expression of the accumulation of capital. The contradiction between socialized production and capitalist appropriation lies at the root. The relations of the production forces and the productive relationship cannot be solved within the framework of capitalism, even though it is the outstanding factor of this mode of production.

When we speak of the crisis-depression, we refer to the crisis period that extended from 1929 to 1935. The crisis reached its nadir in the middle of 1932. From then on the depression phase began. The depression phase was preceded by the phase of over-production, which is the climax of the period of prosperity. Normally, in the period of growing healthy capitalism, or in the stage of secondary crises, the period of depression is followed by revival and prosperity.

This crisis will not take this road. As part of the decay stage, its next phase will be war and revolution. Upon this groundwork (war), the artificial "prosperity" will develop. It will have nothing in common with the growth stage of capitalist prosperity. Only a proletarian revolution can bring the situation to a satisfactory conclusion.

All of the factors which Marx pointed out in the last century, as the factors of crisis and depression, are again witnessed in the United States. Over-production reached its high point. The accumulation of capital carried with it relative over-population. Production is restricted, factories close, labor power is thrown out on the streets. Mass unemployment becomes a permanent factor. The best brains of the capitalist world have no solution. All remedies fail. Prices of commodities reach their lowest level, and only with government aid are they able to hold up the downward curve of prices.

Loan capital for internal and international investments lies idle in vast hordes. The rate of interest is very low. World commerce is not staple.

A contrast of the decline of production levels in the United States in comparison with previous depressions reveals that the present period witnessed the greatest depth:

DECLINE OF PRODUCTION - UNITED STATES

<u>Year</u>	<u>Coal</u>	<u>Iron</u>	<u>Steel</u>	<u>Cotton Consumption</u>
1857-58	1.7	20.2	----	27.4
1865	0.5	17.9	----	----
1874-75	9.1	27.0	8.5	9.6
1884-85	7.5	12.5	10.7	15.4
1893-94	6.4	27.3	18.4	19.8
1907-08	13.4	38.2	40.0	8.9
1920-21	27.5	54.8	53.0	20.0
1929-32	41.7	79.4	76.3	31.0

At the same time a comparison of division 1 with division 2 reveals the havoc created within the basic industries:

Division 1 - Means of production dropped 10% below 1913 level in 1932.

Division 2 - Consumers goods was still 10% above the 1913 level.

On the other hand, a comparison of the decline of these two divisions with the other leading powers reveals that the decline of the means of production reached the lowest level in the United States:

PRODUCTION 1932 - UNITED STATES

	(1928 - 100)					
	<u>U.S.</u>	<u>Germany</u>	<u>England</u>	<u>Poland</u>	<u>France</u>	<u>Japan</u>
Division 1 -	48.2	50.2	85.3	49.4	80.0	99.5
Division 2 -	81.3	77.7	90.5	61.6	64.0	110.3

At present, the heavy industries and the division number 2 have been artificially stimulated by two factors. First, by the government subsidies, which in the main goes to the capitalists. Crumbs pass on to the workers in the form of work relief.

Second, the direct and indirect industries, that are connected with war and war material. This has enabled the statisticians of the bourgeois class to pass this off as the beginning of the revival. It is a "revival" but not a revival that leads to the normal period of prosperity; rather it leads to war and revolution.

Further, the economists speak of the necessary replacement of the means of production that have been neglected for the whole period of the crisis and the depression. Part of this is true, but they exaggerate the figures. Their large figures are only good in a vacuum. So long as the different capitalists and different industries do not see the prospects ahead, they will not invest the full amount needed for new equipment. So long as they consider that industry cannot carry on production on a normal basis, or near 100% or over, they will only invest part. No signs indicate that production can be carried on, even on a level equal to 1929. On the contrary, all signs indicate that production must be carried on at a lower level - unless war develops.

As stated before, the depression, which embraces the world system of capitalism, has already passed into the phase of war and revolution, but so far it has been localized. The indications are that in the coming period the imperialist war and revolutions will embrace far greater and important sections of world capitalism.

Our main task in this respect is to explain this to the American workers and to prepare and concretely struggle against American imperialism in its war preparations.

Our struggle against war is a struggle:

- (1) Against the American bourgeoisie directly, i.e.: against its material and ideological war preparations.
- (2) Against the social democracy, i.e.: its social patriotism.
- (3) Against Stalinism, whose abandoning of internationalism in the interest of Russian foreign policy makes it the bedfellow of the social democracy - social patriotism.
- (4) The new turn of the ICL, which is based upon a false theoretical premise, and has the effect of negating organizationally the "correct" theoretical position presented in: SOCIAL PATRIOTISM; FOR THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL, etc., by those who liquidate their independent organization and enter the Second International as a faction.

The essential prerequisite for this threefold struggle is that we are able to demonstrate that the American bourgeoisie:

- (1) Is driven towards war by the basic contradictions contained in America's position in the world.

- (2) That under cover of an isolationist policy ("keep out of Europe's internal conflicts"), it fortifies its positions in other parts of the world, both through its commercial policy (trade pacts, etc.) and through armaments, in which already it leads the world.
- (3) That, far from "keeping out of Europe's internal conflicts", it plays an active, though underhand role in fostering these conflicts, mainly in order to prevent England from temporarily uniting Europe; and that not only individual American capitalists support Germany's rearmament, but that the United States government in its foreign policy has begun to court German imperialism in order to regain its political influence in Germany.

THE NEW IMPERIALIST POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES

The Liberals and defenders of the capitalist system speak of eliminating the imperialist policy. They claim that the era of "Dollar diplomacy" is a thing of the past and from now on the United States will deal with all nations, large or small, strong or weak, in the most benevolent manner. There is nothing further from the truth. Facts prove that the old imperialist policy of the United States (which was different from the imperialist policy conducted by the leading European powers) has been changed to a new imperialist policy; which is more concealed, but at the same time more deadly to the oppressed national minorities and the weaker nations.

The era of the battleship invasion following the penetration of the Dollar is by no means over. At least for the time being there has been a shift in the policy. This shift to the new imperialist policy is primarily due to the following factors:

Becoming the leading imperialist power and largest creditor nation in the decay stage of the capitalist system has forced the United States capitalists to find new modes of motion for the penetration and subjection of the weaker nations. At the same time, confronting this world capitalist system, which shows signs of decay all around; the United States continues to express this economic supremacy without the political counterpart. At the same time its economic status is raked with the contradiction, of not only being able to produce at a far higher level than domestic and foreign markets will allow, but of the United States system of production confronting this world decay system as a leading producer of raw material, finished commodities and capital export. This does not enable the American capitalist to find an outlet for the accumulating contradictions of the capitalist mode of production, which the rising British capitalists were so able to do within the relationship of the Workshop of the world, flooding the markets with finished productions which were exchanged for raw materials.

Upon this basis, within the framework of the present crisis, the American imperialists were forced to find new ways of driving on toward world domination.

Prior to the present world crisis the conditions were ripe, during the war and in the post-war period, for tremendous economic expansion. The crisis altered this form and method. The failure of the Dawes Plan, the Young Plan, and in turn the Versailles Treaty, left the war debts as the unsolved imperialist problem which now lay on the doorstep of Uncle Sam. This factor combined with the above mentioned factors forced the American imperialists to change their strategy.

It called for a re-organization within the economic base of its world system, within the United States, as a preliminary condition for the struggle for a key position and a point of advantage for the re-division of the world. Under the Roosevelt administration the paper planning, started under the Hoover administration, is being carried out:

Cartels and monopolies are being organized through government aid. Unemployment is being combatted by work relief projects, with subsidies for the capitalists and crumbs for the workers. Under the NRA and the work relief projects the reduction of the standard of living of the American workers is rapidly assuming the European form and level. The government attempts to overcome the crisis and save the credit system by government guarantee of deposit, by the reduction of the credit burden by a 40% reduction of the dollar, by artificially raising the price level, by reduction of the output, and by government subsidy wherever necessary for the sick and crippled industries.

Confronted with this necessary re-organization (the Europeanization of the American workers) and new class relations within the country, while the world crisis made it impossible to conduct normal capitalist international relations in export of commodities and capital, when interest and loans were in default by the leading powers, the DECISIVE FACTOR FOR THE IMPERIALIST POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES WAS TO RE-ORGANIZE THE INTERNAL CONDITIONS OF THE COUNTRY TO PREPARE THE GROUND FOR NEW ONSLAUGHTS ON THE INTERNATIONAL MARKET THROUGH WAR AS THE ONLY REAL MEANS OF ESCAPE FOR THE IMPASSE THE AMERICAN IMPERIALISTS CONFRONT.

This present and decisive stage of the American imperialist policy is only a passing phenomenon and is based entirely upon the attempt to re-organize the internal basis for the present world needs, and on the other hand because the present world-wide protracted crisis-depression has confronted American export and commodities and capital as a world-wide ocean of quicksand. They are not able to realize the profits essential as long as the crisis-depression stage continues. The form in this stage changes, but the fundamental aim and factors of the imperialist policies remain the same.

In this stage, of world-wide crises, when they not only fear the loss of interest, but the loss of the investment itself; when internal re-organization takes up the major attention of the leading imperialists; - they are able to the highest degree to cloak their imperialist aims within the framework of "armament reduction", "peace proposals", "neutrality laws", "isolation policies"; etc. This policy finds its base in the superior economic position held by the United States.

This innocent window dressing, that pacifists accept at face value, conceals the most ruthless imperialist power the world has and will witness - the American imperialists.

There is a danger that the transition from the present peaceful stage of the imperialist policy will be short-lived, and in whirlwind fashion the next stage will be a head-on drive toward war. No matter what the imperialists of the United States, and their henchmen say, the fact remains that war is the only "solution" for the mounting contradictions confronting the American imperialists. As soon as the process of internal re-organization has proceeded far enough, and as soon as the point of advantage is obtained, on an international field, the United States will drive toward war. The most favorable position the American imperialists are looking for is a war that involves the European powers (as in 1914). Under the policy of "isolation" and "neutrality", the artificial internal boom and this international waiting policy will enable the United States to enter at the proper time to "mop up". If this favorable condition does not develop soon the United States will be forced to drive openly toward war. Preparations are proceeding full speed, under the pretext of "national defense".

To speak of neutrality, place an embargo of a few direct war implemoms and the free transport of all other commodities is not even a good disguise. In war time, all commodities are war supplies. However, even under embargoes, there are a dozen and one ways of indirect shipment of necessary war materials for profits. At present, there is a big traffic of ships leaving the Eastern ports, loaded with war material, bound for western American ports, and there they "pick up" new cargo for the Orient. From the Orient it is shipped into Abyssinia. Of course, direct shipments to Italy are also proceeding out of the Eastern and Southern ports.

The "liberal" cancellation of the oil concession in Abyssinia still leaves the offer in the hands of American capitalists through concessions obtained at a previous date. At the same time, this "concession" to England and Italy was not given without an understanding, and something in return.

The intervention of American imperialism in the recent Cuban revolution was more forceful than in the past when the form of intervention resulted in the landing of marines. The internal intervention through the United States government representatives and the bottling up of the Island with warships is a part of the new imperialist policy.

The conquest of Mexico with dollars properly placed within the country instead of dollars invested on an expeditionary army, obtains greater results of imperial conquest. Likewise, the same policy, of "home rule" for the Phillipines with all of the key and basic factors in the hands of the United States, is far more economical and is a far more effective imperialist policy. Dollar diplomacy continues, but the form has changed into a now more subtle imperialist policy. The State Department, still clothed in secrecy, does not reflect the international relations and dealings half as well as the figures of the Department of Commerce.

The centralization of government, the greater intervention of government in business, the growing political consciousness of a variety of American reactionary movements, together with the above mentioned re-organization plans being carried through under the present Roosevelt administration, all signify the preparations for new imperialist onslaughts. The internal contradictions cannot even be solved within the framework of world capitalism, to say nothing of a solution within the framework of the forty-eight states. The accumulating antagonisms can find an outlet which will, if successful, allow the American capitalists a breathing spell. But this cannot be resolved by "peaceful" economic means. This calls for a war waged by the United States; an imperialist war for a greater share of the world. This is the logical conclusion of the new imperialist policy of the United States.

WORKERS' CONTROL OF PRODUCTION

(A) - Since the last world war, the economic superiority of the United States has increased, due to the tempo of disintegration taking place in European economy as the most outstanding example of the decay stage of capitalism. However, the "Golden Age" of the United States did not last long. The United States was swept into the present crisis, and as the leading imperialist power, is passing through the most profound changes confronting any leading nation, with production levels that sank lower than any other leading capitalist nation. This startling contradiction confronts us in the most healthy part of decay capitalism. Anarchy of capitalist production and distribution was only saved from destruction by direct government intervention and government subsidy under the "New Deal". Factories closed everywhere and unemployment reached the highest point the world has yet witnessed.

(B) - In this class, one thing stands out clear. That the prerequisites for socialism exist in the United States to a far greater extent than in any other capitalist nation. The transformation of the capitalist mode of production to the socialist mode of production on the American continent, after the workers seize power in the United States, is a far easier task than that which confronted the proletariat of Russia.

(C) - Toward this end, it is not enough for the Marxists to re-affirm the fact that the contradiction which American imperialism faces can only be resolved through a successful proletariat revolution. It is the task and duty of the Marxists to point out the road and lead the way to the overthrow of the United States.

(D) - At this stage of economic decay, when factories are idle and mass unemployment is permanent, when the most powerful of capitalist nations has reached the stage where production can no longer be geared up to the previous high productive levels, when the decay sections of the industries are already fallen into the trap of state capitalism, it is time for the vanguard to issue the slogan of "Nationalization of Industry and Workers' Control of Production".

(E) - At the same time, we must guard against the slogan: "Nationalization of Industries". This is a reformist slogan, used by Liberals, Socialists and Centrists. The slogan of: "Nationalization of Industry", and its fulfillment, plays into the hands of the capitalists in the present period when economic emergencies, war emergencies and the sick industries can only be handled by the capitalist class and its government as a whole standing the expense and taking up the burden, in order that the other industries may continue under monopoly and cartel control. For example: the sick transport and coal mining industries are in such a condition. Many coal mines and railroad owners advocate government ownership in order that the government will take over and stand the loss. Other far-sighted capitalists desire government ownership in order to enable the decay to be checked to enable the other industries to continue. Social-reformists and some centrists advocate the slogan, thinking it is a step toward Socialism, while in reality it strengthens capitalism in the decay stage and in war periods.

(F) - In opposition to the slogan of "Nationalization of Industries", we advance the slogan of "Nationalization of Industries and Workers' Control." Without workers' control the slogan is devoid of working class content. At the present stage of the class struggle in the United States, this is a slogan of propaganda, and not a slogan of action. With the proper preliminary work; coordinated closely with the work of organizing the unorganized into industrial unions with a policy of class struggle; establishing shop committees; work among the unemployed; and above all, building a powerful revolutionary Marxist party with mass influence, the slogan can be transformed in a very short time into a slogan of action.

(G) - In the present stage, while we popularize the slogan of "Workers' Control", and explain its purpose, we can in transition demand open bookkeeping of the industries' books; factory committees to check up; and the keeping of the factories running for the interest of the masses regardless of the profits of the bosses. The most elementary economic needs of the employed and the unemployed, properly coupled with the fight for workers' control, can develop these fights to the highest political level of the struggle for power.

THE COMING REVOLUTION

The economic power and natural isolation of the United States from Europe and Asia has brought forth the theory that the United States would be the last country to witness a social revolution. However, since the last world war of 1914, fundamental changes have been proceeding within world capitalism and especially the relation of the United States to it, as well as in the internal conditions of the country. The factors that have made it possible for the United States to become the most powerful economic country are factors which, under the decay stage of capitalism, are rapidly being transformed into their opposite and laying the basis for the weakness of American imperialism. Economic superiority without its political counterpart, which must be wrested from world capitalism after the Versailles Treaty, after the world had al-

ready been re-divided twice, has already placed the United States in a most difficult position.

The internal re-organization of American economy to a higher stage of monopoly and cartels under the "New Deal", the shifting class relations and Europeanization of the American workers, and the new role of the American imperialists on a world scale, lay the basis for powerful class explosions within the country: rumbles which have already been heard in the mounting strike wave under the NRA.

Not only are the objective conditions within the United States ripe for socialism - the economic conditions are ripe for social revolution. The factors needed to transform this objective condition for social revolution into an actual revolutionary situation are: an impasse and economic breakdown; political instability of the exploiting ruling class; and the masses in motion. Any one of a number of internal or international developments (including a war situation) can bring about the above change within the United States, not in decades, but in years and in months.

In this period of decay capitalism, one or more false steps of the American imperialists, on the heels of the other losses already witnessed, can transform the situation into a revolutionary situation. These two factors, i.e.: the objective conditions in the country, which is ripe for social revolution, and the transformation of the situation into a revolutionary situation, are in the main the dynamics which flow from the culmination of the basic contradictions of the capitalist mode of production in the present epoch and in the present stage of the United States - a country which reflects to the highest degree all of the contradictions of world capitalism.

The third factor, and the transformation of the revolutionary situation into a SUCCESSFUL revolution, primarily revolves around the question of the party, its leadership and its policy. Without a Marxian revolutionary party to cope with the situation, the revolutionary situation, instead of establishing the rule of the working class, will establish the rule of an American form of fascism.

In this respect, in order to win the masses to the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism in the United States, we must have the APPLICATION OF MARXISM TO AMERICAN CONDITIONS. This not only means the proper propaganda approach for the specific conditions within the country; it also means the application of the theories of Marxism to the specific American capitalist and class struggle problems confronting the working class for solution. The application of Marxism to American conditions, in theory and practice, has nothing in common with the Budenz "American approach", which is a revision of Marxism.

At the very start, the Soviets in the United States will be founded on a higher level than the Soviets the workers established in Russia. This is not due to the superiority of the American workers, on the contrary, it is due to the difference in economic development of the two countries when the workers seize power. Flowing from this is the relation of a democracy to the new form of rule established. At the very start, the Dic-

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tatorship of the Proletariat in the United States will be able to insure a far higher degree of workers' democracy than was insured in Russia.

The difficulties confronting the American workers in the struggle for power in a highly developed capitalist state, demands a revolutionary Marxian party of the highest degree. The difficulties up to the seizure of power will be more than compensated for by the scope of Socialist construction and the rapid tempo of transition possible.

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RESOLUTION FOR THE NEGRO QUESTION

(Base For A Thesis)

The problem of the Negro race is partly a question of an unfulfilled agrarian task carried over from the liquidation of chattel slavery and partly the problem of the suppression of a racial minority, both aspects constituting the problem of the double exploitation and subjection of the Negroes under bourgeois democracy.

The Negro problem has complicated the solution of the problems of the proletarian revolution. Problems confronting the American Negroes have no parallels in other countries. The Negro problem is unique. Its closest analogy will differ in many respects. It is a problem that is part slave, part serf, and part wage slave, based within the structure of the highest developed capitalist country in the world.

In its agrarian aspect it is the problem of the Negro sharecroppers, a unique part of the whole agrarian problem of the United States. The Negro sharecropper exists under semi-feudal conditions, constituting a form of agricultural production capitalism has carried over from earlier social systems and incorporated in its own structure.

The defeat of the slave-holders and the expropriation of the most important form of chattel slave property, the Negro slave, constituted the main elements in smashing the resistance of the South to capitalist development in the United States. Capitalism released the slaves from chattel bounds but could not at once absorb into industry this vast army of labor power. No longer a chattel slave and not yet a "free" man exploited by the capitalist, the Negro was driven back to the soil to a lower level of existence than before. After the Reconstruction period, when reaction set in, the Negroes were slowly absorbed over a period of decades into the industrial system of capitalism but on the basis of double exploitation.

The second edition of the American bourgeois revolution arrived late in the development of world capitalism when capitalism had passed beyond the possibility of the elimination of these carryovers in America. The bourgeoisie were no longer a progressive force in the social sense. It was already in need of irons for the rising working class.

Engels wrote to Marx, November 16, 1862, on the American Civil War and said: "On the one hand it is well that the bourgeois republic has so thoroughly disgraced itself in America also, so that in the future it can never again be preached on its merits, but only as a means and transitional form to the social revolution, and one is pleased that a lousy oligarchy of only half the number of inhabitants has proved itself just as strong as the clumsy, big, helpless democracy." (Briefwechsel, Band 3, p. 109). In this passage, Engels presents an idea which in effect is a condensed expression of one of the most complicated premises of the theory of the Permanent Revolution. In short, the unfulfilled democratic tasks of the liberation of the Negro sharecropper can be solved only by the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist society.

However, the problem of the Negro sharecropper is only a part of the economic problem of the Negro race. This unful-

filled democratic task of the sharecropper is not the only axis around which the subjection of the Negro race revolves. Industrialization of the South transforms sharecroppers into wage workers but leaves them confined within the iron ring of racial suppression.

A whole network of discriminating measures, sanctioned by law and custom, holds the Negro and other racial groups in subjection and double exploitation. Legal subjection, Jim Crowism of the Negroes, takes on the forms of discriminating laws limiting to public and private buildings, schools, universities, parks, restrictions regarding jury service, voting, civil service, prohibition of intermarriage, lease system, chain gang system; discrimination in working class organizations, etc. Many of these rights are not only not denied by law but are even affirmed by law. But rights which are "protected" by law alone without mass organized pressure to enforce them, do not improve the status of the Negro and are used as weapons against his fight for real equality.

In addition to a series of legal discriminating and subjecting measures, extra-legal measures of terror are used against the Negro race. Lynch law, both in its legal and extra-legal forms, is one of the main props of the Southern capitalists and landowners against the Negro. The freedom of the Negro race from lynch law does not rest upon the elimination of lynch law, rather lynch law can only be eliminated by the overthrow of capitalism. Lynch law can be rendered less effective as the capitalists and landowners' weapon if the white and black workers fight together against lynch law.

The class struggle often assumes the forms of racial and religious conflicts which further complicate the tasks of the working class. The race form of the class struggle of the American Negroes has skillfully been utilized to the fullest extent by the American exploiters. Nevertheless, economic development of American imperialism in general and the South in particular have constantly tended to transform the race form of the struggle into direct class warfare. Economic development and modern industry and the creation of a Negro working class have played havoc with the old "static" form of racial oppression.

The majority of the Negroes still reside in the South but the geographic shift to the North, the shift from sharecropper to wage worker, and the shift from domestic help to heavy industry - all of which continues - have already altered the status of the Negro and definitely integrated him with the whole economic structure of American capitalism. But the skillful propaganda of the white rulers, the selfish needs of the petty bourgeois Negroes, the deceitful policy of the AFL and SP reformers, to say nothing of the wrong policy of the Stalinists, have retarded the tempo of this modification. However, this development has cemented a large section of the white and black workers together, and the ever growing number of mulattoes further tie the Negro and white workers as class brothers.

The different stages of this process exist side by side. The race form of the class struggle is greatly modified in the northern industrial centers. It is also being modified by the increased invasion of industrial development in the South. Capitalist development in America has strengthened the ties between the white and black workers and weakened the means of oppres-

sion used by the white exploiters.

The Communists must strive to direct the race form of the class struggle into direct class war channels. The slogan of self-determination works in the opposite direction; it acts to prevent the development of the race form of the class struggle into direct class warfare and diverts the struggle of the Negroes into the channels of petty bourgeois Negro racial emancipation.

The right of a people to self-determination as a weapon against imperialism and the use of a democratic demand to rally backward masses as allies of the working class is necessary in Communist strategy. At the same time Communists must realize that the slogan of self-determination for oppressed nationalities is such a compromise and transitional measure to win allies for the workers and is a measure to link up a phase of the bourgeois democratic revolution with the proletarian revolution, primarily in countries where the agrarian and democratic revolutions have not yet been completed.

One can define the Negro as a national minority only if one fills the term with a content different than the Marxian formula. The Negroes constitute a racial minority; not a national minority. Special attention will have to be paid to the Negro worker and sharecropper. Nevertheless, Communists win wage workers of a racial or national minority as workers and not as allies. The rural and urban bourgeoisie we can win as allies. Our main emphasis must be to win the Negro workers as workers. The Negro worker is the decisive section of the Negro race not only in the North but also in the South.

The complex and combined-development character of the Negro problem within the economic structure of American capitalism has made it a ready trap for the Stalinists who do not know when stages are skipped and when stages cannot be skipped. To speak of white workers and Negro allies, to call for self-determination for the Negro in the South, for an agrarian revolution, for a national revolution as a prelude to the proletarian revolution, when the proletarian revolution is on the order of the day is to direct the revolutionary energies of the working class into channels fatal to the proletarian revolution. The Stalinists' idea of a nationalist Negro republic in the South - the state form of which they refuse to define - existing side by side with the dictatorship of American imperialism in the rest of the United States is as fantastic and utopian as that other Stalinist idea of building socialism in one country.

The explosive character of the problems of the Negro race can be used as a lever to rouse the whole class to action and give the working class the first troops in the struggle that will challenge the rule of American imperialism. But those who argue that Stalinism is wrong, but say that we can use the slogan of self-determination to accomplish this end, are equally wrong. For this purpose, we need transitional tactical slogans and not a programmatic slogan which is false. The slogan of self-determination can only become the inverted form of the petty bourgeois Garvey "Back to Africa" movement.

Some of the American forms of the deviations flowing from the theory of socialism in one country are the Stalinist slogans of self-determination of the Negroes in the Black Belt, for the Agrarian revolution in the South, for the National revolution.

The large Negro populations of the Latin American countries, dominated by American imperialism: Haiti, San Domingo, Brazil, etc., must be roused to action against American imperialism along with the other Latin American workers. In Latin American countries the Negro workers and peasants have already written in blood pages of history the proletariat are proud of.

The industrial system of America has placed the American Negro worker in the key position in relation to his race both in the United States and in Latin America. Here in America, we have developed an advanced proletarian Negro. As part of the decisive revolutionary class today, the Negro worker of America has great tasks upon his shoulders. The Negro working class base in America must be used as the foundation to lead the Negro race against capitalism and for Communism. This role can be accomplished only on the basis of Marxism. But if the American Negro worker falls into the pit of the slogan of self-determination in the United States he will surrender his birthright as a worker of the world. Only as a Negro worker can he lead the Negro race.

Upon the shoulders of the white workers fall the main tasks in connecting the Negro and white workers. It is the white workers whom the Communists must educate to overcome their bourgeois ideology and white chauvinism. The white workers cannot free themselves from capitalist exploitation unless they free the Negro and other racial groups from double exploitation.

Special activity to educate the white workers must be conducted. We must fight every class case of legal jailing and legal murder of the oppressed Negroes. We must conduct a systematic drive and fight to prevent lynch law. We must make special efforts within the working class organizations for equal rights for the Negro and other racial groups. Marxian literature must be spread among the Negro workers.

The Negro problem can be solved only by the proletarian revolution and socialist society. The Negro and white workers can be united in the struggle to overthrow American capitalism. The chief slogans under which the Negro and white workers can be rallied to fight their common oppressor are:
FOR FULL ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND SOCIAL EQUALITY FOR RACIAL MINORITIES! WHITE AND NEGRO WORKERS - SMASH JIM CROWISM! SMASH THE CAPITALIST LEGAL AND ILLEGAL LYNCH LAW SYSTEM OF SUPPRESSION OF THE NEGROES!

T H E L E F T W I N G .

A LATIN AMERICAN THESIS DRAFT

Colonial empires and spheres of influence are an integral part of the world structure of capitalism and its imperialist powers. These colonies are indispensable for capitalism at every turn for raw materials, for markets and for the export of capital.

In the period of decay capitalism, the contradictions among the leading powers on the one hand and between imperialist states and their colonies on the other are intensified, leading to wars and revolutions. The gigantic productive forces of capitalism confront a shrinking world market and a condition which enables the imperialists to shift a greater share of the crisis burden upon the backs of the colonial masses and the weaker capitalist powers.

The colonial empire of American imperialism, in addition to the few colonies flying the U.S. flag (Phillipines, Puerto Rico, etc.), includes also its immense spheres of influence and investments in the Far East, Latin America, etc. In the small Caribbean countries, U.S. hegemony is absolute, while in Mexico and the South American republics the interests of American imperialism are in a continuous struggle for control with those of British imperialism.

Compared with these two major imperialist powers the influence of French, German and Spanish capital is losing ground, while Japanese imperialism is making considerable gains in various countries, so far almost exclusively in the commercial field.

The struggle between the major imperialist powers takes on various forms, ranging from "peaceful penetration" (commercial and diplomatic struggles) to open international wars (Gran Chaco).

Conflicts within Latin American countries between groups of exploiters are not always struggles between two different imperialist powers; often competing groups of imperialists in the United States carry on bitter conflicts for control over fields of exploitation within or between Latin American countries.

One imperialism in its struggle against another, often supports liberal or national revolutionary movements against the existing reactionary governments in order to oust the puppets of their competitors and replace them with their own.

The task of U.S. imperialism, if it is to maintain itself, is to "organize" the world for its needs and purposes. This can best be done if the U.S. has a solid basis - if its own colonial empire is firmly under control. Unless the whole American continent is brought under U.S. hegemony the effort to "organize" the rest of the world for its interests, will be seriously handicapped.

American imperialism's weakest points are to be found in its subject colonies and its spheres of influence where tens of millions of people live in deepest misery, held in their backward state by the interests of finance capital which subjects them to super-exploitation.

In order to overthrow American capitalism it must be attacked on every front, and at each juncture, the blows skillfully delivered where they can have the most telling effects. Thus, an international party and its international strategy is necessary and the problems of the Latin American revolutionary masses must be completely tied up with those of the North American workers.

The Latin American revolution can be conceived of only as part of the international proletarian revolution and can be solved only on the basis of the proletarian revolution. In the first instance, the Latin American revolution is a question of colonial revolutions. The general problem in this connection is the emancipation of the nations from imperialist oppression. The Latin American revolution is thus largely an anti-imperialist struggle.

The economy of Latin America is predominantly agrarian. Outside of its industrialized systems, agrarian economy on the whole has a peasant and semi-feudal character. As elsewhere, throughout the colonial world, the land is held by the great landholders, native and foreign. The result of this system of landholding is that the remainder of the agricultural population, including many large Indian communities, are condemned to live out a miserable existence on inferior soil, with primitive and inadequate tools, and a great unsatisfied hunger for land.

The industrial sector of agricultural economy embracing the sugar, fruit and other plantation industries, etc. is dominated by great imperialist combines and trusts. Its penetration and development has been extremely uneven. In Cuba, for example, its application to sugar economy has been thorough but it is less complete in the case of other crops.

The process of industrialization was not, is not, and cannot be a question of repeating step by step the development of capitalism as a whole as in its classic form: England. On the feudal, semi-feudal and other pre-capitalist forms of economy, the pressure of highly developed capitalist economy was brought to bear. In developing the colonies and semi-colonies, the imperialists employed the latest achievements of science and modern industry. In short, the process moves in the channel of the law of combined development, itself a manifestation of the law of uneven development. In many countries, it has resulted in the development of a young and highly concentrated industry within the framework of a predominantly agrarian economy. Normal industrial development is prevented from making further strides in subordinating agriculture to its hegemony by imperialist necessity and contradictions.

The Latin American revolution is, thus, also, the problem of elimination of feudal carry-overs and conditions, peonage; the re-distribution of land, and the socialization of large scale agricultural production, adapted to the varying conditions in the various countries.

The Latin American revolution is fundamentally related to the revolution in the United States. American imperialist economy in Latin America is not distinct from that of the United States; it is an extension of it, and together with it constitutes an indivisible whole which cannot be affected in any one part without being effected in all of its parts. Within the chain of world economy, American economy may be said to constitute a chain in itself. This chain, like the larger one of world capitalism, will break first in its weakest link. If the colossal upheavals, which United States imperialism is objectively preparing, produce a revolution first in the United States bringing about the overthrow of the American imperialists, this will cause not only sharp repercussions in Latin America, but its extension throughout these semi-colonies.

However, it now seems most likely that the chain will break first in one of the Latin American countries. Thus, the revolution in Latin America is not only the ally of the revolutionary proletariat of the United States, but may also become the main lever for the North American proletarian revolution.

The workers in that country where the revolution first breaks out must be prepared to lead the struggle for power - for the establishment of their dictatorship. But no more than in the Soviet Union can the revolution complete its task within the framework of one country. The revolution, which begins in one of the Latin American countries, must be extended to other Latin American countries and above all to the United States.

In the first stage of the revolution, the workers may or may not appear in the forefront of the struggle. Often, their appearance is preceded by agrarian revolts which bring the peasants into the center of the stage, or by "anti-imperialist"-petty bourgeois elements, including aggressive students and others, crushed by the burden which the imperialists and their lackeys impose upon them. Re-alignments in the native bourgeois, feudal and military camps give rise to armed clashes as the imperialist powers shift their support from one native political group to another in order to strengthen their own positions. Generally, the appearance of these groups and classes in the center of the arena of political and social struggle signifies the agrarian and anti-imperialist stage (bourgeois democratic phase) of the revolution.

But as the workers become more and more involved in the struggle, their intervention in their own behalf deepens the struggle, and the fundamental problems of the revolution are posed in ever more acute form. This development was to be seen clearly in the Cuban revolution. Only the proletariat can give leadership to the struggle against the imperialists for the bourgeois-democratic demands and carry it through to its solution: the proletarian dictatorship and socialism. The proletariat, which is the decisive class, constitutes a minority of the population in the Latin American countries. (If the seasonal plantation workers are included as proletarians, then Cuba becomes an exception to this rule.) The class relations vary from country to country. They roughly correspond to the stage of economic development of the country and to the degree to which agrarian economy has been industrialized. But in even the more backward of these countries the law of combined development is operating to produce an industrial proletariat in the mining, oil, nitrate, transportation, textile and other industries, and is converting hundreds of thousands of peasants into agricultural workers on the enormous industrialized plantations.

There can be no solution for the problems of the Latin American masses on the basis of capitalism. Capitalism, as a world system, has exhausted its possibilities of progressive development. Its very existence, in its domestic and colonial domain alike, depends by and large on limiting, mutilating and destroying those progressive features which it has already developed. It becomes ever more necessary to maintain and deepen the poverty and misery of the Latin American masses, to introduce ever fresh factors of disorganization in the sphere of

economy, and of suppression in the sphere of social relations. Although it dominates the economy and political life of Latin America, imperialism is incapable of eradicating the remnants of feudalism, of satisfying the land-hungry peasants, or of solving the problems of national minorities where such exist.

The national bourgeoisie and the liberal intellectuals talk of ousting the imperialists, and dream of the unification of the Latin American countries. However, these forces are incapable of leading such a struggle. Their existence is bound up with imperialism. Objectively, their role can be no other than that of lackeys for one or the other imperialist group.

The whole experience of our epoch, and especially the Russian Revolution, demonstrates that the democratic tasks of the Latin American revolutions are soluble only through the proletarian dictatorship. The Latin American revolutions may begin as anti-imperialist and agrarian struggles, as in Cuba and Mexico respectively, but they must of necessity develop along the road towards the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Only the dictatorship of the proletariat can come to grips with these problems and only in the socialist society can they be solved. As in Czarist Russia yesterday, so in Latin America today, it is not necessary or possible to pass through the period of "free" capitalist development before the proletarian dictatorship is established.

The Stalinist position on Latin America is epitomized by two slogans: the Agrarian Anti-Imperialist Revolution - and its corresponding state form, the Democratic Dictatorship of the Proletariat and the Peasantry. By the "Agrarian and Anti-Imperialist Revolution" they can mean only a revolution, separate and distinct from the proletarian revolution, instead of the first stage of the coming proletarian revolution, and by Democratic Dictatorship they can mean only that which they advance for China and Spain: a state form intermediate between the dictatorship of the capitalists and that of the proletariat. This position in both of its aspects is a revision of Marxism and a denial of the permanent revolution, and can lead only to confusion and defeat. The revolution in Latin America begins as a peasant war or an anti-imperialist struggle, but if these struggles are to reach their objective, then the proletariat, which is the decisive class, must give leadership, carry the revolution to a higher stage and establish the dictatorship of the Proletariat.

The Stalinist slogan for the Agrarian Anti-Imperialist revolution and for the Democratic Dictatorship of the Proletariat and the Peasantry, leaves the road open for the setting up of two class parties ("Workers' and Peasants' blocs, etc.), and "anti-imperialist leagues". There are several "anti-imperialist" parties in Latin America claiming to represent the interests of more than one class, chiefly among these being the A.P.R.A., in Peru, which has branches in several countries. These parties canalize the discontent and direct the energies of the masses into non-revolutionary and reactionary channels. The Stalinist slogan plays into their hands, as does also the policy of the Parliamentary Bloc in Chile and the "external road" theory of the former leadership of the Bolshevik-Leninist Party of Cuba.

Despite a number of differences in custom and political history, the Latin American people have a basically common economic structure, have evolved along similar lines, have developed more or less the same political institutions, confront the same oppressors, have underlying unity of language and thought, and face the same fundamental problems with respect to their future development and freedom from exploitation.

The revolution against the imperialist oppressors, beginning in any Latin American country, must, if it is to succeed, be extended beyond its own national borders under the slogan of the Soviet United States of Latin America. Such a revolution demands the unconditional support of the revolutionary movement of the United States.

At all stages of the revolution, the struggle against imperialism will confront the danger of political and armed intervention by the imperialists. For the Cuban revolution, this question was decisive and the danger will always exist. The revolutionists must use an international strategy which aims to prevent, delay and modify intervention.

The fight against imperialist intervention, in the final analysis, is soluble only by the overthrow of imperialism. In this sense, as in all else, the Latin American revolution is the problem of the international proletarian revolution. The revolutionary movement in the struggle for power, or when it establishes its state power, must strive to defeat intervention by deepening the revolutionary struggle on the domestic soil and by its extension to other Latin American countries, and above all to the United States.

Along this road, the struggle against intervention may strike a situation in which the conjunctural development of the world political and economic situation and the situation in the United States may tie the hands of the imperialists and give a breathing spell to the beleaguered proletarian dictatorship or the revolutionary struggle.

In order either to gain time or to weaken the imperialist intervention it may be necessary to make concessions. But there is a limit beyond which the revolutionary movement cannot go in making concessions. In making any concessions to the imperialists it must proceed from the premise that these concessions cannot in the last analysis prevent some sort of intervention. The revolutionists cannot follow the path of the Stalinists, who in Cuba, under the guise of making concessions to prevent intervention, issued instructions not to seize American property, when the latter represents over eighty percent of the invested capital in the country.

The revolutionary workers party of the United States cannot hope for victory over its own exploiters unless it places the Latin American colonial revolution on the order of business as a problem of primary importance.

Assistance in the development of revolutionary parties in the colonies and Latin American countries and in their struggles, is an indispensable task and condition for the development of the revolutionary party in the United States.

To direct the struggle of the toiling masses of the colonial and semi-colonial countries and the United States, and develop the international revolutionary strategy essential to victory, a world party of the workers is essential. This party can be only the Fourth International of which the present Fourth Internationalist groups in the various countries represent the embryonic form and the instruments for its creation. By a Marxist policy, the Workers' Party in the United States, and the parties and groups throughout Latin America, that are working for the Fourth International, can extend their influence over broad masses rallying them through the working class organizations on a continental scale for mutual support and a united struggle for the common aim-----the overthrow of imperialist rule and the establishment of the Soviet United States of Latin America as a stage in the struggle for all-American Soviets and World Socialism.

T H E L E F T W I N G .