

Fourth International

Jewish Question Today

Draft Theses of International Secretariat of Fourth International

CENTENNIAL OF MARXISM

- 1. The Communist Manifesto: 1848-1948**
By the Editors
- 2. Decline of the American Middle Class**
By C. Curtis
- 3. 90 Years of the Communist Manifesto**
By Leon Trotsky

*The Negro Question—Editorials on: Elections—
Commodity Price Break*

Manager's Column

MILITANT SUB WEEK ALSO NETS SUBS FOR FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

Militant Sub Week, while producing 619 subscriptions for *The Militant*, also netted a score of new and renewal subs for FOURTH INTERNATIONAL, mainly from Detroit, Minneapolis, St. Paul, New York, Los Angeles, San Francisco and Philadelphia.

It is practically routine for many long-time readers to renew both subs together, even when they expire at different times. The weekly paper and the magazine are usually considered a perfect team that belong together.

* * *

Alex M. of British Columbia renewed for both periodicals. "Let me take this opportunity to say keep up the good work both these publications are doing. We, here in Canada, will endeavor to keep pace with our *Labor Challenge*."

* * *

Among nearly 100 FOURTH INTERNATIONALS that go to India every issue, three have been going to Ahmedabad for nearly a year. This week we received two new subs from that northernmost city of Bombay Province.

* * *

From G. D. in Scotland: "Please note my new address. I shall be grateful if you will continue to send your publications, as my friends all look forward eagerly to your articles and factual material on international events."

* * *

C. R. in Minnesota has sent for a second or duplicate subscription, "beginning with the November-December issue, which I already have, but I want another copy to circulate among interested friends."

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Within four weeks after the November-December issue was mailed, 62 new and renewal subscriptions had been received, including a dozen from foreign countries: England, Scotland, Argentina, India, Canada.

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Newark Branch of the Socialist Workers Party sold out its usual bundle of the last issue in two weeks and sent for 10 more. Los Angeles also ordered 10 more, reporting "sales are very good."

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FOURTH INTERNATIONAL readers are a unique group in that they rarely permit their subscriptions to lapse. They don't want to

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miss a single issue and they renew promptly when notified their subscriptions are about to expire. Indeed the majority renew well in advance. Scores have done so in recent weeks.

Only 57 subscriptions in the United States and three in foreign countries are expiring with this issue (whole number 83). The expiration number appears with the address in nearly all cases, so readers

can determine in advance how long before they should renew. If the number on your wrapper is F84, your sub will expire with the next issue; F85 the following issue, etc.

* * *

Most FOURTH INTERNATIONAL readers are anxious for this magazine to return to monthly publication. Every effort in this direction is being made. Here are four ways you can help:

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* * *

A Cleveland Militant reader sent for the last issue of FOURTH INTERNATIONAL and asked if the October and December, 1946, and February and March, 1947, issues were available. Nearly all past issues are available, at 25c each back to 1944 and 40c up for 1943 and older.

* * *

A friend in New Zealand also sends a request for literature. He writes: "As it is necessary to get a permit to send money out of this country, and owing to the shortage of dollar exchange, I have been unable to send a subscription to you. Perhaps at some future date I may be able to do so. If it is possible for you to send FOURTH INTERNATIONAL and THE MILITANT to me, I will be very grateful. I do not expect you to be a philanthropic institution, as I realize it must be a struggle to keep a magazine and working class paper going. However, I will send a sub when it is possible to obtain a permit to send money."

* * *

URGENTLY NEEDED FOR BINDING

The following back issues of NEW INTERNATIONAL are urgently needed for binding:

1934—July.

1935—Jan., March, May.

1938—Jan., Feb., March, Nov.

1939—Jan., June, Oct., Nov.

1940—Feb.

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FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

VOLUME 9

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NUMBER 1

WORLD IN REVIEW

*Role of the Stalinists in the French Strikes—Republicans and
Democrats Prepare to Repeat Age-Old Farce—
Meaning of Commodity Price Break*

The “Cold War” and the Strike Struggles in France

WORLD INSTABILITY AND UNCERTAINTY

Although the “cold war” between Wall Street and the Kremlin continues to wax hotter constantly, uncertainty and uneasiness mark the prevailing sentiment in both camps. “Decisions, firm policies, big plans of statesmen keep coming undone,” complains the influential *United States News*. “Wherever you look—Europe, Asia, the Americas—there is instability, uncertainty. Nothing stays hitched. Decisions are hammered out, then crumble at the edges, fall apart the day after they’re made. Nothing really gets settled.”

Washington launches the Marshall Plan. Moscow counters with the Cominform. American imperialism puts its stakes on the rising tide of reactionary, neo-Fascist movements in Europe. The Soviet bureaucracy counts upon the mass Stalinist parties to hold its own. But the plans of the former as well as the machinations of the latter collide with an incalculable obstacle, the millioned masses in every country. These masses have interests of their own to defend, different from and inimical to those of both great powers. Particularly since the end of World War II, these masses have been on the move to have their own say in the matter. Almost three years of postwar conniving by world capitalism and betrayal by the labor leaders have not yet succeeded in liquidating this mass upsurge. Far from it. That is what these last few months in Europe prove.

France, generally regarded as the key to the European situation because it is the most important independent country on the continent in which the world powers and the social forces are most evenly matched at present, offers an instructive example.

The conclusion of the war in 1945 saw this country in the throes of a nation-wide uprising. The people were armed, the industries occupied, the capitalist class, thoroughly discredited by its collaboration with the Nazis, undergoing a mass purge, the old bourgeois politicians chased from public life, the fate of the nation in the hands of the Communist Party which the toilers had flocked to support in millions.

HOW STALIN UPHELD FRENCH CAPITALISM

A mere telephone call from the Stalinist leader Maurice Thorez, press dispatches from Paris liked to stress during those days, could suffice to end capitalism and install a workers’ gov-

ernment. But those were still the days of the Kremlin-Wall Street honeymoon. In return for a free hand in plundering Eastern Europe, Stalin guaranteed the Allies that Western Europe would be kept safe for capitalism. Thorez accordingly persuaded the people to lay down arms, to turn the plants back to the owners or—where this was impossible—to accept “nationalizations” which richly compensated the owners. The masses were urged to stop the purges, to “produce first” and forget about their own miserable living conditions and the profits of their masters. The Stalinists rehabilitated the old bourgeois politicians and joined a coalition government headed by General de Gaulle. They participated in creating the legend of national savior about this sinister figure. They betrayed the trust of the masses who had turned to them for a revolutionary solution and gave bankrupt and prostrate French capitalism a new breathing spell. In Italy, in Belgium, in all of Western Europe the story was the same.

Wall Street got what it needed out of its alliance with the Kremlin. The threatening European revolution had been averted. The time for a crackdown on Moscow was at hand. The services of Stalinist lackeys in Western Europe could be dispensed with. Washington and the Kremlin settled down to their “cold war” in France. American imperialism deliberately fostered the authoritarian, anti-parliamentary movement of de Gaulle, who had quit as President in the beginning of 1946. Wall Street was banking on the disillusionment among the masses with the deadlocked parliamentary system which the Stalinists were in the main responsible for resuscitating; and on propping up French capitalism with conditioned loans. The Soviet bureaucracy began to play with mass pressure, applied by the Stalinist parties with the main objective of keeping their government posts so as to influence French foreign policy most directly.

MASSES MOVE INTO ARENA

Right at this point the French masses entered into action and upset the plans both of their masters, tied to Wall Street, and of their betrayers, tied to the Kremlin. There had been no mass revolt against the Stalinist policy of treachery after 1945. The masses generously extended the broadest credit to the Communist Party—it still meant to them the party of the Russian Revolution of 1917. That’s what they wanted, and if that party’s leaders were “delaying” the day of decisive action, perhaps there were some good “strategic” grounds for it which had not been made public. But grumblings

against the "no strike" policy of the Stalinists began to grow. Towards the very end of 1945, there was the first big strike, of the Paris printers, which the Stalinists either in the ministries or in the unions could not stop. In the summer of 1946 there was a more important country-wide strike of post-office workers, again in rebellion against the Stalinists. Another big printers' strike followed in February 1947 and sporadic small strikes in various industries began to appear. These were the first signs of mass restlessness with Stalinist policy.

But in April 1947 the great Renault Automotive Plant in Paris came out on strike, not only defying the CP trade union leaders but choosing Trotskyists to head their strike committee. The penetration of rebellion into the heart of industrial Paris, into the key metal industry, and the presence of Trotskyists in the leadership of this strike of 30,000 workers among whom the Stalinists have always had one their traditional bastions, was more than a serious sign. It was a turning point. It struck fear into the hearts of the Stalinist misleaders. The Ramadier government demanded of Thorez and Co., that they join in suppressing this strike and in holding the line on the wage-freeze. In a heated Cabinet meeting, Thorez declined. He was not going to permit the Trotskyists, he explained, to "outflank the Communist Party on the left." At first denouncing the Renault strike as "cooked up by the trusts, by de Gaulle and the Hitlero-Trotskyists," the Stalinist press soon had to change its tune and to come out, even if reluctantly, and with all sorts of contortions, in favor of the strike. The "Socialist" Ramadier, prompted by the American diplomats, took advantage of this situation and kicked the Stalinists out of the Cabinet. Following Belgium and Italy, France for the first time since the end of the war had a government without Communist Party participation.

By taking in hand the leadership of the Renault strike and negotiating some indecisive and unimportant wage raises for the strikers, the CP leaders averted a head-on collision with the working class, among whom sentiment was growing for the more decisive solutions popularized by the Trotskyists—a new minimum wage in line with high cost of living, a sliding scale of wages to meet the inflation, workers' control of industry and rounding these out, a general strike to set up a government of the workers' parties and the unions (SP-CP-CGT), based on strike and factory committees. Although out of the Cabinet, the Stalinists continued to proclaim themselves as a "pro-government" party. Only idiots could be for a general strike, declared their parliamentary leader Jacques Duclos.

THE FIRST STRIKE WAVE

But the Renault strike had broken the log-jam caused by the "no strike" policy. After a summer lull, a first wave of strikes followed in the early fall among the miners, the railroad men and the Paris subway workers—all started without CP initiative and in the last case, against direct strike-breaking actions on its part. To hold its own, the Stalinist leadership had to repeat the tactic adopted during the Renault strike.

In parliament, the bourgeoisie pushed its advantage on all fronts, making the "pro-government" position of the Stalinists constantly more untenable. It not only fought every move for wage raises at home, but launched an aggressive policy in the colonies, speeding up and intensifying its war on the Indo-Chinese (Viet Nam) people and on the rebellious Negro island of Madagascar. In the latter case, it violated its own agreements and even its own constitution, by lifting the parlia-

mentary immunity of the island's representatives in both houses of the French Union (the euphemistic postwar title given to the French Empire).

The parliamentary vacillation of the Communist Party on these decisive questions of French imperialist policy revealed it as an unreliable government ally and cast doubt among its petty bourgeois following about its hotly-proclaimed patriotism. De Gaulle saw his chance to raise the banner of authoritarian anti-parliamentary rule, calling for the elimination of the Stalinist party from public life as "Russian separatists."

In the October municipal elections, the General entered for the first time a slate of his Rally of the People of France (RPF); and came out with a resounding victory, which placed his RPF ahead of the Communist Party as the biggest parliamentary organization in France. Subsequently deals were made between the RPF and the Socialist Party for the second-round election of mayors and municipal officials, with the reformists for the first time since the end of the war breaking their electoral united front with the CP. This practically decimated the Stalinist job-trust in the municipalities, the backbone of the party bureaucracy. Stalinist power in France was threatened from all sides.

With these developments (touched off by the Renault strike in April) as a background, the Marshall Plan drive on the one hand, and the proclamation of the Cominform policy on the other can be seen in their true light. Both followed the emergence of independent working class action in France, and elsewhere in Western Europe, which they are now attempting to exploit for their own ends.

STALINISTS SWING "LEFT"

The French Stalinists, following Cominform directives, took an inventory of the new situation at the Central Committee of the CPF towards the end of October. In line with Cominform directives, this meeting formally lifted the lid on labor militancy, held down tight by the CP since the end of the war. It proclaimed an all-out struggle against the "American party" in which it included everybody from de Gaulle to the Socialists. It denounced the Socialists as traitors and called for the "united front from below." But the objective was naturally left vague. The Stalinists are calling "for a young and vigorous government" in which "the Communists will finally play the decisive role," etc. That is, the class collaboration line is left basically the same, but cloaked in the more militant tactics which were made imperative by the rebellion of the workers and the rise of de Gaulle.

Indicative of the powerful influence of the workers' pressure and the resulting deep ferment within the Stalinist ranks themselves, was the orgy of "self-criticism" indulged in by Thorez who made the main report. The Stalinist chieftain flayed the whole policy of "agreements from the top" and "rehabilitation of discredited politicians and parties" running back for a period of 12 years to the original "People's Front" days. That's what had paralyzed the party's action all those years, he "confessed." This confession of bankruptcy was intended as a safety valve for the growing internal discontent. That it meant no serious basic change was clear to anyone familiar with the character of Stalinism. Thorez's conclusions underlined this. The wave of strikes that ensued in November and December proved it. But they also proved that this kind of "self-criticism" comes close to playing with fire.

The November-December strike wave began in Marseilles, when the new de Gaullist mayor raised street car fares and

took a number of other unpopular measures. It soon swept the whole port city with the demand for a new minimum wage and a sliding scale of wages. Factories were occupied and the Red Flag hoisted on their roofs. Street battles took place between the workers and the authorities not only for possession of the occupied factories, but for public buildings as well. Ten companies of the postwar city police refused to carry out orders to battle the workers and were immediately dismissed by the government. The city was virtually in a state of civil war. Thus, from the first, the workers indicated that they wanted a showdown struggle, a revolutionary fight for power.

The Stalinist strategy, however, was to keep the movement isolated to Marseilles. But through the Marseilles railroad men, the movement began to spread from one city to another until it finally reached Paris. In every case, the Stalinist leaders attempted to curb the movement, to confine it, to reduce its demands, to prevent it from developing into a general strike which would pose point blank the issue of governmental power. The Marseilles battles were repeated in the city of St. Etienne, in Lyons and all over France. But, in each case, the city remained isolated. The same held true in nation-wide industries. One industry at a time, was the Stalinist policy. Everywhere freely elected strike committees sprung up and tended to build up higher and higher into district and regional strike committees. The Stalinists in the leadership of the General Federation of Labor (CGT) sensed the danger and proclaimed a bureaucratically appointed Central Strike Committee, which issued daily warlike communiques, but sent out its agents to counter-act and control from above the movement of democratically elected strike committees.

CP SPREADS DEMORALIZATION

those out on strike, thousands began to return. The whole previous "no strike" policy of the Stalinists coupled with their conduct of the strike began to arouse the greatest misgivings among wide-spread layers of workers.

The government at first attempted to meet the strikes head-on, with a "strong" policy. It swiftly passed anti-strike laws and mobilized several classes of reservists into the army for anti-strike action. But this policy soon proved a fiasco. Reservists by the thousands were held up by the strikes from joining their regiments. Where troops went into action, as in St. Etienne, men and weapons soon were engulfed by the masses of strikers. The government just did not have the military force necessary for such a policy.

But the paralyzing tactics of the Stalinists and the timely aid of the reformist leaders around Leon Jouhaux in the CGT and the Socialists in the Cabinet soon gave the capitalist government the wedge it needed. The reformists, aware of the disaffection of the workers in the Stalinist-controlled unions, began to shout for "secret strike ballots." Wherever the "secret ballot" was called for by the reformists, the government moved in with troops to insure "correct" ballot procedure. Thus, the treacherous conduct of the strike by the Stalinists, and the open strike-breaking aid of the reformists once again saved capitalist rule in France. The movement declined. The CGT Central Strike Committee bureaucratically called off the strikes and capitulated. The government promised a few concessions. The workers returned to their jobs once more without a decisive victory.

The Stalinist policy thus created confusion and hesitation among the workers. Thousands began to refuse to follow CGT strike calls. Among

BALANCE SHEET OF THE STRUGGLE

The general strike movement was defeated in its objectives. But the workers did not return in a spirit of defeat. Many remained out long after the back to work order, refusing to credit its authenticity. Others, particularly the miners, insisted on the complete removal of all troops, before they went back. Nearly 3,000,000 workers had participated in the great movement at its peak. Their militancy showed their revolutionary temper, undampened by three years of betrayals.

But the Stalinists suffered a severe blow. The disaffection during the strikes showed that they no longer had a monopoly control over the trade union, of the working masses. Their stranglehold was broken.

The capitalists and their government revealed their inability to cope with a mass movement of the workers by force. Its military and police proved to be completely inadequate and unreliable.

The extra-parliamentary movement of de Gaulle proved of no use to the French bourgeoisie in this situation, either. During the strike wave, it was nowhere in evidence. De Gaulle himself called off all public appearances at the time. For the time being, the strikes showed, the reactionary petty bourgeois movement of the RPF is strong only as an electoral machine. It is not yet prepared for combat against the workers. For that, the shop keepers and peasants among its following, who have profited from the inflationary black market, must first be pauperized by a further turn of the economic cycle.

In the period ahead, the strikes showed, the French bourgeoisie must rely on internal disintegration of the workers' organizations, the sapping of their cohesion. For this role it has the service of Leon Blum and his "socialists" and of the trade union reformists under Jouhaux. The latter have set afoot a move to split the CGT, a move facilitated by the entire Stalinist postwar policy.

WHAT THE WORKERS NOW CONFRONT

Will this split of the workers' ranks be successfully engineered? Will the Stalinists recover their influence? That is the immediate question in France today. The militancy displayed by the workers in the strike wave shows that they want a showdown struggle. The rebellion against the Stalinist bureaucracy in the unions shows that they no longer trust in it for leadership, as before. The reformists offer no new alternative, merely more consistent class collaboration with the bourgeoisie than the Stalinists. Thus, the road has been opened for a new leadership that will fight for trade union unity and for the revolutionary solution desired by the workers. That program is the program only of the Trotskyists in France today. Upon the further progress of the French Trotskyist party, already considerably fortified in the course of its participation in the recent mass movements, depends the outcome of the present situation.

The workers have shown their continued will to struggle, to power. They have begun to shake off the pernicious Stalinist leadership. The reformists offer them only a split to weaken their ranks for the benefit of their masters. When the revolutionary will of the French masses merges with the revolutionary program of the Trotskyists, no power on earth will be able to stop France from taking the road to the establishment of the Socialist United States of Europe.

The 1948 Presidential Election Under the Two Party System

POLITICAL CHOICES— PAST AND PRESENT

have rarely faced a presidential election with such difficulties and problems surrounding them. In 1856 and 1860, when grave political choices had to be made between Presidential candidates, the internal conflicts of the United States were taking place within a world framework comparatively stable, economically progressive, and confident in the march of progress. The struggle in the United States was a struggle to rid the country of burdens and forces which were hampering it from aiding and participating in the confident development of capitalist civilization which marked the second half of the Nineteenth Century.

The North and West, (where lay the future) was confident of the future of the country. By 1860 a new party, the Republican Party, had emerged with a program, leaders, and vast stores of energy and devotion in millions of aroused people. In their difficulties the people were offered a choice, and a way out. Today the situation is entirely different. Gloom dominates official society. Far from gaining confidence and moral stability from the outside world, the internal crisis is inextricably entangled with the fate of bourgeois society collapsing on a world scale.

Apart from the exploiters and the political cliques which do their bidding in Congress, the great body of the people have clearly indicated their deep, if unorganized, conviction that the old parties offer no way out. Most observers agree that the popularity of General Eisenhower as President has been the most striking feature of popular sentiment to-date. Yet the grinning General achieved his rating without having committed himself to a political plank or program of any kind. And precisely here was his strength. To the great mass of the petty-bourgeoisie in particular, this "unpolitical" successful man of action represented the rejection of the politics of the old parties. It is doubtful whether his popularity would have been any less, if he had been groomed as a candidate for the Democratic instead of the Republican Party. He symbolized a rejection not only of Taft and Dewey but of Truman as well. Max Lerner, Editor of *PM*, that eminent liberal, author of tomes on economics, politics, and sociology, announced that he would vote for Eisenhower and confessed himself in a quandary when the General, for whatever reasons, withdrew or announced his withdrawal.

PERPETUATING A FICTION

unfolded chain of 1948 electoral politics. Eisenhower symbolized the rejection of the *old politics* and the *old leaders*. Wallace appeals to labor and the people *against the old parties*. That these should so far have been the only distinctive overt political expressions of the crisis shows the grave weakness of American politics and American social thinking—the absence of the class criterion as the dividing line in politics. In a world where the rule of the capitalist class has brought civilization to the edge of total disaster, the fiction of non-class politics is still assiduously preserved in the United States.

1948 is election year and surely in the nearly two hundred years history of the republic, the American people

It is the great ideological curtain of the American bourgeoisie. But it is wearing very thin. And more than ever the task of Marxists in this election, is to assist the proletariat in tearing this threadbare veil of non-class politics to ribbons. Nothing is more pitiful than the concerted attempt of the Democrats and the Republicans to find differences which can justify the fiction that political life consists of the choice between them.

Bi-partisan is not a bad term. It is the political symbol for tactical divisions among the ruling class. The American nation today sees three great problems before it. The most immediate is the high cost of living and the inflation. The second is the relation between capital and labor which has shaken the country to its depths during the period since the war. The third is the disintegration of society on a world-scale and the drive to world-conflict.

WHAT UNITES THE BOURGEOISIE

The bourgeoisie knows that high cost of living and the inflation are a class question. The one thing certain about inflation is that it signifies an inflated profit for the capitalist class as a whole and a terrible deflation of the standard of living of the people. Behind this is the expectation shared by millions at home and throughout the world, that this inflation is leading to an economic crisis which may put the 1929 depression in the shade. Now the bourgeoisie as a class has differences. But the American bourgeoisie at the present moment is unified by this: that it is impotent to prevent the economic depression and lives in deadly fear of it. There it is, in the last analysis, as helpless as it was in 1929. The struggle between the Democrat and Republican parties therefore resolves itself into a contest, each trying to place the blame for present inflation and future depression on the other, as a means of gaining votes in the coming elections. This has been shown once again by the reaction of both parties to the drop in prices on the commodity market. President Truman has been urging a ten-point program of government controls. The Republicans have proposed and carried a program for voluntary controls which have been ridiculed equally in the press of Wall Street as well as in the labor press. The ominous drop in commodity prices has in the political sense meant nothing to either political grouping. Arthur Krock in the *New York Times*, February 13, summarized the situation as follows:

If prices do not rise again toward a scale higher than that from which they began to drop a few days ago, and especially if they are stabilized at about 20 per cent below their peaks for the duration of the Presidential campaign, the Republicans will be in clover. For this year's political purposes, at any rate, they will have made their case against the necessity of the controls Mr. Truman continues to urge. And they will have associated themselves with the lower prices which are getting a welcome from the American consumer.

If prices do rise again and pass the point from which they have lately receded, the President will have the better of the argument about his ten-point program. Probably in this situation he will gain the further advantage of being able to prophesy what he could do about prices without having to prove it, for there is no present prospect that any likely economic development before the election will persuade the Republican leaders to agree to his program.

If prices go up! *If* prices go down! The Republicans wish to make *their* case! But on the other hand the President may prove *his* case without having to do anything about it. It is obvious that both sides are playing their perpetual political game. The Republicans are appealing to the petty-bourgeoisie and the rural communities. The President must appeal to labor

The Eisenhower boom is complemented by the candidacy of Wallace which assumes importance and takes the spotlight to become the second link of the

and the ranks of the lower petty-bourgeoisie. It is a struggle for power of two partisans who have one common class basis; common bankruptcy before the threatening economic catastrophe, common disregard for the plight of the great masses of the people, and a common necessity of each party to place blame upon the other. The American bourgeoisie plays its own politics, which includes a concentrated campaign of red-baiting to stamp out the faintest approach to mobilization of the proletariat for revolutionary action. That is bi-partisan politics.

CLASS POLITICS— FOR WORKERS

ment of their own. There is no other cure for inflation and the increasingly violent shocks to which capitalism continuously submits the economy. There is no other cure for the high cost of living. And above all no other cure for the depression which hangs like a great cloud-burst over the world. But this kind of politics is revolutionary politics, the politics of the militant proletariat.

The shabby differences on politics between the two parties on inflation and the high cost of living offer them the best opportunity to disguise their class solidarity.

The bourgeois hagglings and differences are inflated in direct proportion to the strength of their class enemy and the threat to their class position. After V-E Day, not "the public" in general, but the organized labor movement by its own direct proletarian action—the great strikes, introduced class reality into politics. This action riddled to pieces at once the pretensions of the two parties to represent and monopolize between them the social and political life of the country. In the face of this proletarian threat the differences between the parties dwindled to insignificance. The House passed the Taft-Hartley Bill by a vote of 320 to 79. 217 Republicans voted for it and 103 Democrats. Against it were 12 Republicans and 66 Democrats. The same solidarity appeared in the Senate, where the vote was 54 to 17. Even in the Senate, 17 Democrats voted for while only 15 voted against. Thus the President was confronted by a majority of his own party voting for the Bill. His veto was over-ridden. But while the veto safeguarded the right of the President to appeal to the workers as the friend of labor, his attempt to break the railroad strike by the use of the armed forces, his all-out attempt to break the Miner's Union through the Supreme Court, and the anti-labor administration of the bill by Denham, Truman's appointee, have in practice supplemented the Taft-Hartley Bill and demonstrated the class solidarity of Congress and the Administration against the Labor movement. For the bourgeoisie the main enemy is at home. On this question of the Taft-Hartley act both the Republican and the Democratic parties enter the coming electoral campaigns without even pretending that there are differences between them.

FOREIGN POLICY— OLD AND NEW

development. The Democrat Wilson was elected in 1916 on the ground that he kept the country out of war. His victory was celebrated by plunging the country into World War I. The Republican Party supported him both in his deception and his

There is another type of politics—the politics whereby the workers and the farmers take control of government and production under a govern-

war mongering. The split came only after the war, over the question of entry into the League of Nations.

In 1940 Roosevelt and Willkie conspired to deceive the people on the plans for American entry into the war. But the increased responsibilities of American imperialism, its need to shore-up collapsing capitalism and to destroy Russia; the power of organized labor, its fear of war and distrust of the politics of the ruling class, these have combined to bind the foreign politics of the bourgeoisie into a solid front. The division over the Marshall Plan is the most transparent fakery of all the fakery that are being manufactured for the electorate. A paper decision for five billion or six—administration by the Secretary of State, or by an Administrator of Cabinet rank—what does it matter? The bourgeoisie has committed the country to a series of adventures abroad, Truman Doctrine, Marshall Plan, "loans" to China, and so on, measures whose ultimate end, unless checked, is devastating atomic war. What difference does it make to the people, one billion more or less? Or whether the administration of the plan is in the hands of Marshall or another administrator, with or without cabinet rank?

These are the parties that ask the American people, threatened as never before, to choose between them. Their competition on tax relief, for the Negro vote, all partake of the same character of rival salesmen for the same firm. On all essentials they are solid on the interests of their class. This solidarity is not accidental at all. It lies not on their heads, their appetites, their responsibility to their constituents, or their love of country.

In 1939 Leon Trotsky wrote, "Lenin even prior to the October Revolution formulated the main peculiarities of imperialist capitalism as follows: gigantic concentration of productive forces, the heightening fusion of monopoly capitalism with the state, an organic tendency toward naked dictatorship as a result of this fusion. The traits of centralization and collectivization determine both the politics of revolution and the politics of counter-revolution."

WHY THEY FEAR THE LABOR PARTY

This is the economic and social movement which dictates the fusion of Democratic and Republican politics. This enormous concentration of capitalist power, helpless before the oncoming economic crisis, is driven to an ever-increasing political solidarity against its enemies at home and abroad. There is no force on earth that can oppose it except the labor movement. Serious opposition to it means the sharpening of the class struggle on a scale undreamt of by previous generations of the American people. The workers and the great masses of the people are ready to resist both the bankruptcy at home and the adventurism abroad. But the labor leadership and the radical intellectuals are terrified by the prospects of the gigantic struggle which any serious opposition will engender. Once the workers enter the political arena—the highest expression of the class struggle—as an independent force, all the disguises will be stripped, all the fictions destroyed. Hence the determination of the official labor leaders to confine the political struggle in 1948 within the framework of the old parties.

The country is heading for a climax in which one of the first victims will be these parties who have dominated the American political scene so long. 1948 may well be the last year in which they will be able to wear the trappings and mouth the rituals of offering "a choice" to the American people.

The Commodity Price Break and the Oncoming Depression

WHEAT PIT

Amid mounting suspense, millions all over the world turned their eyes early in February to the sudden developments in the Chicago Wheat Pit and other commodity markets in the United States. The violence of the price plunge was one of its outstanding features. Market quotations of grain and corn skidded downward faster than ever before in the entire existence of the Chicago Board of Trade.

The violence of the downward plunge was matched by the rapidity with which it spread. The instability of one commodity tended to spread like a chain reaction to all the others. Not even the holy of holies of capitalist enterprises—the Wall Street stockmarket—remained unaffected. It did not break as violently as did the commodity markets, but it, too, suffered, during the initial period, the largest wave of liquidation in recent months.

This is quite abnormal. As the chief "regulator" of capitalist economy, and as its most reliable barometer, the stock market is supposed to indicate in advance the general trend of the economy as a whole, including such important sectors as the commodity markets. Normally the latter take what happens in Wall Street as their guide. This time it was the Stock Exchange that found itself watching and waiting anxiously for quotations from Chicago and even reacting "sympathetically" to them.

This condition of obvious instability in the central powerhouse of the world capitalist system made itself felt almost immediately throughout the world. There were declines in the stock markets in Belgium, as well as in distant Singapore, Sydney and Melbourne. Without any fear of exaggeration it can be said that millions everywhere are now awaiting a definitive answer to the question: Has the best publicized depression in history finally started in the United States? Or is this only one more warning of an impending catastrophe?

While issuing for the public the most optimistic statements, the opinion of government officials and capitalist experts is sharply divided on this critical point. And it is, in fact, still premature to say whether or not the first stage of the depression has already set in for the economy as a whole.

THE PATTERN OF BOOM-BUST

The boom cycle has followed in the past the following classic pattern: First come convulsions in the financial sphere, with an abrupt restriction of credit and sharp rises in interest rates; next come violent breaks in both commodity and raw material markets; then there is a falling off in retail trade; and finally, there are cuts in industrial production.

Of these conditions, only the second has as yet manifested itself, with the price break involving almost exclusively agricultural raw materials, while other basic industrial raw materials (metals) still remain unaffected. There has been a tightening of credit, which is bound to become more and more stringent, but the interest rates have risen relatively little. The retail trade, while beginning to show signs of spottiness, at the same time continues to show signs of strength, as does industry itself.

So long as economic convulsions are limited to one sector or another of the price structure, the capitalist class disposes of powerful levers for intervening. The most effective of these is the intervention of its government machine. State power is an important economic factor. By bringing it vigorously into play, the capitalists can modify the immediate course of developments in economy, while remaining powerless to reverse the fundamental trends.

It goes without saying that Washington will intervene openly in the commodity markets, just as it has been doing all the while behind-the-scenes. We have not long to wait before the most rabid opponents of government intervention and of controls over "Free Enterprise," will start shouting the loudest for "strong action" by the government.

This role of the subjective factor is what renders unpredictable the day-to-day and week-to-week occurrences in economic life. What happens in the next period still depends in large measure on what the capitalists and their government decide to do. And as often as not, they themselves either can't make up their own minds or don't know just what step to take next. Instead of ameliorating a given situation, they may just as readily aggravate it through indecision or through wrong decisions.

THE PROBLEM

IN AGRICULTURE

The problem that today confronts the masters of this country's fate in Wall Street and Washington is by no means a minor one. From all indications, they are confronted with the incipient crisis of American agriculture. The agricultural boom since 1939 has led to an expansion of agricultural production to one and a half times its prewar levels. And now agriculture with its annual billion bushel crops of wheat and three billion bushel crops of corn is heading toward its first collision with the limits set by an impoverished world market, while at the same time, facing a situation at home where food consumption has already been restricted by sky-high prices.

Disposal of agricultural surpluses presented no problem so long as the crops remained geared to a war economy. It was then a question of scarcities in every sphere and not of superabundance. The problem of peacetime reconversion did not seem to confront American agriculture at all. During the first postwar year this illusion was fostered by the fearful devastation throughout the world and last year by the failure of European and Australian grain crops. Prospects for 1948 seemed almost as dismal only a few months ago. But all this changed when an unexpected improvement occurred both in Europe, where good early crops are expected and in Australia and Argentina where bumper crops have already been harvested. At the same time, there is a record carryover of 800 million bushels of wheat at home. How much food is hoarded by speculators here and abroad no one knows.

By the second half of this year, barring poor crops, there will be much more food in the grain exporting countries than the world markets can absorb. This trend can be reversed only by a succession of natural calamities.

This prospect of "glut" amidst universal undernourishment and starvation is, of course, not a real superfluity at all. But it does constitute, nonetheless, one of the terrible realities under capitalism.

Grain is the mainstay of world food exports. Here is how the situation shapes up for wheat exports.

At the height of the 1929 prosperity there were four major wheat exporting countries (excluding Russia) namely:

Canada	—	Average annual export	200 million bushels
Argentina	—	" "	150 million bushels
Australia	—	" "	100 million bushels
United States	—	" "	75-90 million bushels

This world interrelationship has for decades determined wheat prices. In the early months of the year it is Argentinian and Australian yields that send prices up or down. In the

second half of the year it is the crops in Europe, Canada and the United States that fix the price pattern.

SCARCITY TURNS INTO GLUT With good crops everywhere, the American farmers are faced with the prospect of being left in the fall with a surplus of half a billion bushels of

wheat, or an amount that used to cover almost all world export needs in the days of relative prosperity. The Chicago traders, whose business it is to speculate in "futures," are now heavily discounting this imbalance between available supplies and existing outlets. They do this at the very first prospect of limited markets.

The crucial question, therefore, is what will happen to the agricultural price structure when it actually does collide head on against the limits of the world market, as will happen by the time the new crops come in?

The future trend here is clear enough: American agricultural prices will tend as in the past to sink to the price levels that are determined on the world market and not in Chicago or Washington.

Need lower farm prices necessarily mean declines on other markets? Couldn't industry continue booming amid an unfolding crisis of American agriculture, even should the latter deepen in the next period?

Theoretically this is by no means excluded. Precisely this condition provided the basis for the fabulous boom of the Twenties. Farm prices remained low, agriculture was in the throes of a chronic crisis, yet the other markets were not affected, and industry vigorously expanded.

It must be remembered, however, that the balance between agriculture and industry in the Twenties came as the product of many years of previous development. It was not established easily or overnight, nor without wild convulsions (the crisis of 1920-21).

HOW THE ECONOMY IS BALANCED

The existing balance between agriculture and industry, worked out during the war and postwar years, can prove decisive here.

There is an appreciable difference between the present and former interrelationship between agriculture and industry. Whereas in 1929, farmers received one dollar out of every 16 of the annual national income, the postwar proportion has sharply risen to one dollar out of every ten.

This means that sudden and sizable cuts in farm income will tend to make themselves felt more rapidly in other sectors of the economy than would have been the case if their share of the national income was smaller to begin with. For example, the farmers' gross income last year is estimated at 30 billion dollars. A decline of one-third or more would be equivalent to this country's entire foreign trade last year.

Highly symptomatic of what will happen as farm income declines, is the effect of price cuts already suffered by the farmers upon the most sensitive and vulnerable sector of the economy at this juncture, namely: the retail trade.

The capitalist world is now anxiously awaiting this major test—the results of the Easter sale season which falls early this year.

This will mark the first direct collision of an industry that continues to operate at highly inflated prices against the limits of a domestic market with a declining farm income. The outcome may prove decisive.

If no definitive decline in the dollar volume of sales is recorded on retail cash registers, the capitalists will draw a

sigh of relief. And such a development may, actually, provide them with more time in which to try to cushion the subsequent shocks to the country's economy. But if the contrary is true and a definitive decline in retail trade does set in, then the capitalists will be confronted with grave convulsions in a sphere over which they have far less control than they have over commodity or stock markets.

A Workers' and Farmers' Government would have no trouble at all in dealing with a home market that shows signs of inability to absorb the output of industry. It would simply raise the living standards of both the workers and the farmers. But the case is entirely different with a capitalist government.

A VULNERABLE SECTOR

For more than a year Washington has been aware that the physical volume of retail trade has been dropping off while the dollar volume of sales has gone on recording increases. This condition is considered "healthy." Why? Because there are bigger profits in selling goods for more money than there are in selling more goods at lower prices. Anxiety over the country's well-being arises in the capitalist mind, only when his own pocketbook becomes directly threatened.

In any case, a decline in dollar volumes of retail trade coming on top of the already existing decline in the physical volume of sales, may well herald the first stage of the oncoming depression. The next few months will tell the story.

In the meantime, the most outstanding feature of the current developments is the complete bankruptcy of the official union leadership. In the face of a situation which may gravely threaten the workers, they have taken no steps whatsoever to safeguard the workers' interests, especially against eventual layoffs and unemployment. For example, the old slogan of "The 30-Hour Week, for 40-Hours Pay," with which they supposedly agree, has been permitted to lie on the shelves and has not even been mentioned in current wage negotiations. When will they be ready to take this or another elementary protective step? After the layoffs begin?

Most pernicious of all, the official union leaders continue to keep the labor movement disarmed politically. The workers are left without a program to cope with any of the burning problems that the oncoming depression will pose pointblank. They are left without an independent labor party that could really represent them and defend their interests.

Resolutions of Twelfth Convention of the American Trotskyist Movement

Contained in January 1947 issue of *Fourth International* are the two main programmatic documents adopted by the National Convention of the Socialist Workers Party in November 1946:

- I. Theses on the American Revolution
- II. From a Propaganda Group to a Party of Mass Action

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The Communist Manifesto: 1848-1948

By THE EDITORS

One hundred years ago two young Germans, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels shocked the minds of their contemporaries by presenting in a small political pamphlet, entitled the *Communist Manifesto*, the most audacious, liberating and epoch-making system of ideas since the dawn of mankind.

The amazing thing is not that the passage of time should have invalidated this or that detail of a theory which the authors themselves later elaborated and rendered more precise in subsequent years. The amazing thing is that this system of ideas has withstood so well the test of 100 years. Both in the days of Marx and Engels and in the decades since their deaths there has been no lack of sociological, economic and political doctrines. Without exception all these were aimed directly or covertly against the fundamental ideas first enunciated in the *Manifesto*. Which of these countless rival doctrines and "refutations" of Marxism have withstood the test of events and survive today?

The situation remains much the same if we consider the fate of theories enunciated a century ago in the field of natural science. Which of them—whether in biology or chemistry or physics, and so on—has not been either drastically revised or superseded today?

The case of the *Manifesto* is unique. This is so because the ideas of Marx and Engels constitute the only rational body of ideas explaining the evolution of human society. No one else has provided the keys to social action and progress as they did. They proved, once and for all, that social forms are necessary but transitory and self-destroying products of historical development, a development that operates behind men's backs and independent of their will. There is nothing eternally enduring about these man-made social forms. But there is a lawfulness in their rise, development and inescapable decline.

Among the most important of these social laws is this, that the very foundation on which each of these social forms arises and develops constitutes at the same time and at a subsequent stage the main cause for its own downfall. It was the institution of slavery that devoured the ancient empires, just as it was the institution of serfdom that destroyed the feudal states which followed slavery. Out of these outlived orders and social relations has evolved capitalism—the most irrational and self-destructive of all class systems.

Marx and Engels warned that it was impossible for society to progress further unless capitalism were replaced by a rational system of social relations, which could only be socialism.

A Timely Warning

What makes the *Manifesto* read today like the timeliest of timely documents is the Marxist forecast of the insoluble crisis into which capitalism is bound to plunge all mankind. On the eve of World War II Leon Trotsky warned that the crisis of capitalism was threatening to rapidly turn into the crisis of human culture as a whole. With the advent of atomic explosives and the frenzied preparations for World War III this terrible threat has become the reality. On the one hundredth anniversary of the *Communist Manifesto* the world is confronted with the choice between physical annihilation and the socialist alternative.

As Engels himself pointed out, the *Communist Manifesto*

contains no reference to either the United States or Russia, the two main antagonists in the world arena today. This omission reflected the international situation of a century ago. In 1848 the proletarian movement was confined primarily to Western Europe.

The colonial world still stagnated under the age-old yokes of backwardness and oppression. It was not until the beginning of this century that the colonial masses entered the arena of world history.

As for Russia, she had scarcely started her capitalist development by 1848. Russian economy remained overwhelmingly agricultural, serfdom was still firmly entrenched. Czarism reigned unchallenged and Russia was then, as it was to remain till the end of the Nineteenth Century, not merely one of the most backward countries in Europe, but one of the chief pillars of reaction there and throughout the world.

The principal problem in 1848 was not how to promote revolutionary developments within Russia, but how to intervene in political life outside of Czarist Russia in order to deal blows to the Russian autocracy and its agents. This held true for years after the death of Marx and Engels.

United States in 1848

As concerns the United States in 1848, despite its independence, with its population of 26 millions virtually restricted to the Eastern seaboard, it was economically little more than a colony of European capitalism, in the first instance England—a colony more advanced than the others, but a colony nonetheless. The young American bourgeoisie had hardly begun to exploit the virgin continent. The native capitalists remained weak not alone in relation to the European ruling classes but also in relation to the Southern slaveholders. So feeble, indeed, that they were content to share state power with the slavocracy and permit the latter to wield it. The modern industrial proletariat here was still to emerge.

Placed in their historical setting, the omission of Russia and the United States from the *Manifesto* does not seem so one-sided and flagrant as appears at first sight. Major corrections with regard to both Russia and the United States were made by Marx and Engels themselves later on. If they refrained from making any changes in the *Manifesto*, it was because of their conscientious approach, in theory and practice, to all historical facts, including their own epoch-making work.

This does not mean that no important amendments or rectifications need be introduced today into the text of the *Manifesto*. Elsewhere in this issue the reader will find Leon Trotsky's analysis of the basic propositions in this revolutionary document in the light of ninety years that elapsed since its publication. It will be noted that Trotsky deals with everything that has become outdated in the *Manifesto* as well as with everything important that requires changes or amplification.

The young authors of the *Manifesto* placed their confidence in only one force in society: the proletariat. If they expected social progress to manifest itself first in the advanced countries through revolutionary upheavals, it was because other countries had not yet given birth to large-scale industry and there-

with to the modern proletariat, the motor force of progress in our society.

A century ago the main channel of social revolution flowed through Western Europe. Both Marx and Engels expected the first-born proletarians there to fulfill their historic mission and for those who came later to follow suit. However it turned out that the proletariat of imperialist France and Britain was successfully corrupted over the years by the ruling class, or more correctly, the official French and British labor leaders misled or betrayed their class. Therewith the historical development of the revolution by-passed its original channel and dug new passageways for itself.

Hopeful as were the authors of the *Manifesto* that history would take the most *direct* route, they were by no means blind to other possible variants, i.e., *indirect* and more complex forms. To maintain the contrary is to repeat the ignorant Stalinist canard to the effect that the founders of scientific socialism knew nothing about uneven and combined development, one of the outstanding features of the dialectic of social evolution.

From the standpoint of theory it is absurd to maintain that Marx and Engels never expected or even denied that, under altered conditions, backward countries could suddenly leap to the fore and surge ahead of those more advanced. Such a contention appears even more absurd in the light of known facts.

Germany in 1848

Marx and Engels attached the greatest importance to developments in Germany. But it is generally forgotten that the authors of the *Manifesto* were themselves natives of one of the most impoverished and backward Western European countries. The Germany they knew lagged far behind both England and France, politically as well as economically. Several decades were to pass after 1848 before Germany could accomplish such a task of the bourgeois democratic revolution as unifying the country itself.

Nevertheless it was precisely from the soil of this backward country that the liberating ideas of Marxism emanated. It was there that they most firmly took root and gained their first mass following.

Moreover, it was through the example and influence of the pioneer German Marxist movement that the ideas of the *Manifesto* became the guide for millions throughout the world and led to the formation of the Second International. The world had never before seen an internationalist mass movement of such size, dynamism and power. Marx died before the Second International came into being. But his co-thinker, friend and comrade-in-arms lived to see with his own eyes the first great practical test and confirmation of Marxism represented by this unparalleled spread of its ideas.

"The old local and national self-sufficiency and isolation are replaced by a system of universal intercourse, of all-round interdependence of the nations. We see this in intellectual production no less than in material. The intellectual products of each nation are now the common property of all."

These prophetic words of the *Manifesto* sum up the triumph of Marxism over all other schools of thought within the world working class not only in the lifetime of its authors but in our own time. In the unchallenged supremacy of Marxism among the vanguard of Western European workers, represented by the parties of the Second International, Engels saw the greatest pledge of the coming world victory of socialism. He died unaware that the axis of Marxist thought was to shift within a few decades sharply to the East. But it is clear that he had some

forebodings about the literary executors of Marxism, Karl Kautsky and Edward Bernstein.

What these revisionists and renegades from Marxism and their allies succeeded in perpetrating inside the Western European labor movement is part of the history of our own day. An even more important part of that history is what was accomplished in the East, in Russia, by those disciples who remained true to the teachings and heritage of the *Manifesto*.

The Role of "Backwardness"

It was in Russia that the great historic dispute over the role of "backwardness" in modern social struggles took place. All the "original thinkers" there cited Russia's economic backwardness as an insuperable barrier to the spread of the ideas in the *Manifesto* and to their applicability in Russia.

But the orthodox Russian Marxists, first Plekhanov and his disciples, the pioneers of Russian Marxism, and later the Bolsheviks, under Lenin and Trotsky, insisted that Russia's economic backwardness was only a relative factor, which could not be appraised correctly within an isolated national framework. Russia's economic backwardness had to be viewed in the context of the "system of universal intercourse, of all-round interdependence of the nations," emphasized by the *Manifesto*.

Despite her undeniable economic backwardness Russia had become materially and ideologically linked with the rest of the world as an integral segment of the capitalist system. Russia's social problems could be solved only through the mechanism of classes. There was no solution to the unpostponable historical tasks facing Russia except under the leadership of the revolutionary proletariat. The way out for Russia was the same as that for the most advanced countries—along the road charted in the *Manifesto*.

These orthodox Russian Marxists were vindicated by history. World War I proved that Russia was a link in the imperialist chain.

It is easy today after the victory to single out Russia as especially suited for revolution and its workers ready to embrace Marxism. In reality, before the Twentieth Century, Russia had witnessed no mass revolutionary struggles, had no traditions of free political activity, let alone any influential socialist movements. Her working class was meagerly unionized, comprising only a small fraction of the population. Both Marxism and trade unionism had to be imported from Western Europe. The pioneers of Marxism and later the leaders of Bolshevism had to create new traditions, new institutions and introduce new methods of action under extremely difficult circumstances.

Russia proved to be the weakest link of imperialism because her working class movement, conquered and led by Bolshevism, proved capable of rising to the level of its historic tasks. Events in 1917 took the course they did in Russia because her working class rose to political heights unattained before by any other. It rejected the misleadership of anti-Marxists and revisionists and built in time the proletarian party, decisive instrument of the proletarian revolution.

A Practical Vindication

The conquest of power by the Russian workers and peasants in October 1917, thanks to the correct policies pursued by the Bolshevik Party, constituted the greatest practical vindication of the *Manifesto*. It resulted in the political and social transformation of one-sixth of the earth's surface; it inspired similar movements in other countries and on other continents; and moulded the entire course of world history since its occurrence.

This first victory of a section of the world working class over the capitalist regime unquestionably has been the outstanding event of the Twentieth Century. It provides the starting point for the perspectives, strategy and even tactics of the world proletariat.

The world party—the Third International—that arose as a direct consequence of the Russian Revolution, rallied behind it a mass following far surpassing in all respects the original mass mobilization under the banner of the Second International. Lenin died confident of the quick victory of the world revolution.

Leon Trotsky lived to see this victory delayed for decades by the degeneration of Lenin's world party. The Second International fell primarily because of the betrayal of the leadership of its largest and strongest party, the German Social Democracy. The same fate, under different conditions, befell the Third International first because of the ideological bankruptcy and then the open treachery of its key party's leadership, the Stalinized Russian party.

As a consequence of the debacle of the Third International, the axis of Marxism once more shifted sharply—Eastward to the vast colonial regions of Asia (China, India, Indio-China, etc.), and simultaneously back again to the West. The embodiment of this crucial shift is the world Trotskyist movement, the Fourth International, founded a decade ago.

The previous shift of the axis of Marxism was confined primarily to the European continent. This new westward swing of the historical pendulum in the realm of Marxist thought and action encompassed not alone Western Europe but also the Western Hemisphere, in particular, the Latin American countries and the United States itself.

American capitalism has undergone the freest and greatest expansion, outstripping by far all the Western European countries put together. The power wielded in her heyday by Britain, the first-born of capitalism, pales by comparison with the might and resources of American imperialism.

Yet of all the great countries in the world the United States has been the "least contaminated" with Marxism. This condition of political backwardness has been advanced by all schools of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois thought as decisive proof that the ideas of the *Communist Manifesto* are inapplicable to capitalist America.

This was the keynote sounded by the leading periodicals of the American bourgeoisie on the occasion of the hundredth anniversary of the *Manifesto*. They all proclaimed the "irrevocable triumph" of Free Enterprise, in the person of GM, U.S. Steel, Ford and other monopolies, over Marx and Engels.

Thus the old dispute between Marxists and anti-Marxists over the issue of "backwardness" in modern social struggles reappears in a new form and under new conditions. The enemies of Marxism in the most highly developed capitalist country cannot and do not lean upon the factor of *economic* backwardness as did the Russian anti-Marxists and as do their successors in the colonies today. They bring forward the *political* backwardness of American labor as the decisive factor which excludes the spread of Marxist ideas and which allegedly constitutes an insuperable obstacle to the victory of socialism.

A Relative Factor

This political backwardness is no less relative a factor than was Germany's economic and political backwardness in the days of the *Communist Manifesto* and Russia's economic backwardness in pre-revolutionary days. It is the transitory product of

past conditions, which less and less correspond to the new world and domestic situation.

Just as in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth centuries the American people eliminated pre-capitalist forms and forces, so today they are undermining the established capitalist relations.

In climbing from its colonial status in 1848 to its present predominant world position, the U. S. has developed in complete accordance with the basic propositions set down in the *Manifesto*.

The last hundred years have witnessed the steady concentration of wealth in capitalist hands and the uninterrupted growth of the power of the monopolies. While the industrial proletariat has experienced a tremendous growth, the intermediate elements have been squeezed out and pauperized. In recent years the conflict between capitalists and workers has grown sharper, amid the intensification of political reaction. Finally, this country continues to be convulsed by recurring economic crises, each more catastrophic than the one before.

Why then has the political consciousness of the American workers failed to keep step with this maturing of the social crisis of American capitalism?

The first reason is to be found in the historical conditions of American capitalist development. The unparalleled field of operation at its disposal placed U.S. capitalism in an exceptionally favorable position in competition with its rivals abroad and in relation to its workers at home.

Economically, it was free from the outset to exploit a virgin continent. By virtue of its resources, geographic position and World War I, it was able to march toward the subjugation of the entire Western Hemisphere, thus rising to a position where it now seeks to dominate and exploit the entire world.

Politically, it successfully completed the tasks of the bourgeois revolution first through its victorious struggle for independence and next through the destruction of the slave system in Civil War. All this placed American capitalism in the most privileged position and served to hinder not only the political growth but even the industrial organization of the working class. Let us recall that the latter task was not accomplished until the birth of the CIO a little more than a decade ago.

For more than three-quarters of a century the bourgeoisie has dominated the political arena by means of its two-party system. This key monopoly was never seriously challenged in the past, not for lack of opposition but because of the class character of this opposition. The sporadic third party movements have been overwhelmingly agrarian and petty bourgeois in composition, in program, in leadership. The working class, instead of forging to the fore, served as a tail to the kite of these rump movements of the past, or fell back into subservience to the two major capitalist parties.

Marxism and American Labor

Against this background, socialist ideas sprouted but did not widely spread. The pioneer Social Democratic movement remained for the most part restricted to the foreign-born. The same thing was true of the pioneer Communist movement. The Stalinist degeneration of the official Communist Party served only to discredit the ideas of Marxism and its socialist goal.

But the conditions that produced and fed this political backwardness either no longer exist or are turning into their opposite. The force of inertia coupled with the abject cowardice and treachery of the official leadership now constitute the main stumbling blocks to the swift political growth of the American proletariat.

In the last 30 years the American working class has gone through two world wars and a terrible depression. It emerged from World War II with mighty union organizations extending from coast to coast in all the basic industries. It has engaged in titanic battles with the monopolists. It has less and less confidence in the stability or eternity of the existing economic system. It is under tremendous pressures to narrow the yawning gap between its advanced economic position and its backward political organization and consciousness.

If American capitalism could provide decent living standards and maintain an appreciable measure of democracy, it could conceivably prolong the political backwardness of American labor, and indefinitely postpone the struggle for state power. But the drive of American capitalism is in just the opposite direction. They indicated this by their price-gouging and Taft-Hartley Law at the peak of the postwar boom. The convulsions of the oncoming depression will serve only to reinforce the capitalist offensive against labor's rights and living standards.

Thus while the conditions for the political immaturity of American workers are disappearing one by one, in their place are arising conditions which act to precipitate the political crisis of American labor. Toward the close of the Nineteenth Century the economically backward German workers embraced Marxist doctrines. At the beginning of the Twentieth Century the even more economically and culturally backward Russian workers were powerfully attracted to Marxism. Why should the highly cultured and technically competent workers here find them any less irresistible? There is every reason to believe that they will eagerly seize upon them.

If anything is peculiar to the American workers it is their esteem for fine tools. These they know and value. They will need political tools in the sharpening class struggle. Big Business will not relent until it has completely housebroken the labor movement and shackled the unions to its state machine. On the other hand, the workers have no prospect of defending themselves and preserving the independent existence of their unions separate and apart from the prospect of irreconcilable political struggle against Big Business. They will find the political tools they need to replace and reconstruct the existing system in the treasure chest of Marxism and the program of the revolutionary party.

The mass production workers showed how quickly they could adopt the most advanced methods and forms of industrial union organization. In the next stages of the class struggle, these same workers will embrace the most modern methods and forms of political action and will also very likely add a few innovations of their own.

Cheap Pessimism

Non-Marxists and anti-Marxists invariably fasten their gaze only on one side of historical development, and that the darkest side. They therefore find no lack of arguments and pretexts for cheap pessimistic conclusions. But those who try to see things in their true light and proper context can remain confident of the future as were the authors of the *Manifesto*, and after them, Lenin and Trotsky.

Serious revolutionists do not work for a day, a year or even for a few decades. A hundred years seems a long time measured by the life-span of an individual. But where world-transforming processes are concerned, it is no more than a brief moment. The ascending bourgeoisie required some four centuries to conquer power in the principal civilized centers and consolidate their world rule. The process of the proletariat's rise to power will

take considerably less time. As a matter of fact, it began in Russia three decades ago when the first detachment of labor dislodged the old rulers.

It is possible to dwell upon the set-backs and defeats suffered by the Western European workers. But far more decisive is the collapse of European capitalism on the one hand, and the revolutionary significance of the repeated offensives of the European workers against the ruling powers, on the other hand.

It is possible to become blinded by the abominations of Stalinism, and to single out its undeniable powers of corruption and destruction. But far more decisive is the instability of Stalinist regime and the blind alley in which it has arrived.

It is possible to tremble before the Moloch of American imperialism and to forget that there exists a mightier power on this continent—the power of the organized 16 million workers. Alongside this young giant of American labor there stand millions of oppressed Negroes, the natural allies of the revolutionary workers, who are destined to play a major role in the titanic events that lie ahead. Beside the possessors of the atom bomb there live and toil the producers of atomic explosives. Once they are aroused and enlightened, their offensive will confound the skeptics and amaze the world.

Our Party's Task

It is possible to see the small size and modest influence of the Socialist Worker's Party and scoff at its aspiration to lead the American workers to the establishment of a Worker's and Farmer's Government. But the stark reality of our day is that, as the irrepressible conflict widens and deepens, the American workers will be more and more compelled to adopt the ideas of the *Manifesto* and to follow the course charted by the Russian workers. Our party's task is to help them find that road as quickly as possible in order to save civilization from destruction.

Neither the founders of Marxism nor the leaders of Bolshevism entertained doubts about the socialist future of the American labor movement. Back in 1890 Frederick Engels wrote the following concerning the revolutionary potential of American workers: "If the Americans once begin, with all their energy and virulence, we in Europe shall look like children."

Since then the march of events has made one thing clear: The struggle for socialism must be fought to a finish and consummated in the U.S.

The existing world situation has placed the American workers in a position where they play a decisive role in determining the future of mankind.

In the spirit of the *Communist Manifesto*, Leon Trotsky foresaw this as far back as 1925 when at the height of the fabulous boom of the Twenties, he wrote:

In spite of all its huge power, American capitalism is not a self-contained factor but a part of world economy. Furthermore, the more powerful the industry of the United States becomes, the more intimate and profound becomes its dependence on the world market. Driving the European countries farther and farther down their blind alley, American capitalism is laying the foundation for wars and revolutionary upheavals, which in their frightful rebound will not fail to strike the economic system of the United States also. Such is the prospect for America . . .

But the inevitable hour will strike for American capitalism also: The American oil and steel magnates, trust and export leaders, the multi-millionaires of New York, Chicago and San Francisco, are performing—though unconsciously—their predestined revolutionary function. And the American proletariat will ultimately discharge theirs.

Decline of the American Middle Class

By C. CURTIS

Opponents of Marxism claim that Marx and Engels, at worst, compounded ignorance with malevolence; and at best mixed a laudable desire for social improvement with muddled thinking. They all agree that Marx "went astray," that Marxism represents "a climax of pessimism and unfulfilled prophecy," that the "Marxist theory of value is untenable."

In placing socialism on a scientific basis, Marx and Engels first had to study capitalism, its tendencies and laws. By so doing they made a revolution in political economy. Just as they were pioneers in historical economics, so they were among the pioneers in the application of statistics to economics. In this series of articles, remaining true to the method of Marx and Engels, we propose to study statistical data, primarily American, to test Marxist economic theories.

American statistical data is comparatively rich. This is not due to love of knowledge by the corporations, banks, association of capitalists, or the government. Corporations and banks require accurate economic information in order to direct their production, marketing, pricing and credit policies. The government, which willingly or not, is forced constantly to intervene, directly or indirectly, into economic life, demands exact economic data to guide its decisions. Wars require efficient mobilization of all resources and must have planning and control, which in turn depend on adequate and precise information. As a consequence there is available a mass of information about the American economic structure, production and distribution. Thereby capitalism itself gives us the beginnings of a social bookkeeping, which, developed and extended on a new basis, will be one of the instruments of the planned economy of abundance under socialism.

We first propose to examine the idea of the tendency toward the elimination and proletarianization of the middle class and, later in this article, the reduction of the independence, role and social weight of this class, as a law of capitalism. *The Communist Manifesto* declared a century ago:

The lower strata of the middle class—the small tradespeople, shopkeepers and retired tradesmen generally, the handicraftsman and peasants—all these sink gradually into the proletariat, partly because their diminutive capital does not suffice for the scale on which modern industry is carried on, and is swamped in the competition with the large capitalists, partly because their specialized skill is rendered worthless by new methods of production.

Is this true? Here is a typical denial: "Much to the disappointment of the Marxists the middle class has shown no obvious tendency to disappear; indeed in the United States it seems to be increasing" (*Labor Problems* by Gordon S. Watkins and Paul A. Dodd. 1940).

That class which "can live so long as they find work, and who find work only so long as their labor increases capital," is the modern working class. This class owns none of the means of production and distribution, and sells its labor power for wages or salary. At the opposite pole is the capitalist class, which owns the means of production and distribution, employs the working class to operate them and receives rent, interest and profit. Between these two classes is the middle class; the class of self-employed business men.

As in the rest of the world, the middle class was at one time predominant in northern and western United States.

Class Alignments in U. S.

Early in the history of the American republic, at first relatively slowly, out of the middle class there arose the modern proletarians and capitalists. With the end of the free land on the frontier, about 1890, this process became definitive. From the following table we can follow this development.

INDUSTRIAL CLASS ALIGNMENTS (IN THOUSANDS)

	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930	1939*	1946**
All gainful workers	15,265	21,546	26,707	34,856	39,764	47,170	56,000	59,333
Wage Earners	9,476	14,012	18,137	25,062	30,408	36,228	43,792	49,220
Managerial Employes ..	161	261	352	613	1,008	1,346	1,691
All Self-Employed Enterprisers	5,637	7,273	8,218	9,181	9,356	9,596	10,528	10,113

*The figures for 1880-1939 are from *Productivity, Wages and National Income* by Spurgeon Bell, The Brookings Institution, 1940.

**Figures for 1946 are taken from *National Income Supplement to Survey of Current Business*, July 1947, U.S. Department of Commerce, which gives separate breakdown concerning managerial employes. These are included in the category of wage earners. Self-employed enterprisers are designated by the Department of Commerce as active proprietors of unincorporated enterprises, an analogous category, which, if anything, overstates the number of middle class elements.

This table shows that the number of middle class, self-employed enterprisers, have remained more or less stationary at between nine and ten millions for the last 25 years, while the working class increased by nearly 20,000,000 or 66%. This trend is brought out even more strikingly in terms of percentages. These show that self-employed enterprisers have steadily diminished in relation to the working class.

INDUSTRIAL CLASS ALIGNMENTS IN THE U.S., IN PERCENTAGES

	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930	1939	1946
All Employes	62	65	67.9	71.9	73.9	76.8	78.2	82.9
Wage Earners	52.7	54.4	56.5	57.1	55.0	54.3	54.3
Clerical & Sales Employes	6.5	7.5	8.0	11.1	14.7	17.3	18.3
Professional Employes	2.8	3.1	3.4	3.7	4.2	5.2	5.6
Managerial Employes *	1.1	1.2	1.3	1.8	2.6	2.9	3.0
All Self-Employed Enterprisers	36.9	33.8	30.8	26.3	23.5	20.3	18.8	17.1
Farmers	27.8	24.8	21.4	17.6	16.0	12.7	11.8
Non-Farm Enterprisers	8.0	8.0	8.2	7.7	6.5	6.6	6.1
Professional Practitioners	1.1	1.2	1.2	1.0	1.0	1.0	0.9

*Because of the difficulty of fixing their economic status, I have set apart the managerial employes as a special category. With the growth of corporations the functions of ownership and management have been separated, and management now rests largely with paid employes. As such, the managerial employe represents only highly skilled labor, and is part of the working class. They are increasingly recognizing this as their status, as witness the recent foremen's strikes. On the other hand, in smaller corporations, the manager, "employed" by the stockholders, is often the chief, if not sole, stockholder. His "salary" in such cases is profits under a masquerade. Further, the separation of ownership and management gives corporative managers an excellent opportunity to pocket part of the profit in the shape of munificent "salaries." Part of "managerial employes" really belongs in the capitalist category and part to the category of employes, but it is difficult to fix the proportions.

These figures show both a relative and absolute decrease in the number of middle class elements, and a precipitous relative

decrease at that. Yet a Social Democratic "refuter" of Marx, John Kenneth Turner, in his *Challenge to Karl Marx*, writes:

One must conclude that assertions that this (middle) class is "doomed" finds little support in what has actually happened . . . Though the farming population increased, it did not increase as rapidly as the general population. But on the other hand numerous other important middle sections increased more rapidly than the general population and more rapidly than the wage earning sector.

Turner is very disdainful of Marx's method, yet Marx was able to see far into the future; while the Turners cannot see what is taking place under their very noses. Let us first examine what statistics have to say about the independent farmer in the United States.

"A Way of Living"

In a book* compiled by the secretary of the National Association of Manufacturers and the chief statistician of the Chrysler Corporation, we find the following declaration:

Agriculture is not merely a way of making money; it is a way of living. It emphasizes and develops family life to its highest degree. The family and the family farm not only become a production unit, but a social center as well. The family farm is a highly integrated unit producing both economic and cultural values. There are tasks for everyone. The child becomes an economic and social asset at an early age; he grows up in a healthy, wholesome environment. The farm is the natural and best place to maintain the population of the nation. Welfare of the nation demands that these things be not overlooked in framing national policies.

This is a highly sentimentalized and falsified picture of farm life. We doubt that Southern sharecroppers grow up in a "healthy wholesome environment," for example. But be that as it may, according to this panegyric the preservation of the agricultural section of the middle class should seem a matter of course. Yet statistical data show the opposite: the rapid diminution of the number of farms and farmers; the constant elimination of independent farmers and their conversion into wage-workers.

This can be seen from the census reports. In 1870, of all the gainfully occupied, 53.0% were engaged in agriculture; in 1946, 14.4% were engaged in agriculture of whom over 30% were wage workers. Contrary to the "scientific" opinion of Mr. Turner, since 1920 there has been both an *absolute* and *relative decrease* in the number of farmers.

NUMBER OF FARMS AND PERCENTAGE OF GROWTH

Year	Population (in thousands)	% Growth over Previous Census	Farms (in thousands)	% Growth over Previous Census
1870	39,051		2,660	..
1880	50,262	29	4,008	50
1890	63,056	25	4,564	14
1900	76,094	26	5,737	26
1910	92,407	21	6,361	11
1920	106,466	15	6,448	1
1930	123,076	16	6,228	-2.5
1940	131,970	7	6,010	-5.3
1945	139,621	7	5,000	-17

*Fact and Fancy in the TNEC Monograms compiled by John Scoville and Noel Sargent, sponsored by the National Association of Manufacturers, 1942.

It is clear from these figures that the operation of the economic system works contrary to those socially desirable aims to which the NAM pays such glowing tribute.

Along with the elimination of a million and a half farms in the last 26 years, a companion process of centralization has been squeezing out the small farmer. In 1920, farms of 500 acres or more comprised 3.3% of the total and included 33.7% of all farm land; the same sized farm, by 1940, counted 4.3% of the total number of farms with 44.9% of all land (20.5% of all cropland). For farms of this size, agriculture is a large-scale capitalist enterprise.

No figures are available as yet pertaining to the growth of centralization since 1940, but the increase in the average size of farms, between 1940 and 1945, from 174 to 190 acres, along with the elimination of 17% of the farms, indicates a rapid growth of the factory-farm at the expense of the family size farm.

Nor does the future promise brighter. According to the Farm Security Administration and the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, "there are 1,500,000 low income farmers with no prospect of expanded production . . ." These "would contribute more to the economy by taking jobs on other farms or in industry." Since this was written the steps advocated by these bureaus have been partially realized, but hundreds of thousands still remain in this position of sub-marginal farmers.

Not shown in the above table, designed to depict the longer range tendencies, is the year 1935. Here a curious development was manifested. There was an increase in the number of farms by nearly 10% over the 1930 figures. This would seem a paradox at first sight: A depression leads to an increase in the number of farms, while war-induced prosperity shows a decrease. The answer to this paradox is that the ruined farmer had no chance to become a worker during the depression, with more than 10,000,000 out of work. On the contrary, hundreds of thousands of jobless workers left the cities and took up deserted farms to keep a roof over their family's head, and obtain some food. Other millions could not leave the land; the city breadlines held no advantages over the poorest farm. Here we see the law of the elimination of the middle class and the law of its proletarianization operating seemingly out of kilter; the former was active while the latter went into reverse. It took the war boom to provide escape for all these ex-farmers.

For a long time the farmer in this country seemed immune to the laws of his being eliminated from the middle class and proletarianized. An open frontier provided millions with the possibility of becoming independent farmers. The technical nature of farming, its dispersal, its seasonal character all invested this most virile section of the middle class with greater power to survive. But with the closing of the frontier, the economic laws of capitalism began to assert themselves. For a number of decades the farmers increased in absolute numbers, while declining relatively with respect to the growth of the wage workers. This absolute growth ended in 1920 and absolute decreases have been registered ever since, while the large farms have steadily grown larger. Even in this sphere, we find Marx able to foresee, while the Marx-refuters have remained blind.

A Business for Oneself

Farming represented 46% of the total number of active unincorporated proprietors in 1946. Second to agriculture, in the number of active unincorporated proprietors, are 2,206,000 engaged in wholesale and retail trade and auto service.

With the growth of modern industry the functions carried out by the middle class became subdivided. For example, the

old-fashioned dressmaker didn't need an outlet, she worked in her customer's home. But today the garment industry is carried on by factory production and requires special outlets in the shape of stores. If in 1870 well over half the country's population resided on farms and raised a large part of their own food, today over 80% live in cities and buy their food in stores. While manufacturing and later farming were marked by a process of elimination of the middle class, a section of that class found a haven in merchandizing.

The census bureau gives the following figures on wholesale and retail dealers.

WHOLESALE AND RETAIL DEALERS

1910	1,245,801
1920	1,401,751
1930	1,786,996
1940	2,037,900

World War II resulted in a sharp diminution of the number of proprietors of wholesale and retail stores, but with the end of the war, they have more than recovered their prewar numbers.

But here too it is necessary to probe below the surface. If the number of independent business men in merchandising increased by 12% from 1929 to 1946 (from 1,916,000 to 2,206,000) according to the Department of Commerce, the number of wage earners, employed primarily by the chain and larger stores increased by 41%. Thus the independent merchandizer is playing a relatively smaller role.

Retail Trade

Large scale corporative and monopoly capital, represented by the department, chain and large stores, is constantly pressing the small retailer to the wall. Again, a table taken from the Census Department shows the actual relation between the small independent and the larger stores.

RETAIL STORES AND SALES, 1939

Number of Stores	Total Sales
1,770,000	\$42,041,000,000
<hr/>	
Stores with annual sales of	Stores (Percentage* of Total)
more than 300,0007 23.4
100 — 300,000	2.8 18.9
50 — 100,000	4.3 15.2
30 — 50,000	7.5 12.4
20 — 30,000	8.0 8.3
10 — 20,000	21.5 13.0
0 — 10,000	54.4 9.2
5 — 10,000	19 1.5
3 — 5,000	11 1.4
2 — 3,000	7 1.1
1 — 2,000	8 1.9
0 — 1,000	9 3.2

*Figures do not total due to rounding.

From the figures it can be seen that .7% of the largest stores sell more than do the lowest 75% of all the smaller stores.

Before 1920, the middle class was fairly secure in its control of this field despite department and mail order concerns. But the chain store, tied up with big capital, has since appeared as a major factor. The following table tells the story of this growth of chain stores:

PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL SALES BY CHAIN STORES	
1920	4.0
1926	8.0
1929	20.3
1939	21.7
1942	24.4

Large scale merchandizing has nearly every advantage over the small storekeeper: ability to purchase at favorable terms at advantageous prices, ability to cut down on overhead per dollar sale; ability to advertise.

In steady retreat before the chain and large store, how and why does the middle class manage to hold on?

Only by dint of the most abject victimization of self and family. In 1939, there were 923,878 unpaid part and full time family workers in retailing. Income for the lower group of proprietors was, even so, low. More than half received no set salary, eking out an average of \$20 per week for the owner and his family, an amount less than the average worker in industry who was receiving \$23.19 for a forty hour week.

Another reason for the persistence of the middle class in this field is much the same as in agriculture: it provides a miserable refuge from unemployment*. Often the storekeeper lives in the store. Often it is the old or partially incapacitated who own the tiny stores, eking out a pittance to supplement other income, if any.

And the future? Let the Department of Commerce's Survey of Current Business answer this question. In its June 1947 number it points out that although "the sharp upward trend in chain store sales was reversed after 1942, with independents obtaining a somewhat larger proportion of sales in the war period, since mid-1945 chain store sales are again showing the upward growth evidenced in immediate prewar years."

The growth of the proletariat in merchandizing is the handwriting on the wall for the middle class in this field as well.

Construction and Service

Construction is a third sector where the middle class survives. Many crafts marked by the use of comparatively small hand tools still retain a skilled character. There is a great amount of repairs and small construction, that still offers independent contractors an opportunity. Many serve as workers at one period and as "contractors" at another. In 1929 there were 822,000 unincorporated contractor proprietors according to the Department of Commerce; by 1946 this number had decreased to 697,000, or by 15%, while the wage workers increased from 1,219,000 to 1,637,000 or by 34%.

Here, too, the law of elimination of the middle class and the centralization of capital is in full operation. The constant application of ever more expensive machinery and the technical requirements of large-scale building, are relegating the small contractor to the field of petty jobs. Utilizing \$25,000 as a line of demarcation in 1939 construction work, it was found by the Census that enterprises over \$25,000 accounted for 14% of the contractors, 77% of the value of all construction work, and 82% of the payroll.

"Service" is the fourth major category of the middle class. Here a direct and intimate relation is often established with the customers. In personal service large quantities of capital

*The Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce: "Comparisons of census data for 1929 with those of 1933, show that as the nation plunged from the 1929 crest to the bottom of the depression, there was a great increase in the number of small stores."

are not required. But in spite of this the same process of the relative decrease of the middle class is apparent. If we leave aside domestic servants, between 1929 and 1946, there was a 9% increase in active unincorporated proprietors. But the wage earners in this period, in the service industry, increased by 35%.

These four categories encompass approximately 90% of the middle class.

In conclusion I cannot forego adding a few words about a subcategory of "service": the independent professional. The bourgeoisie, says the *Communist Manifesto*, "has stripped of its halo every occupation hitherto honored and looked up to with reverent awe. It has converted the physician, the lawyer, the priest, the poet, the man of science, into its paid wage workers."

"Independent" Professions

Leaving aside the poet and the priest, let us glance at the other professions:

Lawyers: "A cross section of the legal profession of the day would show a hierarchy of activities. At the top is the 'legal factory'—the great corporation offices of New York and Chicago, having 30 or 40 partners and perhaps 200 or more associated attorneys, and doing a value of business of several millions a year. . . . These institutions are . . . largely adjuncts to the great commercial and investing banks, and they use that connection to divert to themselves a portion of the funds flowing through the banking system. To some extent also their profits are due to the use of cheap labor in the form of lawyers recently graduated, of whom a new crop is available each year." (A. A. Berle, *Modern Legal Profession*, Encyclopedia of Social Sciences.)

Physicians and surgeons: "A noticeable trend in recent years is in the direction of employed or group practice. The effect of this upon new entrants into the profession is marked. Approximately 15% of all physicians are employed full time by business firms or agencies. Their number has increased as each successive class of medical graduates is added to the corps of practicing physicians . . . of all physicians and surgeons reported by the census of 1930, the percentage working for pay rather than private practice was 27." (*Recent Occupational Trends in the United States*, by H. I. Anderson and P. E. Davidson, 1940.)

Scientists: "Chemists and other research specialists, employed full time by manufacturing concerns . . . are now salaried employees" (*Ibid*).

Engineers: "During the 19th century engineers were engaged in private practice, as consultants and advisers, and in independent construction. But the intensive construction and manufacturing era ushered in by mass production methods early in the present century brought about a decided increase in the number of engineers and resulted in their employment as salaried workers for large companies" (*Ibid*).

Inventors: "The number of inventors has decreased steadily. . . . Many of the inventions now patented which have practical or scientific value come from the scientific and research laboratories manned not by inventors but by scientists and engineers" (*Ibid*).

Stock Ownership

There is a second line of defense on which the defenders of capitalism fall back. The middle class survives, and flourishes, they say, not so much in the old form as a farmer or artisan, but as a holder of stock in the corporations. The independent

owner has not been eliminated by the corporations; he has become a partner of the corporations.

Professors Watkins and Dodd, authors of the previously cited *Labor Problems*, tell us there has been a "wider rather than a narrower distribution of ownership" through ownership of stocks and bonds. Mr. Harvey Firestone, head of the Firestone Tire and Rubber Company, informs us in a nationwide advertising release that appeared in West Coast papers early this January:

"They ['soap box orators, wily subversives and well meaning but misled reformers'] give us the impression that American business is owned by a mere handful of individuals. Actually some fourteen million people own shares in American industry." (The basis for this figure is nowhere cited.)

Are these assertions true? Or is a statistical sleight of hand being passed off on us?

Suppose a corporation is formed and issues 100,000 shares, divided into two portions, one comprising 1,000 shares and the other 99,000. Suppose each of the thousand shares is sold to 1,000 persons, while the block of 99,000 shares is held by one person. We may be sure that this individual owning 99,000 shares would say: "Soapbox orators, wily subversives and well-meaning but misled reformers assert that one person owns the company; they must face the facts. This company is owned by a large number of people, 1,001 to be precise." In answer, one may, with obvious justice, joint out that 1,000 persons own together one per cent, or a negligible portion of the company, while one person owns 99% of the firm, controls the corporation and profits most from the dividends and salary he votes himself.

The reality, while not quite so extreme as in the above imaginary case, nevertheless bears a marked resemblance to it.

In a study made under the direction of Raymond W. Goldsmith and R. E. Parmelee of the Securities and Exchange Commission, and published as a TNEC (Temporary National Economic Committee) Monogram, we find the following:

More than 80% of the recipients of the nation's income own no corporation stock.

Stockholders comprise between 8 and 9 million people.

Of those that hold stock more than 80% received in 1937 not much over 10% of the dividends paid and owned about the same proportion of all the corporate stock issued.

Less than 1% of those who held stock owned about 50% of the corporate stock of the country.

Less than 20% of the stockholders owned 90% of the stocks issued by the corporations of the United States.*

Elementary arithmetic will tell us that 0.2% of the income receivers in the United States own 50% of the corporate wealth and between 3 and 4% of the receivers of income own 90% of it. Whatever definition Mr. Firestone gives to the word "handful," if less than 4 per cent of the population own 90% of

*The percentages of economic activity accounted for by corporations in various industries are as follows (1938):

Transportation and other public utilities	92%
Finance	84%
Manufacturing	92%
Mining and quarrying	96%
Trade	58%
Service	30%
Agriculture, production and distribution	36%
Agriculture, production alone	7%
Construction	36%

the corporate wealth of this nation—in all restraint it must be said that the "soapbox orators, wily subversives and misled reformers" are "facing the facts" while Mr. Firestone is trying to obscure them!

* * *

Subservience to Monopolies

Even more important than the numerical decrease of the middle class is its economic subservience. In the center of American economy are those industries which are heavily concentrated. Here a handful of firms, as few as eight, account for the bulk of production in the entire industry. The more important of these industries embrace railroads, telephone and telegraph companies, power and light companies and other public utilities; auto, meat packing, steel, electrical machinery, cigarettes, rubber, rayon and similar products, agricultural implements, chemicals, petroleum refining. These industries employ tens and hundreds of thousands of workers in each enterprise.

In the outer ring of the economic structure are those industries still marked by large numbers of middle class elements. Between the two groupings is a category of smaller competitive capitalists such as those in the women's garment industry, where no single corporation or small group has as much as 5% of the total production.

The heart of American capitalism is to be found in the inner ring. The other two groups are weak, dependent and subservient to the monopolists there.

As an illustration of this dependence, take the hundreds of thousands of tobacco growers who must sell to one of eight cigarette manufacturers, or not sell at all. It is a matter of little concern to a cigarette company whether or not to buy from any single grower. The cigarette companies are in monopoly positions both as buyers of raw material and sellers of the finished product. Cattle raisers stand in the same relation toward the giant packing houses in selling their cattle.

The powerful monopolies dominate not only the purchase of agricultural raw materials but also the retail field, independent contracting and small manufacturing.

They have great financial resources; they are constantly expanding, absorbing old industries and creating new ones. As a rule, new products do not, as in decades past, open for the middle class or smaller capitalists, a new field of endeavor, but are controlled by the large enterprises right from their inception in the corporation laboratory.

Marx and Engels indeed saw far and clear when they wrote 100 years ago:

"The other classes decay and finally disappear in the face of modern industry; the proletariat is its special and essential product."

Draft Theses on the Jewish Question Today

Adopted by the International Secretariat of the Fourth International

In presenting its draft theses on the Jewish question prepared one year ago, the International Secretariat of the Fourth International has issued the following statement:

"In view of the fact that this question is being raised in our ranks for the first time and that the discussion is likely to bring forth numerous contributions, the International Secretariat presents these theses as a general line of orientation, but is ready in the course of the discussion to offer clarifications, amendments or corrections if necessary."—Ed.

* * *

A. The Jewish Question in the Capitalist World

1. Throughout the ages the lot of the Jews, a mercantile people whose survival among other peoples has its root causes in a special social function, has been determined by the general evolution of society, an evolution which brought about changes in their relationships with the various classes. The bourgeois revolution in Western Europe opened the doors of the ghettos and merged the Jewish masses within the environing society. The assimilation of the Jews seemed to be an accomplished fact. But the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, those vast reservoirs of Jews confined for centuries to the functions of middlemen, entered upon the road of capitalist development at a time when world capitalism had already embarked on its imperialist phase. Although the age-old relations of exchange and production experienced an abrupt upheaval which robbed the Jews of the material base for their existence, there was no widespread industrialization to allow these millions of now useless middlemen to become integrated in the proletariat. Social differentiation of the Jewish masses was thus blocked. A small part of the Jews became capitalist or proletarian; a larger

part emigrated, thus contravening the tendency toward complete assimilation which was going on in the Western countries. The largest part of all remained in the wretched condition of small merchants, "crushed between feudalism and capitalism, each feeding the rottenness of the other" (A. Leon).

2. The anti-Semitic movements of the past always had a direct or indirect social base. They were movements of various social classes whose interests came into conflict at a certain time with the social function of the Jews. The anti-Semitism of the beginning of the Twentieth Century was nowise different.

(a) In the backward countries of Eastern Europe, reactionary political forces were able to turn the discontent and despair of the masses into periodic pogroms—for the hatred of the little people toward the Jewish petty usurer and pawn-broker, the Jewish small merchant and shop-keeper, was an undeniable social reality.

(b) In the countries of Central Europe, the anti-Semitic movements, such as that of the burgomaster Lueger in Vienna, had their social roots in the sharpening of competition within the professional and mercantile middle-classes who were being inundated by a tide of Jewish immigrants.

(c) In France, the anti-Semitic movement which broke out at the time of the Dreyfus affair had its social origin in the hatred of the aristocracy for the Jewish bankers who had bought up their castles, and of the sons of aristocrats who saw the careers that formerly had been "reserved" exclusively for them now occupied by these dangerous competitors. These social layers were successful for a certain time in turning against the Jews the inflamed nationalist sentiments of a large part of the petty bourgeoisie.

Rooted in specific social conflicts, these various anti-Semitic movements took on most diverse manifestations, all the way from phenomena of utter barbarism (the Russian pogroms) to the formulation of the "subtle" nationalist theories which were characteristic of the imperialist epoch (Charles Maurras).

3. In Western Europe the social opportunities for assimilation of the Jews had created a powerful ideological movement toward complete assimilation. In Eastern Europe the impossibility of widespread assimilation of the Jews resulted in a strong current in the direction of a national renaissance and preservation of national characteristics. It was within the large concentrations of Jewish masses in Poland, Lithuania, Western Russia, Hungary, Rumania and Slovakia that there developed a new literature in Yiddish, a new folklore, an intense autonomous cultural and even political life (the "Bund" in the workers' movement). Wherever the Jewish masses who had emigrated to the United States were again socially restricted to certain economic fields and where they were geographically concentrated, this movement continued even in these countries. Lenin, who alone in the Second International understood how to apply Marxist strategy to the national question, rejected all pedantic formalism in his appraisal of this current. He started from the standpoint that the task of the revolutionary party was to integrate into the movement of proletarian emancipation every current of cultural and national autonomy which corresponded to a genuine aspiration of the working masses. That is why he recognized the *legitimacy*, from a socialist point of view, of the Jewish movement as much as of the Polish or Czech movements. The task of the Jewish workers consisted in struggling, at the side of the workers of the country where they lived, for the overthrow of capitalism,—and after this they would be left completely free to carry out the organization of their national and cultural economy as they chose.

4. The epoch of decaying capitalism is also the epoch of the sharpened crisis of the Jewish problem. Inflation, the increased pressure of finance capital, and finally the profound economic crisis, ruined millions of small tradesmen and merchants and inflamed to the highest pitch their hatred of their Jewish competitors. In Central and Eastern Europe the appalling unemployment among the intellectual workers and the increasingly wretched situation of the professionals created a climate especially favorable for the appearance of vast petty-bourgeois mass movements, which found in anti-Semitism one of their ideological weapons. In the countries of Eastern Europe, these movements revealed a very deep popular current which manifested itself in many bloody outbursts. In Germany, it was the state power, fallen into the hands of the Nazi rulers, which organized from on top the persecution and later the extermination of the Jews. In this sense it is decaying capitalism, which deliberately placed power in the hands of a band of bloody criminals, that bears full responsibility for the horrible fate of the Jewish European masses during the war. The extermination of the European Jews by German imperialism is a warning to all other peoples and shows them the fate that awaits them so long as present-day society continues to decay.

5. Zionism arose among the Jewish petty bourgeoisie of Central Europe as a reaction against the rebirth of anti-Semitism at the beginning of the Twentieth Century. A typically petty-bourgeois movement, it remained for a long time without the support of the Jewish bourgeoisie and isolated from the popular masses. During the First World War, British imperialism, which wanted to use Zionism as an instrument for establishing itself in Palestine, seemed to offer Zionism the possibility of becoming

a reality through the Balfour declaration. At this time there began a small flow of capital imports, and a slight movement of immigration. It was only after the coming of Hitler to power and the sudden fall of European Jewry into the abyss, that these two movements "speeded up," though obstructed both by the nationalist outbursts of the Arabs and by the policy of British imperialism which threw up more and more barriers against Jewish penetration into Palestine.

For the revolutionary proletariat, Zionism must be looked upon as a movement which is both *utopian* and *reactionary*:

Utopian and Reactionary Character of Zionism

Utopian: (a) Because Zionism believes that a "harmonious" development of the productive forces is possible within a "closed economy" in Palestine, in the midst of a capitalist world undergoing ever greater economic convulsions. The immense development of Palestine economy that would be necessary if several million immigrants were to be absorbed, is not realizable within the framework of present-day world capitalist economy.

(b) Because Zionism considers the creation of a Jewish (or bi-national) state possible amid the open hostility of 50 million Arabs—in the face of the fact that the Arab population grows in the same proportion as the Jewish immigration and the gradual industrialization of the country.

(c) Because Zionism hopes to reach this goal by relying on the maneuverings among the great powers, all of which, in reality, want to utilize the Zionist movement simply as a pawn in their play for power in the Arab world.

(d) Because Zionism thinks it possible to neutralize anti-Semitism throughout the world by the simple grant of a nationality to the Jews—in the face of the fact that anti-Semitism has deep social, historical and ideological roots which will be all the more difficult to tear out as the death agony of capitalism is prolonged.

Reactionary: (a) Because Zionism serves as a support for British imperialist domination, by giving to imperialism the pretext of acting as "arbiter" between the Jews and Arabs, by demanding the maintenance of the British mandate, and by developing a "closed" miniature Jewish economy within which the working masses have a much higher standard of living and different immediate interests than those of the Arab working masses.

(b) Because it produces a nationalist reaction on the part of the Arab masses, causes a racial division of the working-class movement, strengthens the "sacred union" both of the Jews and of the Arabs, and thus makes it possible for imperialism to perpetuate the conflict by continuing to keep its troops in Palestine.

(c) Because it retards the movement for the agrarian revolution, by buying lands from the large Arab landholders and working them, thanks to foreign subsidies, as a "closed" Jewish agriculture within Arab Palestinian agriculture. In this way the position of the large landholders is to some extent reestablished, lands are taken from the Arab peasants, and most important of all, the Jewish masses in Palestine have no interest in fighting for partition of the lands of the *effendis* among the Arab masses, since this would mean the end of their land purchases.

(d) Because it acts as a brake on the participation of the Jewish working masses in the class struggle in the rest of the

world, separates them from the world proletariat, gives them autonomous goals to strive for, and creates illusions as to the possibility of improving their lot within the framework of decaying world capitalism.

For all these reasons the revolutionary workers' movement has always conducted a violent struggle against Zionist ideology and practice. The arguments advanced by the "socialist" representatives of Zionism in favor of their cause are either the classic *reformist* arguments ("the possibility of gradually improving the situation of the Jewish masses"; or the *social-patriotic* arguments ("it is first necessary to resolve the national question for all the Jews before approaching the solution of the social problems of the Jewish workers"); or the classic arguments of the *defenders of imperialism* ("the penetration of Jews into Palestine has developed not only industry but also the workers' movement, the general culture of the masses, their standard of living, etc.")—the arguments advanced by the defenders of colonialism in every country.

B. The Present Aspect of the Jewish Question Throughout the World

6. After the Second World War, the especially tragic situation of the Jews appears as a symbol of the entire tragedy of humanity slipping back toward barbarism. After the fearful tragedy of European Judaism, the Jews in every part of the world are facing a revival of the hostility of large layers of the population against them.

(a) *In Europe*, two years after the "liberation," more than 100,000 Jews are still living under the infamous regime of the concentration camps. The imperialist masters who in the course of their military operations were able to shift millions of men in the period of a few days have been unable, after searching for twenty months, to find any refuge whatsoever for these miserable survivors of the Nazi camps. Throughout the continent there are hardly a million Jews remaining.

(b) *In Palestine*, 700,000 Jews face an Arab world in full eruption. The development of Egyptian and Syrian capitalism adds the factor of economic competition to the many causes for the militant anti-Zionism. British imperialism and the Arab feudal lords and bourgeoisie will for their part do all they can to turn the hatred of the oppressed Arab masses against the Jew as a scapegoat. Thus the Jews in Palestine are in danger of being wiped out in the wide-spread explosion which is preparing in the Middle East.

(c) *In the Soviet Union*, the bureaucracy in its struggle against the opposition has made use of the anti-Semitism latent within the peasant masses and the backward working-class layers. During the period of the First and Second Five-Year Plans, millions of Jewish merchants and artisans were brought into the lower and middle ranks of the bureaucracy as engineers, technicians, directors of cooperatives, and into the upper layers on the collective farms. In Western Russia they constitute that part of the bureaucracy most directly in contact with the oppressed masses, and thus it is in large part against them that the hatred of the masses for the parasites and profiteers of the regime is concentrated. The bloody pogroms launched by the native population at the time of the German invasion furnished very clear evidence of the intensification of this hatred (70,000 Jews killed in Kiev in twenty-four hours). A sharpening of the social crisis in Russia and the purges of a civil war would certainly see the extermination of the Jewish masses if the counter-revolution were victorious.

(d) Finally, *in the United States*, the confining of Jews

to certain sectors of small manufacture and trade and to commercial and professional occupations will cause, in the acute economic crisis ahead, a heightening of the competition which will give a strong material base to the anti-Semitism existing now in latent form. Exploitation of reactionary prejudices against "racial minorities" has been a long-time favorite weapon of the American fascist gangsters. Insofar as the sharpening of the social crisis, the politicalization of the workers' movement and the rapid decay of American "democracy" give birth to the development of a fascist mass party, anti-Semitism as well as anti-Negro agitation will assume gigantic proportions. The fate of the Jews in the United States is tied in the very closest way to the outcome of the tremendous struggle of the American working class against the Yankee bourgeoisie. A victory of the latter through the establishment of a dictatorship would signify within a short period a catastrophe for the Jews comparable only to the catastrophe which Hitler's coming to power meant for the Jews in Europe.

7. The endless series of ordeals undergone by the Jewish masses in Europe has without question accelerated the growth of a *national consciousness*, both among the survivors and among the Jewish masses in America and Palestine who feel themselves closely tied to the fate of their brothers in Europe. This national consciousness is manifested in the following ways:

(a) The Jewish masses in general now want to affirm their own *nationality* as against other peoples. Violent Jewish nationalism corresponds to the violence of the persecutions and anti-Semitism.

(b) The eyes of the Jewish masses in Europe are turned toward emigration. With all frontiers hermetically sealed, and as a result of the general conditions of the postwar world and in harmony with the engulfing wave of nationalism, the desire of the Jews to leave a continent which for them is nothing but a vast grave-yard finds its expression primarily in a *Zionist* desire to go to Palestine.

(c) Within the Zionist movement, the struggle for the "Jewish state," hitherto conducted exclusively by the extreme right (the "revisionists"), has now been taken up by all parties (the "Biltmore program") except the centrist Hashomer Hatzair.

The rebirth of the national consciousness of the masses is the result of capitalism's decay which raises once more all the problems that had been solved in its period of expansion. The Fourth International, basing itself firmly on its program and on a scientific analysis of the situation in Palestine but at the same time taking into account the actual state of mind of the Jewish masses, must recognize that their desire to lead their own national existence is a legitimate one. The Fourth International must show concretely that the winning of their nationality cannot be realized within decaying capitalist society, and is especially unrealizable and reactionary in Palestine. The Fourth International must show that for the Jews as for all other peoples of the earth, the defense or the final winning of their own nationality cannot be achieved by building "closed" states and economies, but that a planned world socialist economy is the only realistic framework within which the free and normal development of a people is possible today. The Fourth International must make the Jewish masses aware of the terrible catastrophes which await them if the decay of capitalism continues its course. Integration of the Jewish emancipation movement within the movement of the world working-class is the only thing that will make possible a harmonious solution of the Jewish problem. Socialist planned economy, "completely altering the topography of the globe" (Trotsky), will assure to all who

desire it their own national existence within the framework of the United States of the World.

A Program of Action

8. But the Fourth International will never win decisive influence over the Jewish masses by simply proclaiming that only the socialist revolution will bring their emancipation. Only by taking leadership of a vast *world movement of solidarity* on the part of the proletariat toward the victims of imperialist and fascist persecution, only by showing the Jews in practice that the solutions proposed by the revolutionary movement offer more hope and are more realistic than the Zionist "solution"—only in this way will the Fourth International succeed at the next turn in drawing the Jewish masses into the world struggle against imperialism. To march against the Zionist current today, and to oppose to it another *immediate and concrete* solution—these are the two indispensable factors in making preparations for the next stage. When the Jewish masses have gone through their disillusioning experience with Zionism and have learned the futility of their efforts and sacrifices, they will turn toward us—provided we understand how to move toward them today with our solutions as well as with an intransigent criticism of Zionism.

(a) All sections of the Fourth International must advance the slogan: "*Open the doors of every country to the Jewish refugees! Abolish all restrictions on immigration!*" This slogan must be supported especially in the United States, on the one hand, and by the English, Canadian, French and all the Latin-American sections on the other. The latter, particularly the Argentine and Brazil sections, and also our Australian section, must add to this the slogan: "*Abolish all discriminatory racial and religious clauses in immigration legislation!*" Every concrete occasion (complaints about the insufficiency of manpower and the population decline, partial opening of the country to certain categories of immigrants, actions in commemoration of the victims of fascism, etc.) must be utilized to arouse the working-class public opinion of the country and to demand the launching of concrete actions as the way to get immediate results. Resolutions like those of the CIO must be used as a point of departure for demanding actions from the World Federation of Trade Unions, for organizing joint movements in those sections of the economy and society which are most ready to express their solidarity in action (seamen, government employes, etc.) through slow-down strikes, organized sabotage of discriminatory measures, protest actions, joint meetings and manifestations, etc. *Only insofar as our sections can prove to the Jews that they are carrying on a real and effective struggle for the opening of their own country to immigration—only thus will they succeed in getting the Jews to choose immigration into these countries rather than into Palestine*, since immigration into Palestine would then be more difficult while at the same time constituting an act contrary to the interests of the anti-imperialist masses of the Middle East.

(b) All sections of the Fourth International must devote themselves seriously to the task of combatting the foul vapors of anti-Semitic ideology existing or steadily growing in large layers of the population of every country. This work of disinfestation is all the more urgent because the "official" working-class movement, whether through conservatism, cowardliness or narrow partisan calculation (the anti-Trotskyism of the French CP is expressed not infrequently in anti-Semitic arguments), does nothing to eliminate from the consciousness of the masses the anti-Jewish poison introduced by the Hitler propaganda. On every concrete occasion our sections must demolish the fascist

lies about "Jewish capitalism" or the "Jewish monopolists." They must constantly warn the proletarian mass organizations against every attempt to rebuild anti-Semitic organizations. Using the tragic examples of the last years, they must impregnate the consciousness of the masses with the fundamental truth that their own fate is at stake in the struggle against anti-Semitic gangsterism. *Only insofar as our sections can bring the masses to understand this truth and to translate it into action—only thus will they succeed in convincing the Jews that the integration of their emancipation movement into the world working-class movement is the only thing which will put them in a position to defend themselves effectively against new waves of anti-Semitism.*

(c) All sections of the Fourth International which are faced with an organized fascist movement making full use of anti-Semitic demagogic and proceeding to terrorist acts against the Jews, must strive to mobilize the working class in *armed formations* (militias, etc.) to defend the Jewish people. Wherever the Jewish population is geographically concentrated in *Jewish quarters*, they must propose and help to set up *armed defense guards*, while endeavoring to fuse them with the workers' militias. They must explain to the Jewish masses that only such fusion in the armed struggle can guarantee an effective defense; but at the same time they must warn the workers that only armed defense of the Jews can prevent the crushing of the entire working-class movement later on by the same fascist weapons.

C. The Present Aspect of the Palestine Problem

9. The Palestine problem has received a new and special importance since the end of the Second World War because of a number of "new factors" profoundly changing its physiognomy:

(a) The *industrialization* of the Near and Middle East has to some extent strengthened the native Arab bourgeoisie in Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Lebanon, and to a lesser degree in the other Arab countries. The social differentiation of the old feudal or patriarchal Arab society has been speeded up. An Arab proletariat much more powerful numerically and already politically conscious has appeared on the political scene in numerous countries of the Middle East (strikes in Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Iraq and Iran). Arab *nationalism* shows the same differentiations. Alongside feudal and reactionary pan-Islamism there now appears a progressive pan-Arab current which sees in the realization of a union of the Arab countries of the Middle East the only real framework for the development of the productive forces and for the constitution of an Arab state. The bourgeoisie can support this idea only in a hesitant way on an ideological plane, insofar as it desires expansion of the market for its industry which has been plunged in a profound crisis since the end of the war. The only force capable of *accomplishing* the program of the national-democratic revolution in the Arab world is the proletariat, which alone can carry out to the end, through the mechanism of the *permanent revolution*, the struggle against feudalism, for the agrarian revolution, for the emancipation of the Arab world from imperialist intervention, and for the constitution of the unity of the Arab world.

(b) Growth of *anti-imperialist* movements within the framework of the colonial revolutions, the most significant upheavals of the immediate postwar period. The weakening of the old imperialist powers (Great Britain, France, Italy) had the result that the bourgeoisie and even certain feudal layers seized the opportunity of obtaining by pressure—and without having to

unloose genuine mass struggles, from which they always recoil—important concessions from the occupying powers, such as withdrawal of French troops from Syria and Lebanon and preparatory steps for withdrawal of British troops from Egypt. These various retreats on the part of imperialism are an incentive for the anti-imperialist struggle in the other colonial or semi-colonial countries of the Middle East. They strike a powerful blow at the prestige of imperialism and they increase the confidence of the native masses in their own strength.

(c) Transformation of *Palestine* into the *key position* in the system of imperialist defense in the Eastern Mediterranean. After the withdrawal of British troops from Egypt, Palestine will be the main base for the British fleet, air force, land army and secret services in the Eastern Mediterranean, and the key position for defense of the Suez Canal and the imperialist route to India. The terrorist actions are used simply as a pretext for the large concentrations of British troops in Palestine. In reality, what is involved for British imperialism is constructing a strong base with a view to the coming conflicts and for defense of the Empire.

(d) Transformation of the *Middle East* into one of the *main stakes in the rivalry* between the "Big Three." Before the war the Middle East was the part of the world where the predominant influence of British imperialism was least menaced. Since then, the drive of Rommel all the way to El Alamein, the installing of American "observers" in the kingdom of Ibn Saud, the outbreak of the Anglo-American dispute over Arabian oil and the Russo-Anglo-American dispute over Iranian oil, the Russian penetration into Iranian Azerbaijan, the Russian attempts to threaten the integrity of Turkish territory, the organizing of the Orthodox Church throughout the Middle East as a powerful agency of the Kremlin diplomacy—all these have brought into question the exclusive domination of Great Britain in this part of the world and have transformed it into an arena of constant conflicts between the great powers. And since the Middle East is, moreover, the least tapped and most important source of oil in the entire world, it is now becoming the principal contested area in the world struggle for this strategic raw material, the reserves of which in the United States and the Soviet Union are greatly reduced. The various "tactical" moves of American and Soviet diplomacy toward the Zionist movement must be seen as elements in their intrigues to supplant British domination in the Arab world.

(e) The demand for immigration into Palestine—advanced by the mass of Jewish refugees in Europe and supported by a powerful protest movement on the part of American Zionism, and culminating in the "peaceful" actions of the Hagana in Palestine as well as the terrorism of the Irgun Zvai Leumi and the Stern group.

Our Point-of Departure

10. The starting point for the position of the Fourth International on the Palestine problem must be an understanding of the necessity for the anti-imperialist struggle waged by the Arabs, setting as the goal of this struggle the establishment of a union of the Arab countries of the Middle East. The Arab masses, the workers and poor peasants, constitute the revolutionary force of the Middle East and also of Palestine, because of their numbers, their social conditions and the material conditions of their existence which set them in direct conflict with imperialism. The revolutionary party must base itself first of all on the dynamics of the class struggle waged in defense of their interests. The Middle East section of the Fourth Interna-

tional, growing as the Arab proletariat develops and grows in strength, and built on the base of the existing nuclei in Palestine and Egypt, must lead the actions of the masses in defense of their daily interests, must raise the workers' consciousness to an understanding of the necessity of political action, and must strive to weld a bloc of all the exploited around the revolutionary proletariat through a struggle for the four following essential demands:

(a) Immediate withdrawal of British troops. Complete independence for Palestine.

(b) Immediate calling of a single and sovereign Constituent Assembly.

(c) Expropriation of the lands of the *effendis*, with management of the expropriated land by committees of poor peasants.

(d) Expropriation of all enterprises which are the property of foreign capital, with workers' management of the nationalized enterprises.

Through the struggle for these four central objectives the revolutionary party will educate the masses on the need for setting themselves increasingly in opposition to the Arab bourgeoisie which is so closely tied to the *effendis*. When the struggle of the masses reaches its peak, when committees of workers and peasants cover all the Middle East and the question of *seizure of power by the Arab proletariat* is placed on the order of the day, the revolutionary party will have sufficiently educated the masses to be able to lead them on to expropriation of the "national" bourgeoisie.

11. Can these four objectives be realized *at the present stage* in a common struggle of the Arab masses and the Jewish working-class masses? To answer this question we must start not from abstract formulas but from the social and ideological realities of Jewish life in Palestine. With the exception of several thousand Jewish workers employed on the railroads, in the IPC, the refineries and the port facilities, the entire Jewish industrial and agricultural proletariat of Palestine is employed in "closed" Jewish industry, which operates on the basis of the steady imports of foreign capital and guarantees the Jewish workers a standard of living far above that of the Arab workers. Moreover, the Jewish community in Palestine lives in constant fear of an Arab uprising, and in the face of this danger places all its hopes in continuous immigration and maintenance of the British occupation. We can therefore assert the following:

(a) Far from desiring the immediate withdrawal of the British occupation forces, the Jewish masses on the contrary wish to have them maintained in the country. The only thing demanded by the Zionist leaders, bourgeois as well as workers, is concessions on immigration and on the setting up of a Jewish state. But the overwhelming majority of Jews in Palestine (primarily the Hagana) are not ready to "act" against imperialism except insofar as such "action" does not endanger the fundamental "security" of the Jewish community as against the Arab world. That is why armed struggle or even large-scale sabotage undertaken by the Jewish masses, is at the present stage virtually excluded. The aim of Zionist action today is simply to *exert pressure* on British imperialism in order to win concessions, and not to strive to expel British imperialism from Palestine.

The terrorist movement and the so-called "Hebrew Committee of National Liberation" do set forth the objective of expelling British imperialism from Palestine. But they cannot conceive of such expulsion except in the form of a general arming of the Jews in Palestine who would hold the Arab world in check until such time as large-scale immigration of Jews would give

them the military strength to oppose the "Arab menace." These ideas, an abstraction formed out of complete utopianism, are ultra-reactionary and can only deepen still further the gulf separating the Jewish and the Arab workers in Palestine.

(b) All the Jews in Palestine are opposed to the immediate calling of a Constituent Assembly, which would place power in the hands of the *Arab* majority of the population.

The terrorists claim that they are struggling for a free, independent and democratic Palestine. But since they are the most ardent partisans of a "Jewish state," they also have to find an excuse for depriving the majority of the population of sovereignty. They say they are not ready to organize general elections until the Jews in exile have been given "the opportunity within a certain period of time" to return to their country. In other words, they do not support general elections until such moment as the Jews constitute an absolute majority of the population.

(c) The Jews have no interest in expropriation of the *effendis*, for this would actually deprive them of any possibility of buying new lands and enlarging their "closed Jewish economy" in Palestine.

(d) They are even more violently opposed to expropriation of the enterprises built with foreign capital and to the closing of the country to capital imports, since this would be a death-blow to their Jewish economy.

Thus the conclusion is inevitable that at the present stage the Jewish masses in Palestine do not as a whole constitute an anti-imperialist force, and that the establishing of a Jewish-Arab anti-imperialist bloc cannot become a slogan for immediate agitation.

12. The question of *Jewish immigration into Palestine* must be viewed in the light of the foregoing considerations. So long as the Jewish and Arab economies exist as two separate economies in Palestine, the Arab working population will consider every new influx of Jewish immigrants as an act of open hostility. With the entire population of Palestine living under the perspective of the outbreak of a bloody conflict in the Middle East, the Arab masses must necessarily look upon the arrival of new immigrants as the arrival of *enemy soldiers*; and this point of view is confirmed, moreover, by the way in which the Jewish masses look upon this immigration. That is why we must recognize the fact that continuance of Jewish immigration into Palestine widens the breach between the Jewish and the Arab workers, strengthens the positions of and prolongs the presence of British imperialism, and cannot but prepare the ground for the complete extermination of the Jewish minority when the Arab uprising comes in the next stage.

The Fourth International must therefore do its utmost to dissuade the Jewish refugees from immigration to Palestine; it must endeavor, within the framework of a movement of world solidarity, to get the doors of other countries opened to them, and must warn that Palestine is for them a terrible trap; and in its *concrete propaganda* on the question of Jewish immigration, it must start from the *sovereignty of the Arab population*. Only the Arab population has the right to determine whether or not immigration into Palestine should be open or closed to the Jews. *The immigration question must be decided by the Constituent Assembly elected by all the population from the age of 18.* That is the only democratic position on this question—and at the same time it is a position which fits into the framework of general revolutionary strategy in the Middle East.

Furthermore, the Fourth International must condemn and combat the *British* repression of Jewish immigration, denounce

all their police measures and constantly oppose to these the concrete demand for withdrawal of the British troops. It will not be hard to explain to the Arab masses that this imperialist repression, now limited to the Jews, is only the preparation for much more savage repression of future Arab movements. It is in the interest of the Arab masses that every protest movement against British police terror should be utilized to bring forward concretely the question of withdrawal of British troops. Moreover, it would then become clear that the very "victims" of the repression would not at all accept a consistent struggle against their "oppressors."

Similarly, the Fourth International must oppose all the "solutions" proposed and perhaps carried out by imperialism, with or without the help of its agents in the Jewish Agency. All these solutions, such as division of Palestine, limited immigration of 100,000 Jews, surrender of the British mandate to the UN, have the aim of prolonging the presence of British troops in the country, and they all deprive the majority of the population of its right to self-determination.

13. At the present stage, *large-scale unity* between the Jews and the Arabs in Palestine is unrealizable; only on a very limited scale and to the extent that a section of the Jewish workers is employed outside the "closed" Jewish economy, has it been possible for Jewish-Arab strikes such as those of the past year to occur. But this does not mean that such unity is excluded for all time. Up to now the Jewish population in Palestine has bent all its efforts toward strengthening its autonomous economic and political positions. But already the radical section of the Jewish nationalist youth has recognized the futility of the Jewish Agency's efforts at "conciliation" and "maneuvering" in order to win from imperialism or from the great powers unlimited immigration and establishment of a Jewish state. The present waves of terrorism on the part of the Irgun Zva'i Leumi and the Stern group are *acts of despair* on the part of this minority which is first utilized and then abandoned by the bourgeois leaders of the Zionist movement and which arose because of the blind alley into which the entire movement has wandered. Obviously this terrorism of despair is not in itself the road to a solution of the Palestine problem. Quite the contrary. Against this terrorism, the Arab feudal lords and bourgeoisie are able to create an atmosphere of artificial "solidarity" between the masses and imperialism, and to aggravate the hostility between the Arab and the Jewish workers. From a military standpoint, the terrorist acts can only hasten the establishment of a British police force in Palestine, the goal of the entire postwar imperialist policy. But as the *ultimate phase* of Zionism, terrorism, achieving no concrete results, may make the most conscious and most active elements among the Jewish masses more disposed to *reconsider* the whole question of Zionism and the solution of the Jewish problem. This reconsideration of the entire question is what the Fourth International must work for today.

Any possible unity between the Jews and the Arabs must first of all move along the road of the *abolishing of all racial ideology and practice* on the part of the Jews.

— Down with exclusively Jewish enterprises! For the employment of Arab workers in every industry in the country!

— Down with separate Jewish and Arab trade unions! For the establishment of Jewish and Arab trade unions!

— Down with the hidden boycott of Arab or Jewish products! Down with the "closed Jewish economy!" For the mutual integration of the Jewish and Arab economies!

— Down with the idea of a "Jewish state" imposed on the

majority of the population! For the elimination of Zionist concepts from the workers' movement! For the integration of the Jewish workers into the national-democratic revolutionary movement of the Arab masses!

—For the breaking-away of the Jewish trade unions and working-class organizations from the Jewish Agency, and the publication in full of all the secret proceedings of the Agency.

—For the breaking-away of the Arab trade unions and working-class organizations from the Arab League and the Arab High Committee for Palestine, and the publication in full of all the secret proceedings of these organizations.

All these slogans, which *today* can be advanced only as general propaganda slogans, will necessarily meet with furious opposition from the Zionists, not only for ideological reasons but also and especially because the *privileged material situation* of the Jews in relation to the Arab masses is thus threatened. But as the bankruptcy of Zionism becomes more and more strikingly revealed to the masses; as immigration slows down and the terrible danger of the Arab explosion comes nearer; as our propaganda helps in getting the masses to realize that it is a *life-or-death* question for them to find a common ground with the Arab masses, even at the price of temporarily giving up certain privileges—under these conditions our slogans will be able to pass from the propaganda stage to the stage of agita-

tion, and will help in bringing about a split between the workers' movement and Zionism. This is the condition *sine qua non* for the realization of *Jewish-Arab unity of action* against imperialism. This alone can prevent the Arab revolution in the Middle East from passing over the corpse of Palestinian Judaism. In Palestine as well as among the Jewish masses in the rest of the world, a firm position today against the current is the only thing which will make it possible to work toward a reversal of the current in the next stage.

This means also that it is necessary for the sections of the Fourth International to carry on preliminary propaganda work within the Zionist organizations of the extreme left. While showing that the slogan of a "bi-national state" is a *nationalist* and anti-democratic slogan, running counter to both the right of self-determination and the immediate needs of the anti-imperialist struggle in Palestine, our members must at the same time constantly put on the order of the day the question of *concrete realization* of the slogan of Jewish-Arab unity. They must confront the centrist leaders with their responsibilities, they must put on the order of the day the adoption of the anti-racial program outlined above, and thus speed the development of the consciousness of the Jewish working-class vanguard beyond the stage of Zionism.

January 1, 1947.

Industrialization of the Negro

By F. FOREST

The entry of Negro workers into war production industries produced an industrial and social change of first magnitude, the scope of which has not yet been fully grasped. It is true that four out of five Negro workers still remain in the unskilled category, but now they are not on the fringes of industry, but in the midst of the production process. An outstanding authority estimates that there has been more occupational diversification of Negro labor in the four years, 1940 to 1944, than in the preceding seventy-five years. (Robert C. Weaver, *Negro Labor*, p. 78.)

In viewing this development created by World War II, we must bear in mind the dialectical interrelationship between the development of industry initiated by the war boom, and the heightening of the Negro mass struggle which forced the introduction of Negroes into war industries, from which they had practically been excluded until mid-1942. It was the threat contained in the organization of the March-On-Washington movement in January 1941 which first brought the active pressure of the Negro masses to bear upon the Government and forced the incorporation of Negro labor into mass production industries.

Another feature of great importance is that the new migration of the Negro during the second World War encompasses the whole of the United States, including the Pacific Northwest. World War II completed the process begun in World War I of transforming the Negro question from a "Southern" to an all-American problem. The repercussions of this are so explosive that in the wake of the race conflicts during 1943, Attorney General Biddle, in his now infamous secret memorandum to President Roosevelt, had the effrontery to pose the question of containing the Negro migration. An analysis of the latest

data on this question is of utmost importance to Marxists who recognize in the Negro a most potent force in the making of the third American revolution.

I. The War-time Migration*

To the millions of unemployed at the outbreak of World War II, the establishment of mass production centers around war industries held a greater lure than did the Western lands for the old pioneer. Between 1940 to 1944 four million workers—who, with their families, totalled no less than nine million people—moved out of 30 states and into 18 other states and the District of Columbia. A million of these were Negroes. Contrast this with the fact that until mid-1942 Negro migration contributed no more than 5 per cent of total migration. The greatest movement was to the Pacific Northwest.

The United States Census Bureau, in conducting a survey in 1944 of the ten most congested production centers, found that, whereas the total population increased by 1,840,000 (19 per cent), in these centers the Negro population increased by 49 per cent. It is true that the overwhelming majority of Negroes still live in the South—nine million out of thirteen million. But whereas only 5 per cent of Negroes lived in the North in 1910,

*The reader is referred to the following material: (a) The U. S. Census Bureau reports on the ten congested areas: Charleston, S. C., Detroit-Willow Run, Hampton Road area, Los Angeles, Mobile, Alabama, Muskegon area, San Francisco-Bay area, Portland-Vancouver area, Puget Sound and San Diego; (b) the Urban League Report to the President: "Racial Aspects of Reconversion, 1940-44"; and (c) the special issues of *The Journal of Educational Sociology* edited by L. D. Reddick, the January 1944 issue on "The Negro in the North during Wartime," and the November 1945 issue on "Race Relations on the Pacific Coast."

by 1930 that percentage had grown to 13. What is more remarkable is that even during the depression, when there were no job opportunities in the North, the Negroes kept leaving the South. By 1940, the nearly 13 million Negroes in the United States were thus distributed: 9,904,619, or 77 per cent, lived in the South; 2,790,193, or 21.7 per cent lived in the North, and 170,706, or 1.3 per cent, lived in the West. By 1945 fully 25 per cent lived North and Northwest. More than 90 per cent of these are urbanized!

During the previous great migration North—there were two waves, 1916-1919 and 1921-1924—one and one-half million Negroes left the South. The Negro populations in Northern cities seemed to spring up overnight. Between 1910 and 1930 the Negroes in New York grew from 91,709 to 152,647, an increase of 66.3 per cent. In Chicago the Negro experienced a 148.2 per cent increase. Detroit's growth was the most phenomenal, from a mere 5,741 in 1910 to 40,838 in 1920—an increase of 611.3 per cent. These cities never ceased to grow, and this new migration in 1942-1945 has increased the Negro population of Chicago from 270,000 to 350,000, and that of Detroit from 150,000 to 230,000.

Recent Negro Migration

The present Negro migration had two outstanding new features: (1) the movement to the Pacific Northwest, hardly touched previously, and (2) the migration *within* the South, from rural to urban areas. In the Portland-Vancouver area the Negro population has increased no less than 437.5 per cent. There were, for instance, only 2,566 Negroes in the whole state of Oregon in 1940, 1,931 of whom lived in Portland. The Kaiser industries moved in, and by 1945 the Negro population leaped from less than 2,000 to 22,000. In Seattle the Negro population was 3,789, and that of near-by Bremerton had only 77. The Bremerton Navy Yard opened its doors to Negro labor, and five years later the Negro population of Bremerton leaped from a mere 77 to 4,617. Next to this "major area of tension on the West Coast," the Fair Employment Practices Commission (FEPC) lists the San Francisco-Bay area. In San Francisco itself there were only 4,846 Negroes in 1940. By 1945 the Negro population increased to 25,000.

Of equal importance with this movement to the Pacific Northwest has been the urbanization of the Negro within the South itself. Between 1942 to 1945, 250,000 Negroes shifted from rural to urban areas within the South. Mobile, Alabama, increased its Negro population by 106 per cent, from 30,554 to 60,000. Of the total population of Charleston, S. C., 70 per cent came from elsewhere in the South. The Negro population in the South is now approximately 50 per cent urbanized. To get the epochal significance of this, we must take a brief view of the South.

II. The South

In the period 1940-44 non-farm employment in the 13 Southern states had increased by one-third. It was not, however, the mechanization of agriculture which freed the agricultural population for manufacturing employment. There had been a backlog of 2 million unemployed in the South at the outbreak of the war, and it is these who poured into the war industries, which were established in the South alongside the cotton culture. *This is the key to the whole industrialization of the South which, ever since the end of the Civil War, has been built not directly upon the ruins of slavery, but alongside its economic remains.*

I. "The Boss and Black" Relationship*

Industrialization in the South, instead of disintegrating the peasantry, i.e., transforming the overwhelming majority into proletarians, and thus creating the traditional home market for bourgeois production, had developed so haltingly that the black peasant, or sharecropper, remained largely untouched. The bourgeoisie was compelled to sacrifice this section of the home market for the sake of maintaining the archaic social structure there. Continuation of the crop lien system, instituted at the end of the Civil War, forced Northern capital to follow what is euphemistically called the Southern "color pattern." The basis for it is the "boss and black relationship" inherent in cotton culture. The labor supply of the plantations was left intact in order not to intrude upon these semi-feudal agrarian relations upon which cotton production is based. These remain "less changed than the soil itself on which this cotton is grown." (*The Deep South*, p. 266.)

The gory reign of "white supremacy" is rooted in cotton culture. The "gentlemen's agreement" between the bourbon South and the Wall Street North which owns it, was that Southern industry develop under the conditions that it leave untouched the black labor supply of the plantation, holds to this day.** One of the main reasons why the Negro was slow to benefit from the industry boom produced by World War II is that the Southern oligarchy insisted that black labor be left "free" for cotton picking. And they were able to have this extraordinary power, although war-time industry in the South was government-financed to the extent of 81 per cent, as against 65 per cent for the rest of the nation!

2. Industrialization***

Just as cotton labor was at first exclusively a Negro occupation, so textile labor has been exclusively a poor white occupation. As late as 1937 only 20,000 of the 350,000 workers in the textile industry were Negroes. With World War II production of textiles increased tremendously, while the labor force practically doubled, now comprising 650,000 workers. But only 26,000 of these are Negroes and almost all of them are employed not in the direct process of production but around the mill.

The Negro, being at the very bottom of the social structure is pushed by capitalism into the worst said industries. But as capitalist economy develops, these low-paid industries become ever more important. Thus heavy industry did not, like textiles,

* Cf. Johnson, Embree and Alexander: *The Collapse of Cotton Tenancy*; also *Report on Economic Conditions of the South*, prepared for the President, by the National Emergency Council, 1935. For later data, Chapters 11 and 12 of *An American Dilemma* by Gunnar Myrdal, as well as the special *Business Week Reports to Executives* on "Better Farming, Better Markets."

** The Morgans, Mellons, Fords and Rockefeller control the South. The Tennessee Coal, Iron & Rrd. Co., for ex., is a subsidiary of U. S. Steel; the International Harvester Co. has acquired many thousands of acres of land. To see the extent to which finance capital of the North owns semi-feudal South, cf. *The South in Progress* by Katherine Lumpkin.

*** For the industrialization and trade unionization of the Negro both North and South, see, for the period to 1930: *Black Worker* by Spero and Harris; for the CIO: *Black Workers and the New Unions* by Cayton and Mitchell; up to 1942: Chapters 13, 18 and 19 and Appendix 6 in *An American Dilemma* by Gunnar Myrdal; and for the war period and reconversion: *Organized Labor and the Negro* by Northrup, and *Negro Labor, A National Problem* by Weaver.

by-pass the Negro. From the very place he occupies in capitalist society, the Negro necessarily becomes one of the principal forces for its overthrow.

The Negro proletariat has been very strategically placed in industry. By 1907 39.1 per cent of Southern steel workers were Negroes. In 1930, out of a total of 19,392 employed in the iron and steel industry, 13,331, or 68.74 per cent were Negroes. The latest movement into Southern urban areas shows how important is the place they occupy even in single enterprises. For example, out of the 25,000 workers of the Alabama Dry Dock and Shipbuilding Co., in Mobile, 20 per cent are Negroes.

Between textiles which employ no Negroes in the direct process of production; and mines and steel mills, in which Negroes are more or less equal in number to whites, there are the so-called "strictly Negro jobs" in the South—saw mills, fertilizer plants, etc. These remain unorganized. They are located rurally so that the Negro worker is isolated. But, on the whole, the Negro has been an integral part of the labor force in heavy industry since the earliest days of Southern industrialization, and he has, moreover, been a militant member of whatever unions were implanted there, and opened their doors to him.

At the height of its power, the IWW claimed one million members, of whom 100,000 were Negroes. The most important of the IWW unions among Negroes were precisely in the prejudice-ridden South, in the lumber industries of Louisiana and Texas, and among the longshoremen and dockworkers in Baltimore, Norfolk and Philadelphia. The Brotherhood of Timber Workers in the lumber camps of Louisiana, Texas and Arkansas had 35,000 members in 1910, of whom 50 per cent were Negroes. The Negro proletarian has from the first been an active militant of the United Mine Workers. It was the UMW militants who were used by the CIO organization drives to organize steel. Whereas the Negro was used in 1919 to break the steel strike, in 1937 the Negro steel worker broke Big Steel's lordly refusal to negotiate with the union.

The Negro proletarian is not the cowed plantation hand. He is literate and has been disciplined by the factory. He knows the might of a cohesive group, organized by the very process of production. He is, and feels himself, a powerful force. No less than two million are now members of the CIO, AFL and independent unions. Yet four out of five Negroes remain in an unskilled category. And when union meetings are over, the white and Negro workers, in the main, go their separate ways.

It is clear that the recent proletarianization and urbanization has far from "solved" the Negro problem. The "boss and black" relationship still pursues him, in the city as well as in the country, North, as we shall see, as well as South. Wage differentials exist in the factory as in the field. Jim Crowism persists. The contradiction between the potency in the process of production and his seeming impotence outside cannot but find a manner of expression.

The explosive power lodged in the struggle of the Negro proletarian in the Southern cities will have significance in repercussions for the contiguous rural Black Belt. It will strike at the heart of the Southern economy and Southern politics and upset as well Northern capitalistic interests which have so readily accepted the South's segregation pattern in order to coin profit from it. But among the millions suffering on the plantations and among the thousands who have won themselves a place in industry, the most insistent problem is and must continue to be for some time the emancipation from the national oppression they feel at every turn.

III. The North

The basic movement of capital in 1917-1919 and the movement of the industrial reserve army of labor brought the Negroes to the North and sent them into mass industries. With World War I the Negro became an established part of the American labor force. In 1930 they constituted 22.7 per cent of labor in building trades, 16.2 per cent of the unskilled in steel, 25 per cent of the unskilled in meat packing, 31.7 per cent of longshoremen and 89.5 per cent in saw mills. However, so long as the basic industries remained unorganized—and they could not but remain unorganized until the unions let down the color bars along with the craft lines—the Negro could not become an integral part of the trade union movement. That is why the coming of the CIO also witnessed the unionization of the Negro on an unprecedented scale.

Nevertheless, in the North, too, the proletarianization and trade unionization of the Negro did not raise him to the status of the white proletarian and did not dissolve his struggle for elementary democratic rights into the general class struggle of organized labor against the capitalist regime. First, in the trade unions he must fight as a Negro for his place as a worker. Wage differentials, discrimination in seniority, upgrading have by no means been abolished. Then, outside the trade union, he is ghetto-ized.

The creation of comparatively free proletarian and semi-proletarian masses in the large urban centers of the North during World War I first made possible the development of a powerful Negro press. In this respect, Gunnar Myrdal has correctly pointed out: "The foreign language press is doomed to disappear as immigrants become fully assimilated and are not replenished by new immigration. The Negro press, on the contrary, is bound to become ever stronger as the Negroes are increasingly educated and culturally assimilated, but not given entrance to the white world." (*An American Dilemma*, Vol. II, p. 912.)

But, although the national oppression produced the Negro press, and his ghetto-ization the Negro community, that very community has special characteristics precisely because the Negro is so overwhelmingly proletarian. A beautiful example of this dual movement and its economic base was given by the *Pittsburgh Courier* in 1937. This bourgeois newspaper, most intensely race conscious, nevertheless led the swing of the more progressive Negroes in the community towards entry into and acceptance of the CIO.

On the other hand, the more integrated the Negro is in the trade union, the more he resents his ghetto-ization outside. At the very time that he has joined the trade union, he has also joined in large numbers an independent mass Negro organization which fights for his democratic rights. The new migration gave new life to the NAACP, which had been declining because of its do-nothingness. During World War II the NAACP experienced so great an influx of membership that it now has nearly one million members. Its greatest increase was precisely in such centers as Detroit, where the militant UAW has made the Negroes' trade union integration easier than elsewhere.

An over-all picture, North and South, at the outbreak of the recent war showed that unemployment had been as high as 17 per cent of the total Negro labor force. The number of Negroes in manufacturing, which had risen from 6.2 per cent in 1910 to 7.3 per cent in 1930 had sunk to a new low of 5.1 per cent by 1940. The movement back into industry did not gain a real

foothold till mid-1942. The war period, 1940-1945 took a million into the armed forces. Another million swelled the civilian labor force, raising the total Negro employment, from 4.4 million to 5.3 million. The employment of women, which had increased from 1.5 million to 2.1 million has an especial importance because it meant not merely an increase in employment, but so great a movement from domestic service to basic industry as to be comparable in importance to the movement from farm to non-farm employment.

This movement into basic industry also, of course, characterized the Negro male labor force. Negro employment in heavy industry tripled. A break-down of percentage increases in various heavy industries will show how strategically he was placed.

**PER CENT OF NON-WHITE WORKERS EMPLOYED IN
SELECTED WAR INDUSTRIES, 1942-1945**

	July 1942	January 1945
Agricultural Machinery & Tractors	1.9	6.0
Aircraft	2.9	5.8
Aluminum and Magnesium Products	7.1	13.5
Blast furnaces, Steel Works & Rolling Mills ..	9.8	11.8
Communication Equipment & Related Products ..	0.7	4.9
Explosives	3.3	7.1
Iron and Steel Foundry Products	18.6	25.4
Shipbuilding	5.7	11.7
Tanks	2.2	13.0

A majority of the one and one-half million Negroes in war industries were concentrated in the ten most congested war industrial areas, listed in the section on migration. Another 9 per cent were concentrated in four cities—Pittsburgh, Birmingham, New York and St. Louis.

Two characteristic examples of the horrible housing situation which this produced will illuminate the Negro's feeling of confinement. In Baltimore, where the Negro constitutes 20 per cent of the population, he is segregated in 2 per cent of the residential area. In Chicago 250,000 live in units built for 150,000. In wards 2 and 3 of that city, the density of population is 95,000 per square mile, which is comparable to Calcutta, India! This congestion has served to sharpen the Negro's frustration, which W. E. B. Du Bois so graphically described in 1935: "It is doubtful," he wrote then "if there is another group of 12 million people in the midst of a modern cultured land who are so widely inhibited and mentally confined as the American Negro." (*Black Reconstruction*, p. 703.)

It is precisely in the Northern urban centers* that the political results inherent in the situation in the South receive their sharpest political expression. Capitalism, in dragging the Negroes to the North, cannot prevent the explosion of revolt against the national oppression which are kept beneath the surface in the South. The ghetto-like existence, the social humiliation not only spring historically from the cotton plantation. The cotton plantation system also exports to the North its workers, imbued with the ideology of the South, to stimulate, encourage and organize the anti-Negro prejudices of the people

*In his "Growing Up in the Black Belt" Charles S. Johnson points out that the urban Southern Negro is more race conscious than the rural Southern Negro, and that the Negro in the North is more race conscious than the Negro in the South. Only he who understands the dual development of the Negro from a Marxist point of view can grasp the full significance of this fact; the "talented tenth," unfortunately, does not.

of the North which are fortified among the working class by competition in industry.

The double oppression which the bourgeoisie has placed upon the Negro, as a worker and as a nationally oppressed minority, has not only resulted in placing him in strategic industries, but will give his developing class consciousness a hostility to the existing society and a keener determination to destroy it.

The proletarian vanguard must respond by recognizing not only the validity but the inevitability of Negro mass movements against this double oppression and strive to lead this movement and harness its revolutionary potentialities for the struggle against capitalist society. But only that revolutionary party can do this which understands the objectively revolutionary role that these independent mass movements can play in the reconstruction of society on communist beginnings. Trotsky saw this most profoundly and hence spoke with confidence: "We must say to the conscious elements of the Negroes that they are convoked by the historic development to become a vanguard of the working class. What serves as the brake on the higher strata? It is the privileges and comforts that hinder them from becoming revolutionists. It does not exist for the Negroes. What can transform a certain stratum and make it more capable of courage and sacrifice? It is concentrated in the Negroes. If it happens that we are not able to find the road to this stratum, then we are not worthy at all. The permanent revolution and all the rest would be only a lie."

December 1, 1947

Editorial Corrections

The following editorial corrections of the Draft Theses adopted by the International Secretariat of the Fourth International on *The Russian Question Today (Stalinism and the Fourth International)* arrived too late for inclusion in the text which appeared in our November-December issue:

At the end of Section 1, "The Russian Question" (page 264, second column) insert the following paragraph:

"This program of struggle within the Soviet Union remains essentially valid for the present period. The Russian Bolshevik-Leninists, on the basis of this program, work out specific slogans corresponding to the concrete unfoldment of the situation."

In Section 2 "Stalinism Outside Russia" (page 270, second column, 3rd line from the top), point (d) which reads:

"(d) Fight against the GPU by all means"

is deleted. Insert in its place the following paragraph:

"(d) Against the GPU, the Stalinist murder machine, the Trotskyists wage unceasing warfare by all the means at their disposal. The Stalinists have taken advantage of every social upheaval to kill off numerous Trotskyist and other anti-Stalinist militants in order to eliminate physically all cadres who could give revolutionary leadership to the working class (Spain, Greece, Indo-China). The whole criminal record of the GPU must be constantly exposed. The greatest alertness must be shown to all new GPU crimes in preparation. The broadest sections of public opinion must be mobilized against them. The fullest and most careful measures of self-defense must be undertaken. Against the calculated cold-blooded murder methods of the GPU, we must utilize every means at our command."

From the Arsenal of Marxism

90 Years of the "Communist Manifesto"

By LEON TROTSKY

The document which appears below was prepared by Leon Trotsky as a preface to the publication in the Union of South Africa of the first edition of the *Communist Manifesto* in Afrikaans, the language used by the Dutch settlers there.

Trotsky's "Ninety Years of the Communist Manifesto," appeared in English translation in the February 1938 issue of our magazine which was then called *The New International*. It is now a bibliographical rarity.

As the reader can gather for himself, Trotsky used the occasion, ten years ago, to provide a rounded exposition of the *Communist Manifesto* itself from the standpoint of the ninety years that have elapsed since its publication. In this sense, Trotsky's review and critique constitutes an indispensable supplement to this greatest classic of Marxism.

Ten years have passed since then. The reader will find elsewhere in this issue our views on the application to the United States of the central ideas in the *Manifesto*.

In connection with what Trotsky wrote ten years ago, we wish here to take up only a single point, namely the prediction at the end of his article:

When the centennial of the *Communist Manifesto* is celebrated, the Fourth International will have become the decisive force on our planet.

A great deal has been made in pseudo-Marxist circles of the fact that the history of the last ten years has "not borne out" this prediction. The Fourth International, they point out, has not emerged on the world arena, as an overpowering mass force. They choose to ignore completely the great strides that have been achieved by the world Trotskyist movement in these intervening years. They dismiss the fact that in one country

after another in Europe and in Asia, the Trotskyist parties are penetrating the mass movement and playing an ever more important role in the political life of the working class. In many other countries, especially in Latin America, firm cadres are being formed.

Working under the greatest material and political difficulties, against monstrous odds, the world Trotskyist movement is the only one that passed and survived the acid test of war, while everyone of its pretentious rivals has either disintegrated or disappeared.

But this does not suffice for the cynics and skeptics. They view Trotsky's prediction as if it were a promissory note that must be paid in full on the day it falls due, with the signatory to this promissory note declared a bankrupt if unable to pay.

To adopt such an attitude is to view Marxism not as guide to revolutionary action, but as a crystal ball for fortune tellers. Predictions play a specific role in Marxism. It has nothing in common with crystal-gazing. Marxist predictions are primarily designed to determine long-range strategy and perspectives.

In his prediction ten years ago, Trotsky in essence did nothing more than reiterate the world revolutionary perspective of the original founders of Marxism. The perspective of the *Manifesto* itself. To concretize it in terms of existing conditions, Trotsky pointed to the only world movement that is the legitimate heir of the teachings and heritage of the *Communist Manifesto*—the Fourth International.

In this sense, the prediction remains wholly valid. Apart from the Fourth International there is no other "decisive revolutionary force on our planet." Upon its activities and growth hinge the fate of mankind. And we remain confident that in its fullest sense as well—in the sense of leading the mass movements to victory in the struggle for Socialism—Trotsky's prediction will likewise be borne out in the days to come.—Ed.

* * *

It is hard to believe that the centennial of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* is only ten years away! This pamphlet, displaying greater genius than any other in world literature, astounds us even today by its freshness. Its most important sections appear to have been written yesterday. Assuredly, the young authors (Marx was 29, Engels 27) were able to look further into the future than anyone before them, and perhaps than anyone since them.

Already in their joint preface to the edition of 1872, Marx and Engels declared that despite the fact that certain secondary passages in the *Manifesto* were antiquated, they felt that they no longer had any right to alter the original text inasmuch as the *Manifesto* had already become a historical document, during the intervening period of twenty-five years. Sixty-five additional years have elapsed since that time. Isolated passages in the *Manifesto* have receded still further into the past. We shall try to establish succinctly in this Preface both those ideas in the *Manifesto* which retain their full force today and those which require important alteration or amplification.

1. The materialist conception of history, discovered by Marx only a short while before and applied with consummate skill in the *Manifesto*, has completely withstood the test of events and the blows of hostile criticism. It constitutes today

one of the most precious instruments of human thought. All other interpretations of the historical process have lost all scientific meaning. We can state with certainty that it is impossible in our time not only to be a revolutionary militant but even a literate observer in politics without assimilating the materialist interpretation of history.

2. The first chapter of the *Manifesto* opens with the following words: "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles." This postulate, the most important conclusion drawn from the materialist interpretation of history, immediately became an issue in the class struggle. Especially venomous attacks were directed by reactionary hypocrites, liberal doctrinaires and idealistic democrats against the theory which replaced "common welfare," "national unity" and "eternal moral truths" as the driving force by the struggle of material interests. They were later joined by recruits from the ranks of the labor movement itself, by the so-called revisionists, i.e., the proponents of reviewing ("revising") Marxism in the spirit of class collaboration and class conciliation. Finally, in our own time, the same path has been followed in practice by the contemptible epigones of the Communist International (the "Stalinists") : the policy of the so-called "People's Front" flows wholly from the denial of the laws of the class struggle. Meanwhile, it

is precisely the epoch of imperialism, bringing all social contradictions to the point of highest tension, which gives to the *Communist Manifesto* its supreme *theoretical* triumph.

3. The anatomy of capitalism, as a specific stage in the economic development of society, was given by Marx in its finished form in *Capital* (1867). But already in the *Communist Manifesto* the main lines of the future analysis are firmly sketched: the payment for labor power as equivalent to the cost of its reproduction; the appropriation of surplus value by the capitalists; competition as the basic law of social relations; the ruination of intermediate classes, i.e., the urban petty bourgeoisie and the peasantry; the concentration of wealth in the hands of an ever diminishing number of property owners at the one pole, and the numerical growth of the proletariat, at the other; the preparation of the material and political pre-conditions for the socialist regime.

"Theory of Impoverishment"

4. The proposition in the *Manifesto* concerning the tendency of capitalism to lower the living standards of the workers, and even to transform them into paupers had been subjected to a heavy barrage. Parsons, professors, ministers, journalists, social-democratic theoreticians, and trade union leaders came to the front against the so-called "theory of impoverishment". They invariably discovered signs of growing prosperity among the toilers, palming off the labor aristocracy as the proletariat, or taking a fleeting tendency as permanent. Meanwhile, even the development of the mightiest capitalism in the world, namely, U.S. capitalism has transformed millions of workers into paupers who are maintained at the expense of federal, municipal or private charity.

5. As against the *Manifesto*, which depicted commercial and industrial crises as a series of ever more extensive catastrophes, the revisionists vowed that the national and international development of trusts would assure control over the market, and lead gradually to the abolition of crises. The close of the last century and the beginning of the present one were in reality marked by a development of capitalism so tempestuous as to make crises seem only "accidental" stoppages. But this epoch has gone beyond return. In the last analysis, truth proved to be on Marx's side in this question as well.

6. "The executive of the modern state is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie." This succinct formula, which the leaders of the social democracy looked upon as a journalistic paradox, contains in fact the only scientific theory of the state. The democracy fashioned by the bourgeoisie is not, as both Bernstein and Kautsky thought, an empty sack which one can undisturbedly fill with any kind of class content. Bourgeois democracy can serve only the bourgeoisie. A government of the "People's Front," whether headed by Blum or Chautemps, Caballero or Negrin, is only "a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie." Whenever this "committee" manages affairs poorly, the bourgeoisie dismisses it with a boot.

7. "Every class struggle is a political struggle." "The organization of the proletariat as a class (is) consequently its organization into a political party." Trade unionists, on the one hand, and anarcho-syndicalists on the other, have long shied away—and even now try to shy away—from the understanding of these historical laws. "Pure" trade unionism has now been dealt a crushing blow in its chief refuge: the United States. Anarcho-syndicalism has suffered an irreparable defeat in its last stronghold—Spain. Here too the *Manifesto* proved correct.

8. The proletariat cannot conquer power within the legal framework established by the bourgeoisie. "Communists openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions." Reformism sought to explain this postulate of the *Manifesto* on the grounds of the immaturity of the movement at that time, and the inadequate development of democracy. The fate of Italian, German, and a great number of other "democracies" proves that "immaturity" is the distinguishing trait of the ideas of the reformists themselves.

9. For the socialist transformation of society, the working class must concentrate in its hands such power as can smash each and every political obstacle barring the road to the new system. "The proletariat organized as the ruling class"—this is the dictatorship. At the same time it is the only true proletarian democracy. Its scope and depth depend upon concrete historical conditions. The greater the number of states that take the path of the socialist revolution, the freer and more flexible forms will the dictatorship assume, the broader and more deep-going will be workers' democracy.

World Revolution

10. The international development of capitalism has predetermined the international character of the proletarian revolution. "United action, of the leading civilized countries at least, is one of the first conditions for the emancipation of the proletariat." The subsequent development of capitalism has so closely knit all sections of our planet, both "civilized" and "uncivilized," that the problem of the socialist revolution has completely and decisively assumed a world character. The Soviet bureaucracy attempted to liquidate the *Manifesto* with respect to this fundamental question. The Bonapartist degeneration of the Soviet state is an overwhelming illustration of the falseness of the theory of socialism in one country.

11. "When, in the course of development, class distinctions have disappeared, and all production has been concentrated in the hands of a vast association of the whole nation, the public power will lose its political character." In other words: the state withers away. Society remains, freed from the straitjacket. This is nothing else but socialism. The converse theorem: the monstrous growth of state coercion in the USSR is eloquent testimony that society is moving away from socialism.

12. "The workingmen have no fatherland." These words of the *Manifesto* have more than once been evaluated by philistines as an agitational quip. As a matter of fact they provided the proletariat with the sole conceivable directive in the question of the capitalist "fatherland." The violation of this directive by the Second International brought about not only four years of devastation in Europe, but the present stagnation of world culture. In view of the impending new war, for which the betrayal of the Third International has paved the way, the *Manifesto* remains even now the most reliable counsellor on the question of the capitalist "fatherland."

* * *

Thus, we see that the joint and rather brief production of two young authors still continues to give irreplaceable directives upon the most important and burning questions of the struggle for emancipation. What other book could even distantly be compared with the *Communist Manifesto*? But this does not imply that, after ninety years of unprecedented development of productive forces and vast social struggles, the *Manifesto* needs neither corrections nor additions. Revolutionary thought has nothing in common with idol-worship. Programs and prognoses are tested and corrected in the light of experience, which

is the supreme criterion of human reason. The *Manifesto*, too, requires corrections and additions. However, as is evidenced by historical experience itself, these corrections and additions can be successfully made only by proceeding in accord with the method lodged in the foundation of the *Manifesto* itself. We shall try to indicate this in several most important instances.

Corrections and Additions

1. Marx taught that no social system departs from the arena of history before exhausting its creative potentialities. The *Manifesto* excoriates capitalism for retarding the development of the productive forces. During that period, however, as well as in the following decades, this retardation was only *relative* in nature. Had it been possible in the second half of the Nineteenth Century, to organize economy on socialist beginnings, its tempos of growth would have been immeasurably greater. But this theoretically irrefutable postulate does not, however, invalidate the fact that the productive forces kept expanding on a world scale right up to the world war. Only in the last twenty years, despite the most modern conquests of science and technology, has the epoch begun of out-and-out stagnation and even decline of world economy. Mankind is beginning to expend its accumulated capital, while the next war threatens to destroy the very foundations of civilization for many years to come. The authors of the *Manifesto* thought that capitalism would be scrapped long prior to the time when from a relatively reactionary régime it would turn into an absolutely reactionary régime. This transformation took final shape only before the eyes of the present generation, and changed our epoch into the epoch of wars, revolutions, and fascism.

2. The error of Marx and Engels in regard to the historical dates flowed, on the one hand, from an underestimation of future possibilities latent in capitalism, and, on the other, an over-estimation of the revolutionary maturity of the proletariat. The revolution of 1848 did not turn into a socialist revolution as the *Manifesto* had calculated, but opened up to Germany the possibility of a vast future capitalist ascension. The Paris Commune proved that the proletariat, without having a tempered revolutionary party at its head, cannot wrest power from the bourgeoisie. Meanwhile, the prolonged period of capitalist prosperity that ensued brought about not the education of the revolutionary vanguard, but rather the bourgeois degeneration of the labor aristocracy, which became in turn the chief brake on the proletarian revolution. In the nature of things, the authors of the *Manifesto* could not possibly have foreseen this "dialectic."

3. For the *Manifesto*, capitalism was—the kingdom of free competition. While referring to the growing concentration of capital, the *Manifesto* did not draw the necessary conclusion in regard to monopoly which has become the dominant capitalist form in our epoch, and the most important pre-condition for socialist economy. Only afterwards, in *Capital*, did Marx establish the tendency toward the transportation of free competition into monopoly. It was Lenin who gave a scientific characterization of monopoly capitalism in his *Imperialism*.

New Middle Class

4. Basing themselves primarily on the example of "industrial revolution" in England, the authors of the *Manifesto* pictured far, too unilaterally the process of liquidation of the intermediate classes, as a wholesale proletarianization of crafts, petty trades and peasantry. In point of fact, the elemental forces of competition have far from completed this simultaneously progressive and barbarous work. Capitalism has

ruined the petty bourgeoisie at a much faster rate than it has proletarianized it. Furthermore, the bourgeois state has long directed its conscious policy toward the artificial maintenance of petty bourgeois strata. At the opposite pole, the growth of technology and the rationalization of large scale industry engenders chronic unemployment and obstructs the proletarianization of the petty bourgeoisie. Concurrently, the development of capitalism has accelerated in the extreme the growth of legions of technicians, administrators, commercial employes, in short, the so-called "new middle class." In consequence, the intermediate classes, to whose disappearance the *Manifesto* so categorically refers, comprise even in a country as highly industrialized as Germany, about one-half of the population. However, the artificial preservation of antiquated petty bourgeois strata nowise mitigates the social contradictions, but, on the contrary, invests them with an especial malignancy, and together with the permanent army of the unemployed constitutes the most malevolent expression of the *decay* of capitalism.

5. Calculated for a revolutionary epoch the *Manifesto* contains (end of Chapter II) ten demands, corresponding to the period of direct transition from capitalism to socialism. In their Preface of 1872, Marx and Engels declared these demands to be in part antiquated, and, in any case, only of secondary importance. The reformists seized upon this evaluation to interpret it in the sense that transitional revolutionary demands had forever ceded their place to the social-democratic "minimum program," which, as is well known, does not transcend the limits of bourgeois democracy. As a matter of fact, the authors of the *Manifesto* indicated quite precisely the main correction of their transitional program, namely, "the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery, and wield it for its own purposes." In other words, the correction was directed against the fetishism of bourgeois democracy. Marx later counterposed to the capitalist state, the state of the type of the Commune. This "type" subsequently assumed the much more graphic shape of Soviets. There cannot be a revolutionary program today without *Soviets* and without *workers' control*. As for the rest, the ten demands of the *Manifesto*, which appeared "archaic" in an epoch of peaceful parliamentary activity, have today regained completely their true significance. The Social Democratic "minimum programs," on the other hand, has become hopelessly antiquated.

The Permanent Revolution

6. Basing its expectation that "the German bourgeois revolution . . . will be but a prelude to an immediately following proletarian revolution," the *Manifesto* cites the much more advanced conditions of European civilization as compared with what existed in England in the Seventeenth Century and in France in the Eighteenth Century, and the far greater development of the proletariat. The error in this prognosis was not only in the date. The Revolution of 1848 revealed within a few months that precisely under more advanced conditions, none of the bourgeois classes is capable of bringing the revolution to its termination: the big and middle bourgeoisie is far too closely linked with the landowners, and fettered by the fear of the masses; the petty bourgeoisie is far too divided, and in its leading tops far too dependent on the big bourgeoisie. As evidenced by the entire subsequent course of development in Europe and Asia, the bourgeois revolution, taken by itself, can no more in general be consummated. A complete purge of feudal rubbish from society is conceivable only on the condition that the proletariat, freed from the influence of bourgeois parties, can take its stand at the head of the peasantry and

establish its revolutionary dictatorship. By this token, the bourgeois revolution becomes interlaced with the first stage of the socialist revolution, subsequently to dissolve in the latter. The national revolution therewith becomes a link of the world revolution. The transformation of the economic foundation and of all social relations assumes a permanent (uninterrupted) character.

For revolutionary parties in backward countries of Asia, Latin America and Africa, a clear understanding of the organic connection between the democratic revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat—and thereby, the international socialist revolution—is a life-and-death question.

7. While depicting how capitalism draws into its vortex backward and barbarous countries, the *Manifesto* contains no reference to the struggle of colonial and semi-colonial countries for independence. To the extent that Marx and Engels considered the social revolution "in the leading civilized countries at least," to be a matter of the next few years, the colonial question was resolved automatically for them, not in consequence of an independent movement of oppressed nationalities but in consequence of the victory of the proletariat in the metropolitan centers of capitalism. The questions of revolutionary strategy in colonial and semi-colonial countries are therefore not touched upon at all by the *Manifesto*. Yet these questions demand an independent solution. For example, it is quite self-evident that while the "national fatherland" has become the most baneful historical brake in advanced capitalist countries, it still remains a relatively progressive factor in backward countries compelled to struggle for an independent existence.

"The Communists," declares the *Manifesto*, "everywhere support every revolutionary movement against the existing social and political order of things." The movement of the colored races against their imperialist oppressors is one of the most important and powerful movements against the existing order and therefore calls for the complete, unconditional and unlimited support on the part of the proletariat of the white race. The credit for developing revolutionary strategy for oppressed nationalities belongs primarily to Lenin.

8. The most antiquated section of the *Manifesto*—not with respect to method but material—is the criticism of "socialist" literature for the first part of the Nineteenth Century (Chapter III) and the definition of the position of the Communists in relation to various opposition parties (Chapter IV). The movements and parties listed in the *Manifesto* were so drastically swept away either by the revolution of 1848 or the ensuing counter-revolution that one must look up even their names in a historical dictionary. However, in this section, too, the *Manifesto* is perhaps closer to us now than it was to the previous generation. In the epoch of the flowering of the Second International when Marxism seemed to exert an undivided sway, the ideas of pre-Marxist socialism could have been considered as having receded decisively into the past. Things are otherwise today. The decomposition of the Social Democracy and the Communist International at every step engenders monstrous ideological relapses. Senile thought seems to have become infantile. In search of all-saving formulas the prophets in the epoch of decline discover anew doctrines long since buried by scientific socialism.

As touches the question of opposition parties, it is in this domain that the elapsed decades have introduced the most deep-going changes, not only in the sense that the old parties have long been brushed aside by new ones, but also in the sense that the very character of parties and their mutual relations have radically changed in the conditions of the imperialist

epoch. The *Manifesto* must therefore be amplified with the most important documents of the first four Congresses of the Communist International, the essential literature of Bolshevism, and the decisions of the Conferences of the Fourth International.

The Crisis of Human Culture

We have already remarked above that according to Marx no social order departs from the scene without first exhausting the potentialities latent in it. However, even an antiquated social order does not cede its place to a new order without resistance. A change in social régimes presupposes the harshest form of the class struggle, i.e., revolution. If the proletariat, for one reason or another, proves incapable of overthrowing with an audacious blow the outlived bourgeois order, then finance capital in the struggle to maintain its unstable rule can do nothing but turn the petty-bourgeoisie ruined and demoralized by it into the pogrom army of fascism. The bourgeois degeneration of the Social Democracy and the fascist degeneration of the petty-bourgeoisie are interlinked as cause and effect.

At the present time, the Third International far more wantonly than the Second performs in all countries the work of deceiving and demoralizing the toilers. By massacring the vanguard of the Spanish proletariat, the unbridled hirelings of Moscow not only pave the way for fascism but execute a goodly share of its labors. The protracted crisis of the international revolution which is turning more and more into a crisis of human culture, is reducible in its essentials to the crisis of revolutionary leadership.

As the heir to the great tradition, of which the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* forms the most precious link, the Fourth International is educating new cadres for the solution of old tasks. Theory is generalized reality. In an honest attitude to revolutionary theory is expressed the impassioned urge to reconstruct the social reality. That in the Southern part of the Dark Continent our co-thinkers were the first to translate the *Manifesto* into the Afrikaans language is another graphic illustration of the fact that Marxist thought lives today only under the banner of the Fourth International. To it belongs the future. When the centennial of the *Communist Manifesto* is celebrated, the Fourth International will have become the decisive revolutionary force on our planet.

Coyoacan, October 30, 1937.

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