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## Class Relations in US

## Palestine

## What is Holding up the Revolution ?

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# NO HOMELAND IN PALESTINE.

The situation in Palestine today poses many vital political questions. To millions of oppressed Jews all over the world Palestine is a great dream, an experiment in establishing a giant refuge for an oppressed minority. Despite the experience of 29 years, ever since the Balfour declaration, many Jews still cling desperately to this great "vision". Disillusioned with the hypocrisy of British imperialism they are now turning bright and expectant faces toward American capitalism. Failing to understand that capitalism can not carry out any progressive tasks even of the bourgeois revolution, millions of sincere people the world over are dreaming in vain, are planning and working for an impossible goal.

Palestine answers questions that are pertinent for the Negro in America and for oppressed peoples the world over. Can any nation be independent today? Can any minority achieve self-determination? Can the land question for the Arabian world be resolved under capitalism? Life has already proven that the answers to all these questions are in the negative and must continue to be so. The Jewish problem (and the Arabian problem) can not be resolved under capitalism. Only the social revolution can begin to tackle these difficulties.

The political objectives of the Palestinian people - both Arab and Jew - are vastly subordinate to the more material and vital economic factors. For behind all the shooting in Palestine stands the specter of an Anglo-American war over oil; with the Soviet Union as the third part of the trinity, attempting to undermine British influence in the Near East. This fact alone should serve to disillusion those naive people who are deeply affected by the crocodile tears of American Imperialism which demands the right of Jews to migrate into a territory only slightly bigger than the state of Maryland, but refuses to permit the millions of uprooted people the world over to seek sanctuary on western shores. The "benevolence" of Lord Balfour, who declared in 1917 that His Majesty's government "looks with favor" on the idea of establishing Palestine as a Jewish homeland, is no less hypocritical than the present "favor" with which Mr. Truman and his Wall Street mentors look to increased immigration of Jews into Palestine. Oddly enough both positions stem from the same economic motives - control of the wealth of the Near East. The Jewish people can no more solve their problems as wards of Uncle Sam than they did as wards of John Bull.

## HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Misconceptions relative to Palestine are widespread. It would be well at the outset to give its historical background.

Palestine was at one time under the aegis of the Arabs, when Arabian culture was dominant in the world. In 1517, however, the Turks conquered Palestine as part of the general conquest which spelled the doom of Arabian overlordship. It remained under Turkish control for 400 years, until conquered by the British army on December 9, 1917.

Prior to World War I Germany began to challenge British Imperialism as the dominant power on earth. One of the pivots of German imperialist policy was the establishment of a Berlin to Bagdad railway. The political prerequisites for such a railroad were already present. Germany controlled central Europe (the Austro-Hungary Empire was a powerful satellite at the time) and the governments of Italy, Turkey and the Arabian world were also subordinate to the Wilhelmstrasse. For Britain,

establishment of this railroad was a direct threat to the British lifeline. It not only threatened to make Germany a great power in the oil-filled areas of the Near East but it pointed to an eventual incircling movement toward the Suez Canal which would cut the famous British lifeline in two. Looking around desperately for an ally and a counterbalance to the German-controlled Arab world, Britain decided to utilize the Zionist movement to open a wedge into this area. The declaration of Lord Balfour had this purpose and this purpose only.

Following the war, however, Britain was able to cement an agreement with the Arabian world. Without German support the leaders of the Near East had no other choice. The ardour with which John Bull wooed the Jewish cause began to cool perceptibly until in 1939 Britain issued the famous white paper which reneged completely on the idea of a Jewish homeland. By that time the whole objective situation was altered. Germany again threatened to strike at the British lifeline, but this time Turkey and the Arabs were in the British camp. Any attempt at this point to grant homeland rights to the Jews would have alienated the Arabian Effendi who consider that the Jewish capitalist innovations in Palestine are a direct menace to their feudal structure. Consequently Britain shut the door to the Jews during the war. Notwithstanding this fact, however, the whole Jewish movement - including even the underground Irgun Zevai Leumi (National Military Organization) supported the British war efforts. This support went so far that in 1941 the Irgun helped British Imperialism put down a revolt of the masses in Iraq.

#### THREE WAY SQUEEZE

Now that the war is over Britain is again caught in a difficult vise. On the one hand the Soviet Union is pressing for control in this area to offset the encirclement of Anglo-American Imperialists. Stalin is openly wooing the Arabian world. On the other hand Uncle Sam, mindful of the vast oil resources and other wealth of the Near East, is utilizing the world Jewish movement to break into the British bailiwick himself. John Bull could, of course, be completely unmindful of both pressures if the British empire were in a healthy condition. However Downing Street must, on the one hand, be wary of the tendency to revolt on the part of the native masses in her Empire, and on the other has need for American cash to develop her investments. The uprisings and threats of revolt throughout the Empire have already occasioned far-reaching changes in the Empire government. (These were dealt with in the November 1946 issue of INTERNATIONAL NEWS). The projected withdrawal of British troops from Egypt makes it necessary for Britain to find a suitable military base elsewhere. Palestine, with its central location in the Near East is an obvious choice.

Faced with such a picture Britain has come forth with the only proposal that can temporarily stave off a debacle - the three zone plan. Under this system of three federalized states within Palestine the British would control the foreign affairs, most of the policing powers and the right to determine immigration of Jews. The Jewish sector would be a small area of some 1,500 square miles. This plan has many virtues from the point of view of John Bull; it gives up none of the real powers of British Imperialism in Palestine; it gives a sop to the Jews in the form of an abbreviated "homeland", one seventh of Palestine (a sop, incidentally, which was so meager that even the most moderate Jewish Agency leaders refused to go for it); it tries to placate the Arabian Effendi by restricting the incursions of Jewish capitalist methods into Arabia; and finally it offers Britain the military base it desires.

The very complexity of the plan is its undoing. It solves nothing for anyone. Under pressure by Uncle Sam the British must inevitably concede considerably more.

Wall Street is dangling a \$300 million loan to the Arabian states as a form of weaning them away from Downing Street. To opportunists such as Abdullah of Transjordan and King Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia such bait may have some effect, although at the moment they are solidly in Britain's vest pocket. Should one of those fine gentlemen, however, suddenly decide to change horses and join the American camp it would not be surprising at all if Wall Street's ardour for the Jewish cause suddenly became lukewarm.

#### WAR FOR OIL

Oil and the British lifeline are the most vital issues in Palestine today. According to experts the oil reserves in the Persian gulf are not less than 50 billion barrels and probably closer to 100 billion. The oil reserves of the United States are only 35 billion barrels; and the United States is the largest producer of gasoline and oil products in the world. The present oil supplies obviously can not go on forever. The big companies are therefore looking for other oil fields to take up the slack. The Persian gulf area is the most fertile answer. Although this is primarily a British area of investment, American companies are not too far behind that they can't catch up. Standard Oil, for instance, owns 23½% of the oil in Iraq. Gulf owns 50% of the productive resources in Kuwait. Standard Oil and the Texas Company have extensive investments in Saudi Arabia and are constantly surveying more fields. The British have 3 refineries in the Near East and two pipe lines, one to the Levant and one to Haifa, Palestine. The total refinery facilities of the British in this area are 488 thousand barrels of oil per day. The United States first planned a pipeline to Alexandria of Haifa, but has since given up the plan in favor of transporting oil by tankers, which are now plentiful since the end of the war. Standard Oil tentatively laid plans for a refinery that could process 350,000 barrels a day. Whether she will go through with this plan is not known. It is obvious, however, that American oil companies are seriously challenging Britain in this area of the world.

Furthermore, although the United States and Britain are using parallel action all over the world against the interests of the Soviet Union, they are nevertheless in a vicious underhanded economic and political struggle against each other. The U.S. is using the Jewish movement as a spearhead into the Near East. It is no accident that the underground organizations in Palestine are well supplied with funds from the United States. Ben Hecht's committee openly advertises in American newspapers for funds to the Jewish underground. These campaigns undoubtedly are being winked at by the State Department. The position of the United States is thus very much analogous to the position of Britain in 1917. Then Britain used the Jewish movement to break into a German stronghold. Today America uses the Jewish movement to break into the British stronghold. Very little has been changed. The promises are still the same - a Jewish homeland.

#### RICH IN POTENTIAL WEALTH

From an abstract point of view - that is, if you divorce the restraining factors of capitalism from the picture and judge merely the economic potentialities - Palestine is more than able to support a Jewish homeland. Although the country is small it is very rich potentially.

Palestine is about the size of Vermont or Maryland - 10,429 square miles. It is only 1/8 the size of Syria and Lebanon; 1/38 the size of Egypt; 1/4 the size of New York state; 1/26 the size of Texas. Contrary to most opinions it has an excellent climate - similar to that of California in most respects. And it supports a population of only 1,697,869 - a density of only 154 to a square mile.

Following the Balfour Declaration and the League of Nations Mandate to Britain on September 29, 1923 the population almost tripled in the following 20 years. Jewish population alone went up from 83,790 to 509,184. Arabian population also went up - from 598,177 to 1,042,056. Attracted by the irrigation plans and machine farming of the Jewish population, hundreds of thousands of Arabs have migrated from other sections of the Arabian world into Palestine. Even Near East labor has had a tendency to migrate into this area since Palestinian wages are considerably higher than in other sections of the Near East. A farm worker in Palestine receives 4 times as much as a farm worker in Egypt. Arab labor in Jerusalem receives 8 times as much as the same type of labor in Iraq and twice as much as in Egypt.

The whole character of the country has changed radically. Jewish capital to the extent of a half billion dollars has poured into the country. Almost 2,000 factories have been built. From 1922 to 1944 there has been an increase in industrial production of more than 60 times. In the sphere of agriculture the change has been even more phenomenal. Irrigation and land reclamation have wrought wide changes. The desert condition of Palestine land is due in the main to deforestation through the centuries. In addition a considerable part of the land was under water or in swamps. Simple drainage put thousands of acres into farming, approximately 120,000 acres. Twenty four years ago it is estimated that it took 65 acres of land to sustain a Jewish family. Today, with irrigation and with machine farming (Palestine has as many tractors per acre as the U.S.) it now takes only 25 acres in unirrigated land, 13 in rich hill country and only five acres in the rich irrigated sections.

There are today at least 900,000 acres ready for irrigation. These can sustain between 90,000 and 120,000 families. According to a U.S. expert, F. Julian Fohs, the Jordan Valley could be irrigated to take care of at least 100,000 families. According to Dr. Walter Clay Lowdormilk, an agronomist of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, the "full development of Palestine could absorb 4 million Jewish refugees". Furthermore, if you added Transjordan, another British mandate, you would then have an area of 55,169 square miles - about the size of Illinois - and it could sustain a population many times this amount. In fact if the area were as densely populated as Britain it would have 33 million people.

Jewish land is divided into three forms - communal, small-holder and private. Much of this is financed by the Jewish Fund. Altogether Jewish capital owns only 6.4% of the land in Palestine; but it is anxious to buy more, much more. Jewish capitalists see great prospects of development if they could buy more land... For that, however, they need unassailable state power and immigration. Jewish big business and finance all over the world is looking to this area as a fine sphere for investment in land, as well as the various other political and economic advantages in oil, etc.

#### COULD HANDLE IMMIGRANTS

Palestine then could easily support the 100,000 Jewish refugees that the Jewish agency is demanding admission for. The entrance of these Jewish families would hasten capitalist development within Palestine; it would help carry out the national tasks of the bourgeois revolution. Furthermore such a development would not be fought by the Arabian rank and file. Innumerable observers point to the fact that Arab-Jewish struggle is vastly exaggerated. The Arabian peasantry has gained considerably from the introduction of capitalist machine farming and irrigation. The Jewish trade union congress, Histadruth, emphasized the unity of labor - "Long live Arab-Jewish Labor". The struggles between Arab and Jew can only serve the interests of the British imperialists, who want to keep Palestine in the same kind of turmoil as they have long kept India, and with the same results, perpetuation of British

rule; the Arabian Effendi, who are fearful of capitalist farming and the example it will give to the sharecropper and peasant; and the Jewish capitalist who has an economic interest in pushing the Arabian landlord off the map.

The American Mercury puts the thing accurately in its December 1945 issue: "The situation (Arab-Jewish fights) is deliberately aggravated by those who, because of vested interests have more to lose, particularly the Arab Effendis, who live on the rents of their lands worked by Arab share-croppers and who suspect any enterprise which may lead to raising of wages and living standards".

There is no disputing the fact that there is a deliberately inspired struggle between Arab and Jew in Palestine, but this factor would be of little importance if it were not for the fact that Britain uses this as a camouflage for her own imperialist policy. The mentors in Downing Street are using the hackneyed saw that they must remain in Palestine to keep order between Arab and Jew. They permit the impression to develop that without British intervention the whole Arabian world would rise up against the Palestinian Jews. This is a popular misconception which is nothing but sheer fantasy. From a purely military point of view the Jews have a military force capable of conquering all of Arabia.

#### 60,000 ARMED FORCES

The total Jewish secret armies in the Haganah, Stern Gang, and Irgun Zevai Leumi amount to approximately 60,000 well-armed and well-trained men. As against this there are 22,000 very poorly trained soldiers in Egypt; and Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia are far worse off from a military point of view. Any notion of an Arabian attack against the Jews in Palestine is a pure propaganda invention.

That the Jewish military force is divided into three groups attests to the fact that there is a sharp class struggle within Palestine, that Jewish workers and farmers are pitted against Jewish financiers, just as workers and farmers the world over are pitted against their native capitalists. The Stern Gang, smallest of the three organizations confines its activities to simple terrorism against hated officials. The Irgun (formerly under the leadership of a semi-fascist named Jabotinsky) confines its terrorism to administrative agencies rather than individuals. The Haganah is the original Jewish homeguard established a number of generations ago for protection. It is the largest and the least militant of the three groups.

In addition to those illegal forces there are many political divisions in Palestine, both inside and outside the trade union movement.

Left to its own inventions and divorcing Palestine from the imperialist world, it is thus quite obvious that the Jewish people COULD easily establish a comfortable homeland in the "Holy Land". Unfortunately, however, we live in a real world dominated by imperialism, rather than an abstract heaven unsullied by the dollar and pound marks of Wall Street and London. Imperialism can not and will not permit any oppressed minority to achieve liberation. Its "benevolence" is confined to purely economic motives of utilizing the oppressed for the interest of the great financiers at home. Britain utilized the Zionist movement in the past to drive a wedge into a German-controlled Arabian world. America today repeats the process - this time to drive a wedge into a British controlled Near East.

But there can be no real peace or liberation for the Jewish people in Palestine. Should America become the dominant factor in the Near East the same process would repeat itself - pitting Arab against Jew and holding back the economic development of the country. Furthermore, within Palestine the class struggle between Jewish

and Arabian labor (with the farm population behind it) on the one hand, and industrial and finance capital, on the other, must lead to the same type of tyranny and oppression that exists everywhere else in the world. Jabotinskys, with their racist theories about the superior rights of the Jew to those of the Arab, are not accidental. They stem from the class struggle.

The last 8 or 9 years have been years of a false war-time prosperity. Palestine has produced considerable agricultural products - 15 million crates of citrus fruit alone - and considerable industrial products. Palestine today needs immigrants to irrigate and reclaim hundreds of thousands of acres of good land. But tomorrow, in the course of a new world depression, the whole process will be reversed; the class struggle within Palestine will reach alarming proportions.

The Jewish people have suffered untold miseries in the last decade and a half. Millions have been exterminated. Unquestionably many of them can not be reintegrated into the fabric of Europe. Their homes and their opportunities are gone. Open and subtle anti-Semitism still exists and takes its toll. They must seek refuge elsewhere. It is a significant commentary that the Soviet Union, land of the October Revolution, has degenerated to such a miserable state under Stalinism that it has made not a single effort on behalf of these dispossessed people. Stalinism, in this respect, is as rotten as the imperialist nations which have the identical policy of "no immigration".

#### FOR A SOCIALIST PALESTINE

The real solution of the Jewish problem however does not lie in emigration to Palestine or in the dream of what can not be established - a firm and stable homeland. The Jewish problem can be solved only as part of the social revolution, which will bring liberation to all oppressed minorities.

The Marxists do not support either the Arabian or the Jewish claims in Palestine. We believe and will fight for the right of all peoples to self-determination, but we shall advocate a revolutionary solution based on a change in the social order, and assimilation, rather than segregation of peoples. Naturally we demand that cultural guarantees be granted to those oppressed groups that have a separate culture and wish to develop it, but even this can only be transitory to the eventual unification of all cultures into a world-culture.

One of the most disappointing features of the present situation in Palestine is the failure of the British workers to stay the hand of the "Labor" Party government. The apathy of the British masses, confused and demoralized by the 2nd and 3rd Internationals (and their little tail, Trotskyism, which is still trying to liquidate into the Labor Party and which supported its imperialist candidates) - the apathy of the British masses has been a major factor in the wild terror of the British Army in Palestine. It is time that this policy were reversed, that the British workers - through strikes and demonstrations - forced the government to grant independence to Palestine. In this task the American worker too must help, because American capitalism is planning to put the same noose around the Near East that Britain now has.

For the Jewish workers and farmers already in Palestine the obvious task is to forge a united nation of Jewish and Arabian oppressed, based on workers and peasants councils. Not the Arab peasant is the enemy of the Jewish farmer and worker, but the combined forces of British and American Imperialism, and the Arabian Effendis and Jewish capitalists. The enemy must be sought out on a class basis, not on a race basis. An appeal to the Arabian peasantry, over the head of their Farouks

Abdullahs and Ibn Sauds, will mobilize them into action. The results of capitalist farming has already made an indelible impression on the Arabian oppressed; a promise of self-rule, without either Effendis or capitalists, will bring out untold enthusiasm and heroism amongst the masses of the Near East.

Only by a Socialist Revolution can the tasks of the bourgeois revolution, so long delayed by history and now only partially started, be carried out effectively, smoothly and in the interests of the masses.

The Revolutionary Marxists differ fundamentally with the methods of both the terrorists and the peaceful Zionists. Furthermore we differ with the very concept that a Jewish homeland can be established while capitalism exists. Nevertheless the struggle of both the Jewish and Arabian masses against Imperialism are progressive in character, and Revolutionary Marxists, while maintaining their own class independence, will give critical support to these efforts, will attempt to stimulate independent action by the masses to run parallel to that of the Zionists and terrorists against Imperialism. In the process of such a policy of "march separately and strike together" the Jewish and Arabian workers and peasants will be able to see in life itself the correctness of the Marxian policy of mass revolutionary action, rather than class collaboration or terrorism.

The Jews and many Arab groups in Palestine show considerable depth of intellect. Such tasks can be carried out by them, with the aid of the world working class. But first the oppressed in Palestine must establish a Marxian Party, part of the coming New Fourth Communist International. The Party is the sine qua non for any future effective struggle.



## WHY NO REVOLUTION IN EUROPE?

(The article below is a continuation of the discussion begun in the November issue on the development of the Revolution in Europe. It treats the subject from a different angle.)

Many workers have been asking "Why no revolution in Europe since the second world war?" Let us break the question down to its component parts: Has there been any revolutionary situations in Europe during and after the second world war? Have any of these revolutionary situations developed into full-fledged revolutions? What has happened to the Marxian party? When can we look forward to successful social revolutions in Europe?

In social progress success can easily be seen; but failures slip into oblivion without a ripple. Most everyone knows about the successful October Revolution in Russia under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky. But few people realize or know about the thirty odd revolutions in the world between the first and second world wars that ended in defeat for the workers and peasants.

Likewise there are few people who realize what has been going on in Europe during and after the second world war. Few people realize that the United States' iron curtain in Europe and Asia is almost as effective as the Stalinist censorship.

### VANGUARD BLED WHITE

It must not be forgotten that even though Germany and Italy were defeated in the second world war the fact remains that the fascists were first successful in over-running Europe. With the domination of Europe by fascism and its Gestapo, the proletarian vanguard was systematically bled white and millions and millions of workers, both German and non-German were killed off in a most inhuman manner. Furthermore, the systematic and devastating air raids of the allies also had its toll on the European population. But in spite of these ghastly death-dealing blows against the working class, revolutionary situations did develop in fascist-occupied Europe. The underground movement for liberation in all parts of Europe played havoc with the fascists' well laid plans.

In Yugoslavia the partisan movement of the workers and peasants was more than a match for the fascists even though it was under Stalinist domination. In France and Italy the movement of liberation grew to giant proportions. In the low countries, in the Scandinavian countries and in the Balkans, the resistance movement was primarily led in theory and deeds by proletarian parties. Unfortunately the revolutionary vanguard element was swept along with the false Stalinist-Socialist-Trotskyite policy of subordination of the party and class to the bourgeois-democratic element; instead of carrying out the correct Marxian policy of independent class action coupled with genuine united front action of all elements ready to fight fascism. Through independent class action, instead of subordination to the nationalist bourgeois-democratic elements in these subjected nations, the working class would have effective bargaining power with the Anglo-American imperialists. As it was, the Stalinist-Socialist-Trotskyite policy of subordination tied them to and completely under the control of the imperialists and their agents in these countries.

Despite these shackles, however, the Greek partisan movement, to take one example, defeated the fascists. But it was incapable of beating the British and Greek fascist elements later on, because of the reformist illusions sown by Stalinism.

When the censorship will be lifted by the United States in Europe and Asia; when the real facts can be obtained about these revolutionary upsurges against the fascists in the whole of Europe, then books must be written and translated about each situation. We will learn then of the many Revolutionary situations in Europe. The treacherous role of the Anglo-American imperialists and their Stalinist-Socialist agents against the revolutionary vanguard in these countries will reveal a tragic chapter, as tragic as the fascist action against the Jewish masses.

### THE SECOND FRONT

The Revolutionary situation in Europe was a prime factor in the parallel action of the Anglo-American imperialists.

The world wide strategy of the Anglo-American imperialists against the Axis powers cannot be understood unless we realize that this overall plan called for DELAYED ACTION wherever possible. Delayed action to gain superiority in production of war materials in America and to obtain a well-equipped and trained air, sea and land army. Delayed action to enable the Axis powers to spend their energies against the Soviet Union and the growing resistance movements throughout Europe and Asia. And delayed action to enable the allies to walk in at the critical moment when the liberation movements against fascism had prepared the groundwork for military victory. This would enable the allies to take over power with the least possible loss of men and equipment and would exhaust the resistance movements. On this basis the allies would be able to effectively control them through the occupation troops.

This meant that the working class and its fighting vanguard was caught between two fires. First they were bled white by the fascists through the Anglo-American delayed action, and then they were disarmed and held in check by the advancing American and British armies. The method used by the Anglo-American imperialists to disarm and make ineffective the resistance and liberation movement and to cleanse the movement of revolutionary workers was a policy of REORGANIZING IT under safe and sane national bourgeois forces. Where the troops were too strong to disarm at once the allies followed the policy of isolation and starving them out and gradually weakening them for eventual disbanding. In this period, while the workers and peasants of Russia had their backs to the wall fighting fascism, their Stalinist masters were silent partners in crime to this Anglo-American disarming policy.

### RACE BETWEEN ALLIES AND GUERRILLAS

When the United States was finally ready for the second front through western Europe, the revolutionary upsurge of the people of the occupied countries against fascism was taking on mass proportions. With the destruction of the strategical Nazi areas by air power and the gains of the liberation movement the allies had to hurry to take over power in their own name before the masses would seize the reins. An outstanding example was the United States action against the masses of Paris, first in assenting to have Paris turned over to the fascists when France was defeated, and next, when American troops entered Paris at the strategic moment to prevent the masses from maintaining power in their own name. In both cases the Anglo-American policy was to allow representatives of the exploiters, of reaction, to take over power against the masses. This was also the treacherous policy of the Anglo-American imperialists in Greece where they now support the fascist King against the people.

At this point it is advisable to recall the words of the Revolutionary Workers League at the inception of the second world war, when we warned that the Anglo-American policy in Europe in checkmating the revolution would be a policy of using

nationalist forces (starting from the right and running the gauntlet to the left). TO THE EXTENT OF THE MASS PRESSURE FROM BELOW the allies would use more and more "left" Governments. And then after wearing the population out, after slowly but steadily disarming the masses, with Stalinist-Socialist help, they would again re-establish some fascist or semi-fascist element in power as their puppet.

If we follow this policy through its various stages, selecting outstanding examples, we will find that the Petain and then the Darlan regimes in France represented the beginning stage. As the pressure increased they were forced to move over to General De Gaulle, and with increased pressure from the left were forced to play ball with the Stalinist-Socialist-Liberal Bloc. While these outwardly polite dealings with the left occur there proceeds at the same time behind the scenes the secret dealing with reaction, semi-fascist elements, etc., preparing for the day they can help kick out the left and again restore safe and sane rulers of the exploiters.

The Greek situation, unlike France, which has not completed the process, ran the whole gauntlet. The imperialists had only one recourse left, to support the extreme reaction and fascist element to hold in check the revolutionists. Each country in Europe represents a different stage of the policy to hold in check, to wear down, and to defeat the masses and their revolutionary aspirations.

#### F.D.R. AND REVOLUTION

Elliot Roosevelt's book dealing with his father and Mr. Churchill confirms what we say on the question of revolution in Europe. He points out that FDR and Churchill had a dispute over WHERE to start the second front. Churchill representing the conservative and reactionary capitalist element wanted the second front started in the Balkans, as a two-edged sword against the Germans and against the Soviet Union. Churchill wanted to build another reactionary wall around the Soviet Union to separate it from Europe proper. Roosevelt representing the "liberal" wing of the exploiters and more concerned with American interests than with the British empire line, favored a drive through France. Naturally Stalin agreed with Roosevelt.

This Elliot Roosevelt information throws light upon the firm organic relation of the second front to the revolution. We pointed this out prior to the second front. We stated that the revolution was the determining factor of the delayed action strategy. We stated that the most favorable variant for the Allies would be the Balkans. Internal friction and the strength of the Soviet union (not Stalinism) did not enable the imperialists to take their most favorable variant. Now they have their headaches in dealing with the countries of Eastern Europe.

Do not misunderstand the facts. Roosevelt and Churchill did not have any difference over the question of the delayed action and the timing of the second front to coincide with revolutionary developments. They only differed over where to start this. And their policy did succeed in holding the revolution in check, first by allowing the Red Army and the liberation movement to take the brunt of the fascist armies and then by disarming the masses of Europe and saddling them with the Anglo-American army of occupation. The division of labor between the fascists on the one hand and the bourgeois-democrats (and their Stalinist-Socialist allies) on the other hand played havoc with the revolutionary movement. This could have been avoided if an independent class policy had been followed by the working class instead of the policy of subordination to social patriotism.

#### REVOLUTIONS OCCURRED

Yes, there were revolutionary situations in Europe in the period of the second world war. There were actual revolutions during and after the second world war; but there

were no successful revolutions.

Have we forgotten the battles of Warsaw? Have we forgotten the French resistance movement and the Paris struggles? Have we forgotten the Greek revolution? Have we forgotten the revolutionary struggles in Yugoslavia? Have we forgotten the Italian upsurge in 1943 and the entry of the American troops that brought in its armed might to replace the armed might of fascism? Have we forgotten the movement of liberation from the North Pole to Africa?

In western Europe the Anglo-American imperialists with the help of the Stalinists and Socialists, held the workers in check. In Eastern Europe the Stalinists were capable by themselves of smashing the PROLETARIAN REVOLUTIONS. They covered this betrayal up with measures against the feudal carryovers in Eastern Europe and against the fascist dictatorship.

In other words, without a Lenin and his famous April thesis the Stalinists were able to revive the policy of Stalin of 1917 and use this same policy for Eastern Europe in 1945. It was the policy of, first the bourgeois-democratic revolution and then--then (?)--the proletarian revolution. This was one of the most important subjective factors in the whole of Europe that cut short the revolutionary upsurges of the masses.

#### "FIRST AND THEN"

Let us deal in more detail with this false Stalinist theory on the question of the road to power. Whereas in 1917 this theory was applied to backward capitalist countries, and later to the Chinese revolution in 1927, now it has been revamped and applied to advanced decaying capitalist countries. The old version was that first we must establish the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasants (the bourgeois-democratic revolution) and then after the feudal carryovers are plowed under and capitalism has developed its democracy--then we will have the proletarian, the socialist revolution.

But after Hitler took power and after the labor movement was crushed in many advanced capitalist nations the Stalinists came out for a similar policy in these fascist countries. First, a "Peoples Revolution" against fascism and then (?) later (?) a proletarian revolution. They applied this policy with fatal disaster to the Spanish Civil War. The Peoples Front and the Labor Party opportunism undermined revolutionary developments in different parts of the world, notably Spain. These defeats and especially the defeat of the workers and peasants in Spain, laid the basis for the second world war.

Now in the period of the second world war and today in the post war period, Stalinism still holds to that false theory. We predicted the outcome of events (if this false theory were applied) before the events, and now we can see its bitter fruit.

The canalizing of the partisan movements, the resistance movements, the liberation movements of Europe against fascism, into bourgeois-democratic channels instead of proletarian independent class action, was part of this policy. The new upsurge of the Peoples Front blocs in France, Belgium, Italy etc., is also the fruit of this class collaboration policy. The "Worker's Coalition Governments" of Eastern Europe, under Stalinist domination, are also part of a policy which denies the independent role of the party and the independent action of the class.

This Stalinist revision of Marxism has previously been the policy of Social Democracy. It was the policy Lenin and Trotsky fought against in the Second Inter-

national. It was the policy of the Socialists that led to one defeat after the other during and after the first world war. It was the policy of both the Socialists and the Stalinists in the period after Hitler took power. It is the policy that has done more than its share to confuse young revolutionary comrades who ask the question, "Why no revolution in Europe after the war?"

#### EUROPE LACKED A PARTY

We must repeat - over and over again - without revolutionary Marxian theory and a Revolutionary Marxian party there can be no successful revolution. Above all Europe lacked this party. Such a party calls for many sacrifices. In building this party from small groups, it calls for constant polemics, constant factional squabbles, (hair-splitting as the activists would say) constant discussion on "dry" theory and a permanent INTERNATIONAL orientation for all national problems. For the activist it seems like a waste of time. It seems like the short cut is just to get out and do something, anything. But unfortunately these young activists are soon lost by the wayside if they do not find their way back to Marxism. But in finding their way back to Marxism there is a danger that they will "give up" activity and become isolated sectarians; who cannot distinguish between mole hills and mountains. Revolutionary theory without practice is no more Marxian than revolutionary practice without revolutionary Marxian theory. They are two sides of one problem. This is what is needed to build the forces that can overcome the difficulties confronting those who want to save civilization from decay.

Because Europe did not have this revolutionary Marxian party countless thousands of the best revolutionary element; the vanguard of the movements of liberation against fascism, lost the real fruit of their under-ground work. This fruit was snatched from their grasp by the Anglo-American imperialists, thanks to the Socialists and Stalinists.

#### REVOLUTION STILL AHEAD

Outside of those areas that have been incorporated within the Soviet Union the proletarian revolution is still ahead. This is as true in Eastern Europe where Stalinism dominates, as it is in western Europe where Stalinism plays office boy to the imperialists. Europe cannot long stand "suspended" between the economic solution of its problems. Europe cannot long stand up under the tug of war between the Anglo-American imperialist bloc, on the one hand, and the economic pressure of the transition economy of the Soviet Union (in spite of Stalinism) coupled with the pressure of the working class of Europe for a way out of their economic, social and political chaos, on the other hand.

The RWL expected not only the ousting of Stalinism with the conclusion of the second world war; but we also expected a successful revolution in Europe. These two propositions are two sides of one problem. They cannot be separated and are interrelated. No matter which positive factor would take place first, the success of either would lay the basis for the second success. That is, either the successful political revolution against Stalinism, or the successful social revolution against capitalism would lead the other.

We erred in this prediction, an error as to the time element, but not an error in content. The developments that we are analyzing in this article as well as the material in the November issue dealing with the Soviet Union, fully confirm our general thesis and our many other predictions.

It is unfortunate that the majority of people can only thrive and gain an optimistic outlook on the basis of success. The revolutionary Marxists MUST win the masses in order to carry through a successful revolution, but our convictions and our positive outlook goes deeper than this one factor. With a scientific analysis with experience learned from mistakes, with lessons learned from defeats as well as victories we are able to constantly replenish the fountain of our convictions and strive toward our goal no matter how difficult and how great are the odds we must overcome.

We must never forget that Fascism was not defeated in the second world war. Fascism was only given a severe set-back through the defeat of the Axis powers. Fascism can only be defeated by the social revolution because only the social revolution will solve the economic problems that give rise to fascism. Fascism is again growing in Europe, throughout the world and even right here in the United States.

As long as these problems are unsolved new revolutionary situations will mature. But we, the Revolutionary Marxists, must help prepare the class for those battles. For only by their independent class action under the leadership and independence of the Revolutionary Marxian party can victory over fascism and other forms of capitalism be obtained.

11-10-46

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# THE IMPENDING DEPRESSION

That a depression is coming to the United States is evident to any thinking person. Henry Wallace freely predicted it in his Labor Day speech. Dr. John Steelman, reconversion director, speaks in the cautious words of a government flunkey that "a turn from inflation to deflation may be approaching". United States News, mouthpiece of David Lawrence and influential Republicans, predicts that there will be a drop in production of 21% in the next twelve months. This, presumably, is much better than the period of 1920-21, when production fell by 33%. The Magazine of Wall Street predicts a "moderate decline" of 15% in the income of America's farmers next year.

On the eve of another economic cataclysm, however, the bourgeois leaders are still attempting to disparage talk of depression. This is very reminiscent of the days of the great crash 1928-29, when similar "optimism" prevailed. W. Averill Harriman, now Secretary of Commerce, has attacked notions of a recession as "unreasonable defeatism". The Secretary of the Treasury, John Snyder, states that the nation is moving ahead to "a continuing high level of prosperity". He points proudly to the fact that present industrial production is at an all time peace-time peak of 176 index points, based on 1935-39 production.

Mr. Snyder's optimism is a crude attempt to deceive the masses. Industrial production in 1943 reached a high of 240. Even in 1945, after VE Day and VJ Day, it was still around 200. Today's figure represents a sharp drop therefore. This drop is felt most keenly in the basic sector of capitalist economy - the durable goods sector - where 1944 production reached a high point of 350 only to fall to a present level of 155. Dr. Steelman and others compare production today with what it was VJ Day. Such a comparison does not show too great a fall, but it must be squared with the fact that from VE Day to VJ Day the Government made considerable retrenchments in production of war supplies. The fact is that in the face of enormous needs by the American working class, capitalist production this year fell, and fell sharply from the 1944-45 figures. Part of this decline is no doubt attributable to reconversion difficulties, but it must be remembered that when industry converted from peace-time production to war-time production its productive levels did not decline, but on the contrary zoomed forward. Why can't the economic spiral move upward today?

The answer is to be found in a simple Marxian maxim: Capitalism is in an inexorable contradiction between socialized production and PRIVATE appropriation. This contradiction creates its concomitant, the evils of overproduction. All the old landmarks of the depression days of the thirties and the boom days of the twenties are plainly manifest. The stockmarket has suffered a serious fall in prices this year. In the last 3 months they have fallen by about 40 points - almost 25%. Inventories of goods in August of this year were at an all-time high of 31 billion dollars, almost one-fifth higher than they were the previous December. Exports of commodities were at an all-time high of 750 million dollars a month, and the yearly surplus of exports over imports was indicated at 6½ billions; BUT this is nowhere near the amount that was shipped abroad for lend-lease. Thus while private capital makes a killing in the form of gigantic profits from exports, TOTAL production of the economy is affected adversely. Steel, for instance, is shipping about twice as much abroad today as it did in the best peace-time years - about 15% of total production as against 7% of 8%. But this is only temporary, in the first place, (contingent upon European recovery), and it is not equal to the amount shipped abroad thru lend-lease.

The picture adds up to this:

- 1- Total production has declined from war time highs.
- 2- All signs point to further reductions in production.
- 3- OVERPRODUCTION expresses itself in the highest inventories in history by far.
- 4- Exports have drained off some of this excess production but it is nowhere near enough and it promises to decline.

## CRISIS AT HAND

There can be no question that we are already in a crisis. Idle capital is being stored away by the billions. Despite a rise in capital investment (much lower than anticipated incidentally) the country is saddled with a 262 billion dollar debt and with more currency outstanding than ever in history - 28 billions (much more than twice the "normal" amount). The banks, which own most of the government bonds, thus have the wherewithal to print untold billions of dollars and to expand credit. Unfortunately, however, there is nowhere near the demand for such capital as there is an available supply.

The ability of the masses to buy back that which they produce is seriously curtailed. Wartime savings - always poorly distributed - are dwindling to nothing for the working class. A recent government survey shows that 10% of the population has 60% of all savings, while 50% have only 3%. Seventeen percent of the population this year had to withdraw 12% of these total savings from the banks, for current expenses. Ten to fifteen billion dollars in assets are being thus withdrawn. The study "showed definitely that most people were not planning to use their savings for postwar buying". How could they? The lowest 40% of the population has only \$40 apiece in the bank.

Under Government price controls the bourgeoisie has drained off an enormous part of the savings of the working class and has now again placed it completely on the "hand-to-mouth" basis of "normal" times. The cut in REAL wages has been enormous. Average hourly raises in manufacturing industries were 14.7% between February 15th and June 30th (they have gone up little or nothing since then). Averages in other industries such as farming and retail were considerably lower. But gross weekly earnings in manufacturing industries for each worker fell from an average of \$47.12 in April 1945 to \$43.07 in July 1946 - about 8.5%. Because the worker permitted reduction in hours and reclassification to lower-paying jobs, his dollar-take-home pay fell by almost one-tenth. In addition to that, however, his dollar was incapable of buying as much as it previously did. In the same period consumers goods prices rose by 11%, and since July it has risen by approximately another 10%. Thus the average worker in the manufacturing industry is able to buy only about two-thirds as much as he did in 1945. He has had a cut in REAL PAY of over 30%!

Effective demand is obviously on the decline. People are obviously falling back to installment buying, because they are increasingly finding it difficult to purchase for cash. In the last year alone installment loans have almost doubled - from \$1.9 billion to \$3.2, and shrewd economists predict the total will rise to about \$12 billion in a year.

## LOPSIDED ECONOMY

The whole capitalist economy in the U.S. is completely lopsided. Profits are the best in history. After taxes they will amount to about 11 billion dollars - almost a billion more than last year, the best in history, and 3 billion more than 1929. Even those companies that went thru expensive strikes are making a killing this year. General Motors, which lost \$74 million in the first nine months of this year,

in operating its business, will nevertheless realize a profit of 14 millions for this same period because the government will allow it \$88 million in tax credits under the carryback wartime tax provision. Other companies show an even better trend. Dupont's earnings per share rose from \$4.34 in the first 9 months of 1945 to \$6.88 in the same period 1946. U.S. Steel went up from \$2.85 to \$4.43 in the same period. The Texas Company, from \$3.47 to \$4.48.

But despite this glowing picture in the sphere of capitalist earnings, it is quite clear that the bourgeoisie themselves know they have reached the end of the silver lining. Stock market prices, which reflect anticipated earnings in the coming months, have been going down, down and down. And they evidently will continue going down. Says the Magazine of Wall Street: "It is possible, of course, that the final low WAS seen on October 9 - but the chances are against it." The organ of finance capital clearly understands that these are the "first manifestations of coming economic readjustment" and that "some things are wrong and unsound". Some of these "unsound things" are over-inflated prices, a "decline in the 'real' income" of the population, and "maladjustments" all around.

For the hundredth time since the first war, therefore, capitalism is again proving that the Keynesian doctrine that capitalist economy can be controlled into averting depressions is proven to be an obvious fraud. The whole economic theory, to which both Franklin Roosevelt and Adolph Hitler turned in final desperation - government control of prices, wages and production - has proven in America no less than in Italy and Germany incapable of averting economic catastrophe.

During the war we were told that "this time it will be different". Prices were not supposed to skyrocket - they were going to be controlled so that nothing like the inflation of the first war would result. But prices of food alone went up by 56% in less than a half year. For 31 foods, according to a Dun and Bradstreet figure, prices went up from \$4.30 to \$6.49. From 1939 to 1946 food prices more than doubled. Real income was supposed to be protected, as were jobs and security. But real wages have fallen, savings are being wiped out, and the unemployed army of 2½ millions is about to rise to "normalcy" - or about 8 to 10 million. Control over wages and prices did in America precisely what it did in Germany:

- 1- It kept workers from getting higher real wages when their bargaining position was best, i.e. in wartime periods of labor shortage; and it kept prices constantly zooming ahead of wages.
- 2- When workers bargaining power fell a little, OPA and the whole capitalist government placed the stiletto much more firmly in labor's back: it permitted the rate of price rises to go up much more rapidly relative to wages than even in wartime.

What the R.M.L. constantly stated about OPA thus was borne out: it was an instrument to create the illusion of stable prices, only so long as it was necessary to create that illusion - in other words when there was a shortage of labor. It was utilized to cut real wages. Once freed from the compulsion of a bull market in labor power, however, OPA did precisely what one would expect a capitalist government to do, it appeared in its open naked form as an instrument for destroying the living standards of the masses.

The development of OPA parallels very much the development of the Labor Relations Board. While mass pressure was great both instruments made minor concessions to the proletariat; when the pressure declined, they both took off their silk gloves and showed their naked claws.

Capitalist "control" of economy is thus merely an attempt to SOCIALIZE LOSSES - in other words to distribute the losses of a decadent economy so that they fall more

greatly on the shoulders of the oppressed. Such is the result of "control" whether it attains the fullness of German control, or is only in its embryo stages, as in the U.S. It does not attack the main problem - the contradiction within the capitalist system and its concomitant overproduction; it merely deals with the surface results and attempts to merely act as an aspirin to the capitalist headache. The "beautiful" words surrounding an OPA are just so much eyewash for the innocent and naive. The basic essence of such control is always the same: utilize state power to force the exploited to bear the greatest burden possible.

## II - THE ELECTIONS

With this economic picture as a background we can now proceed to three related problems. First of all, the meaning of the recent elections. Secondly, the effect of the economic picture on strikes and the class struggle. And thirdly its effect on the international scene.

Faced with a loss in real earnings, the working class was reminded of the wartime promises of the Rooseveltian Democrats about peace and security after the war. It fought to defend itself. But betrayed by its own leadership, which consistently agreed to wage increases that lagged behind price increases, the working class found itself at election time still very much behind the proverbial eight-ball.

The Truman administration, meanwhile, attempted to balance itself precariously between the New Deal mass base amongst the working-class and a declining production curve. The declining production curve made it impossible (even, incidentally, if Roosevelt had been at the helm) to grant any real concessions to the working class; and the failure to grant such concessions created great disaffections, in the ranks of the proletariat, from the "liberal" administration. Faced with lessened production, Truman sought to (and succeeded) in preserving the profits of finance capital by granting price rises that outweighed wage increases by many times. The steel industry for instance, granted a wage increase which cost them \$90 billions (their own estimate of \$180 billions is untrue); but they were granted price boosts which would net them \$450 billions in higher gross revenue. Giving a wage increase was thus excellent business from the point of view of U.S. Steel and others.

The policy of Truman, which was, we repeat, inevitable, alienated workers from the ruling party. They fought back and forced their reformist and faker leadership to sanction strikes. Even the rock-ribbed reactionaries Johnston and Whitney were forced to call railroad strikes; and Truman, in turn, faced with a danger to the whole economy, responded with the threat of government force to smash the strikes. This alienated labor still further.

The ineffectiveness of the strike wave is indicated by the Steelman figures on the loss in real wages, on the one hand, and by the fact that only 5% of the working class participated in the 1946 strikes, whereas in the 1920 strike wave (led by many revolutionaries) fully 20% of the working class hit the picket line. The deliberately drawn-out and uncoordinated strikes, engineered by Reuther, Murray, Lewis and others to sap working class energies, created a dispirited condition within the proletariat, hesitancy, doubt, and hostility.

In the elections the working class registered these emotions by a protest vote. They voted against something, rather than FOR the Republicans. The impulse that created the protest vote was an impulse that had class struggle and even revolutionary implications, but the recipient of the benefit of that impulse was, strangely enough, not the revolutionary movement, nor even the reformists, but the reactionary wing of the two main capitalist parties. With no attractive force to the Left

to scoop up this boiling resentment of the masses, the masses voted with the Right. The Stalinists and reformists in the CIO supported the Political Action Committee and the liberal (Wallace-Pepper-Ickes-Morgenthau) wing of the democrats. This liberal group in turn supported Truman as the lesser evil. Instead of being a polarizing force, therefore, the liberals and labor partyites were a refracting force. They told the masses to support a "center" force which had long ago been discredited.

The fact that the working class doesn't want a reactionary government does not detract from the fact that, unless gigantic and victorious strikes undermine the state machinery, that is precisely what they will get. The confusion of the proletariat has led to a victory of a political force to the right of center (not fascist, but certainly more to the right than Truman). That right wing force will now attempt to consolidate its power into a more repressive state machine against the proletariat.

The impending depression thus casts its shadow far in advance. It indicates the great lengths to which the polarization of class relations are reaching in America today. There is no question but that the center of gravity will shift further toward each pole. The masses in general will fall more and more under the sway of reformism. The present growth of Stalinism and even of Trotskyism are not accidental. They are a product of the disillusionment of the masses, a disillusionment oddly enough occasioned in no small measure by the treacherous policies of the very forces which will gain from it. This is an ever-recurring phenomenon in history. Social-democrats who betrayed the masses into the first world war, were the biggest gainers as a result of the defeats of that war. And Stalinism, which played the most treacherous role in the present war, is making the greatest gains today in the post-war world. Trotsky centrism, which merely tail-ends reformism and which shamefully capitulated ideologically to all sorts of reformist illusions (Ludlow amendment, trade union control of the army, etc.) during the war, likewise is capitalizing on the present class relations. To the right, similarly, we can expect a strengthening of the more extremist sections of reaction. "Ordinary" solutions no longer hold any appeal to the masses; they have been too long exposed as fraudulent. Radical solutions are quite evidently in order.

### III - THE STRIKE WAVE

Whether the pendulum swings to the right or to the left in the coming period does not, however, depend on the actions of the new Congress, although those actions will have some effect on the result. The turn will be called by the impending strike wave, of which the miners' strike is merely the beginning. Faced with the cut in real wages the working class will fight back - this time quite frequently in open opposition to its reformist leadership. Faced with a cut in production, declining stock market prices and anticipation of lower profits, the bourgeoisie will likewise fight back more vigorously. The present anti-Red campaigns are a convenient smoke-screen behind which the naked reaction is being prepared. We have long ago predicted that the postwar period would bring its repressive Palmer raids, arrests of militants, witchhunts, etc. The present trial of Lewis for contempt of court, no matter what the outcome, is merely an opening gun. The outlawing of the Union shop in three states, the attempt to dissolve the United Mine Workers in Virginia by invoking the securities act, are only straws in the wind to indicate what is coming.

The miners' strike, too, holds important lessons for the working class. Close scrutiny of the issues involved shows:

1. The working class can make no permanent gains under capitalism. The miners' fight is merely on the defensive to recapture part of what has been lost.

2- To defend themselves the miners, and other sections of the working class, must take steps now toward the eventual overthrow of the system.

The mining industry is a decadent one. Bituminous coal at one time supplied three-quarters of the energy in the United States. Today it supplies less than half, and if the big inch and little inch pipelines to natural gas are ever opened up by the government, this percentage will decrease still further. In addition mechanization has cut down the number of miners still more. Coal cut by machine in 1923 amounted to 68% of the total; today it is 90%. Coal loaded by machine amounted to only 1% in 1923; today it is more than half. Coal mechanically cleaned in 1923 amounted to 4%; today it is more than 25%. Manual labor required to mine a ton of coal decreased by 2/3 from 1890 to 1939, and by another 22% since 1939. The number of miners has fallen steadily. In Illinois alone the number of miners today is only about 1/3 of what it was 20 years ago. From 1939 to 1944 the decrease was phenomenal. 354,000 mined 57% more coal in 1944 than a larger number of miners (371,000) did only five years before. The man hours needed to produce a ton of coal fell in 6 short years by 22%. And even though the dollar costs per ton rose by about 1/5, the selling price of coal at the mine was exactly DOUBLE what it was in 1939 and three times as much as it was in 1932. The coal operator, thus, realized a very fine profit based on the fact that productivity was much greater due to mechanization and prices rose far more rapidly than wages. Hourly wages of the miner was 85¢ in 1939 and only \$1.18 in 1946, about a 40% boost. Prices doubled, however.

No matter what he does to gain wage increases, therefore, the coal miner can not resolve his problems. The present strike wave is the result of a cut in hours of the miners, which reduced take-home pay and forced Lewis to get at the head of the rising coal miners' resentment. (Lewis, too, is aiming at corraling working class revolt against its present uneconomic circumstances, into his own safe class collaborationist channels.) Lewis is demanding what amounts to a 58¢ an hour raise. In the face of price boosts and increased productivity this demand is not only eminently fair, but is an understatement of the purely economic needs of the miners. Unquestionably Lewis will settle for much less. Unquestionably too the government, while attempting to weaken Lewis' position will not try to smash him entirely, for fear that the rank and file will take things into their own hands and demand and fight for considerably more.

### NEED PERMANENT SOLUTION.

But the outstanding thing about the whole matter, not really dealt with by anyone, is that even if the miners win this purely economic battle, it is no lasting victory. Ghost mining towns will mushroom in the coming period, as the level of production zooms downward from prosperity peaks to depression valleys. Starvation and misery paralleling the 1930's face the American coal miner. He is being tossed around like a feather in the wind, pushed about by cyclones of mechanization, decadence of his industry, and the general capitalist crisis. His plight illustrates more graphically perhaps than that of any other section of the working class, how impossible it is to resolve any problems under capitalism, and in fact how much more difficult it is becoming to even ameliorate them slightly.

The impending strike wave must not be dissipated into vain, individualistic efforts, as was the last strike wave. The working class must not permit itself to be locked out of its plants, as is now the case during the miners' strike. Spread the strike and achieve one united effort of ALL labor, for a national closed shop in industry and a rise in real wages - that must be the strategical program of the progressives. The situation calls for unification of the efforts of the working class through national and local progressive groups (Trade Union Educational Leagues), cutting

across AFL, CIO and independent lines to forge real class struggle unity.

But even these militant instruments of the working class will not gain their goal by utilizing former methods. The crisis of capitalism dictates that effective military defense is needed by the working class against the repressions of the bourgeoisie. Workers' Defense Squads (against such hooligans as the West Allis deputized sheriffs in Milwaukee, for instance) are an absolute must for victory. Workers Councils of delegates from each factory to coordinate activity against the centralized state apparatus and the NAM, Chambers of Commerce, etc. are likewise on the order of the day.

If the working class follows such a program - and frankly its complete execution is impossible except under the leadership of the Revolutionary Marxian Party - then the tide of reaction can be reversed and class relations will shift rapidly to the left. Continued adherence to the policies of reformism (which will now take on new forms of Labor Partyism to soak up the proletarian militancy) can lead only to a consolidation of reaction. Results of elections the world over indicate that reformism, although it is making gains, is making them much more slowly than open reaction. The right wing parties in France gained much more than did the Stalinists, even though the latter made important gains too. The fascist Common Man Party in Italy made spectacular gains in that country's recent vote. The American election, showed a complete victory of the right wing forces because no liberal or reformist force opposed it; but even if there had been such a force it is most likely that the reaction would have made the greater gain. If the leadership of the proletariat does not put before it a forthright program advancing toward open class warfare and eventual Revolution, it can only serve to continue to sow the present parliamentarist confusion and doubt in the ranks of the working masses. A radical turn to the left, without any hemming and hawing, is needed. A forthright presentation of a class struggle and revolutionary program is the only power that can stave off a further consolidation of reaction.

#### IV - INTERNATIONAL REPERCUSSIONS

The United States economy is not only an integral part of world economy, but it is the backbone of the international capitalist order. American economic strength has staved off Revolution the world over. UNRRA relief has been a major factor in stabilizing capitalism. Without bread most of the reactionary regimens in the world today would have fallen long ago. Greek reaction, for instance, is quite shaky at the moment and is faced with civil war, but it would already have been smashed completely if the American-dominated UNRRA had not added 860 calories per person per day to the 650 that the Greek government was able to supply thru its own efforts. Loans by the Export-Import Bank, and the shipment of hundreds of millions in vital machinery, helped keep in power weak and worthless capitalist governments from China to Britain.

Nineteen countries lay prostrate at the end of the war. Tens of millions "were gaunt with hunger and disease". 45 million people had been killed, six million in Poland alone. 77 million people had been displaced from their homes; 15 million homes had been destroyed. The capitalist carnage was indescribable. Starvation faced 800 million people, and without help at least 300 million would have had to live on rations of only 900 calories a day. More than one-quarter of the newborn babies in Poland were dying. In other parts of Europe it was even worse. 20 million children in Europe had one major disease or another.

Without American help one country after another would have succumbed to Revolution. Uncle Sam's contribution of some three and a-third billion dollars for relief helped achieve temporary stabilization. 16½ million tons of food were sent

abroad in 1946, in addition to 279,000 tons of clothing, 2 million tons a month of coal, medical supplies, etc.

America saved the world for.... its own rapacity. It saved the world from Revolution.... temporarily. During and after the war it expended about 70 Billion dollars (twice the total national income in 1932) for aid to prop up the world economy.

The impending depression, however, opens a new chapter in international events as well as national. A weakened Uncle Sam will be in no position, or in a relatively weak position, to give aid to the even more sick national capitalist structures abroad. Instead of lifting up the moribund nations in Europe and Asia, a weakened American capitalism will suck them under with itself.

We Revolutionary Marxists do not welcome depressions any more than we welcome wars; but we recognize that they are inevitable under capitalism and although we take no comfort in the fact that millions starve or are homeless we know that we must utilize these periods to accelerate the class struggle, to further weaken the system, to help overthrow it, so that new depressions and still more wars become impossible.

Most of the revolutionists throughout the world do not yet realize the opportunities that face them. The weakening of American Imperialism will usher in a period of revolutions such as we have never seen. Small and insignificant groups can grow into goliaths WITH THE AID OF A MARXIAN PROGRAM AND AN UNDERSTANDING OF THE ART OF REVOLUTION:

The strength of Marxism must not be measured in terms of present numbers, although numbers are very important; but rather in its social potential to attract the masses to the only program that can resolve its difficulties, the program of Revolution. From that point of view, the strength of the Revolutionary Workers League and the International Contact Commission, both hurt during the war period, is far out of proportions to our present numerical strength. A victory for the International Party of Marxism, is not in itself the goal of progress, but a victory is impossible except insofar as the Party gives guidance to the oppressed, and only thru such a victory can humanity march forward.