

THE

MARXIST

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A LETTER FROM GERMANY

**THE «BLOCKED MARK» AND THE
HULL «FREE TRADE» SYSTEMS**

**U.S. GROUPS «FOR» THE
FOURTH INTERNATIONAL**

**AMERICAN IMPERIALISM IN
LATIN AMERICA**

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THE MARXIST

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A Letter From Germany

(Note — We publish below excerpts from a letter to the RWL from the underground German Red Front).

April 4, 1939.

With Hitler's occupation of Czechoslovakia we lost the last location in which we could perform semi-legal work — even though this had been greatly hindered... In all Europe there is no country in which we can work undisturbed. In the large countries reaction and nationalism have triumphed, and the small countries... jealously guard their neutrality and carefully avoid anything Hitler might dislike. Moreover, every state in Europe is thoroughly overrun with Hitler's police and military spies...

Matters are very serious for the Czechs themselves, especially those who have ever been active politically. Over twenty-eight thousand men have already been arrested, eleven concentration camps have been set up on Czechoslovak territory, and the arrests have by no means come to an end. The Germans have created a regime of bestiality and terror in the territories occupied by them. Suicides and "forced suicides" take place daily by the score in every city...

ALBANIA

The Albanian "Revolutionary Communists" are issuing an appeal to the Albanian workers which we are publishing in our Pressbulletin.

LONDON BUREAU

The London Bureau has migrated to Paris... The strained relations and differences within the I. L. P. have already become so sharp that it is no longer

possible for them to be concerned with the Bureau's agenda. By the reports... there exist strong differences between the Scotch regional leadership and the London leadership. The Scots are too pacifistic, the Londoners too centrist; a large portion of the youth organization of the I. L. P. exhibits Trotskyite tendencies. In place of the S. A. P., which has now left the London Bureau, they now want to accept the German I. V. K. O. (Brandler) — a hopelessly corrupt and sectarian emigrant organization. The P. O. U. M. has sent a circular ultimatum to all members of the London Bureau, in which they state categorically: unless at the next Paris Conference in April their motion to accept the entry of the French P. S. O. P. (Pivert), the Dutch R. S. A. P and the American Lovestone group into the London Bureau is agreed upon by the remaining groups in the Bureau, the P. O. U. M. will leave the Bureau. (So far as we know, incidentally, none of these groups has asked for acceptance). Meanwhile, the dissensions and split tendencies have developed further. The Swedish Socialist Party... invited comrade Gorkin (P. O. U. M.) to a conference at Stockholm; after an original acceptance Gorkin now states that without a closer basis (for agreement — trans.) he cannot come... The Swedish Socialist Party has refused to pay any further "acknowledgement funds" to the Bureau...

RED FRONT

On April 29 or 30 there will take place in... a conference of all groups affiliated with the Bureau of the "Red Front"; to it will be presented an appeal concerning international organization, as a resolution for adoption...

The «Blocked Mark» and the Hull «Free Trade» Systems

The same factors which create the necessity for certain so-called have-not nations to take military measures for penetrating into foreign markets — whereas the “have” nations can still rely on economic pressure — make for the differences in trade methods among the various imperialists. Despite such differences, however, the Hull “free trade” methods and the Nazi “barter” methods cannot be represented as fundamentally opposed to each other. The attempts to do so are no more than war propaganda to “prove” that Germany is taking unfair advantage of Uncle Sam.

With the division and redivision of the earth by the imperialists, and with productive forces far outstripping markets, creating a relatively shrinking world market, it is inevitable that the capitalist powers will seek artificial means to bolster foreign trade at the expense of rival imperialists.

Generally speaking, these artificial stimulations of trade can be classified under a number of heads: dumping of goods on the world market at very low prices; subsidies of a thousand different sorts to both importers and exporters; maneuvering of the currency through “stabilization” funds, inflation, aski marks, etc., in order to gain an advantage on the world market; restrictions of competitors through trade treaties, increased tariffs, quota arrangements, or certain “legal” restrictions; and finally, political, military, or economic aid (loans) to the various countries in return for improved trade relations.

ALL USE SAME METHODS

Every imperialist country uses every one of these methods in varying proportions. Furthermore, every imperialist country uses the exact same methods in passing the burden of cost of this artificial stimulation of trade on to the working class through direct and indirect wage cuts, increased hours or speed up or both, inflation, higher taxes, etc.

What is the difference, then, between

the German barter system of trade, and the U. S. “trade treaty, free trade” system and why?

In 1931 Germany had foreign debts of 25 billion Reichsmarks. Her gold supply was dwindling rapidly. She could not by any means increase her exports sufficiently to pay interest on debts. When Hitler came to power he “resolved” this contradiction by the moratorium on debts and repudiation; and by the policy of buying only from those countries that buy back from Germany in equal or greater amounts.

The reason for this change in policy, instead of the former trade principle under expanding capitalism of “buy where cheapest”, was her weak economic and financial base, and her adverse trade balance, which was draining Germany and forcing her into bankruptcy. An attempt was made to balance the imports of raw materials against the export of manufactured goods. For this a whole intricate system of trade has now been perfected.

THE GERMAN SYSTEM

Germany permits import of goods only by special permits, primarily to the munitions and war industries. Each importer pays a large tax or fine into a national fund which in return is given as a subsidy to exporters so they can sell below the price on the world market and “dump” their goods abroad. This subsidy is about 40% of the product. Along with that German capitalism does not permit foreign exporters to Germany to withdraw the money gained from those exports. Those “blocked” marks, which are devaluated below the mark, and are consequently an indirect subsidy to the foreign countries that export to Germany, must be used to buy materials in Germany.

Like Germany, but with much more success, American imperialism has endeavored to secure a favorable balance of trade. On the basis of her stronger economy the U. S. does not have to use the various governmental checks against an exodus of currency and gold. On the

contrary, American imperialism has an uninterrupted influx of gold and enormous stocks of credit.

Economic might is the base of the Hull trade system. Economic decay and increasing antagonism dictate the policy of the German barter system.

American imperialism lays its emphasis primarily on lowering restrictions against it on the world market, through the high tariffs, etc., of foreign countries. On an equal basis with the other imperialists, the U. S. economic might and productive capacity gives her the advantage. Germany, however, can penetrate into the world markets only by selling below cost or near cost and giving the exporters great subsidies which come out of a cut in the living standards of the masses.

U. S. EMPHASIS ON "FREE" MARKET

While the U. S. emphasis still remains on a "free" world market, her increased antagonisms are accelerating the use of the same methods of dumping, restrictions against foreign exports to the U. S., barter, etc., that Germany uses. America is today completing negotiations with Britain, Holland, and others to exchange 11 million bales of cotton and 80 million bushels of wheat for much needed war materials, tin and rubber. The press reports that Secretary of Agriculture Wallace is in the final stages of preparations to subsidize export of wheat and cotton by dumping them on the world market. Hundreds of American products sell at a lower price in Europe, South America, and Asia than in the U. S. Like Germany in the Balkans, America grants loans to Brazil and other countries in exchange for trade. And like Germany she imposes quota and tariff restrictions (e. g., the present 25% extra tariff on German goods) to keep foreign goods out. Like Germany she is attempting to shut the door to German and British and Japanese trade in those spots where Uncle Sam has decisive control, such as South America. The Lima Conference was similar in aims to the various agreements Hitler has made with the central European countries. By beating the drums against Germany, the U. S. attempted to close the door for trade to all imperialist competitors.

The propaganda about Hitler's penetra-

tion into South America at the expense of the U. S. is greatly distorted. According to John Abbink, president of the Business Publishers International Corporation, U. S. exports have increased 65% to South America since 1933, and German exports only 10%. Furthermore, the majority of the gains made by Germany in South America are made at Great Britain's expense, not the expense of the U. S. In certain countries, the increase in German trade is attributable to an increase in purchases from AMERICAN firms, such as American owned copper mines in Chile.

With a surplus of finance capital the U. S. can continue to place its emphasis on a "free" world exchange of commodities, while Germany with a scarcity of capital must resort to barter to keep out of the clutches of the Dollar and the Pound. But even with this surplus capital American imperialism is being pulled more and more into the orbit of the general decay of world capitalism.

BOTH SYSTEMS IN DECAY

The one great similarity between German economy and American economy is the progressive decay of both set-ups. In the U. S. there are more idle means of production and more idle men than anywhere else in the world — possibly more than in the whole of the rest of the world. It is precisely this weakened economy which forces American imperialism to take steps to re-organize the whole world and to eliminate ALL competitors from the field.

In Germany the "ersatz" program is meeting distressing failure. Despite all the maneuvers of Schacht the favorable trade balance of 443 million Rm. in 1937 gave way to a 432 million adverse trade balance in 1938. The cost of production has risen despite the lowering of wages and increase of hours. The loss of gold still continues.

Under decay capitalism there are many FORMS of dying capitalist economies but they all have the same content. They are part of one world chain, an unbreakable chain. The contradictions of this chain grow ever greater. They can be solved only by the social revolution.

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**AGAINST THE IMPERIALIST WAR
FOR THE CLASS WAR.**

U.S. Groups « for » the Fourth International

The defeat of the German working class in 1933 brought in its wake tremendous demoralization and disintegration in the world labor movement. Not only did many militants leave the movement, but the movement as a whole experienced a shift to the right. But at the same time these events gave rise to healthy regroupments of forces, reevaluations of positions, recrystallizations. In the process many groups in the U. S. disappeared altogether from the political scene. The Spanish revolution and its defeat, five years after the German debacle, has intensified this process, and has given a burning emphasis to the key problem of our day — assembling the revolutionary cadres into a new world party of communism, a new communist (4th) international.

In the U. S. a number of centrist and sectarian groups and grouplets have arisen, claiming to stand for a new international vanguard. The key error of all these groups revolves around the fundamental question of the Road to the Party, the Road to the International.

TROTSKYISM

The largest of these groups today, the Trotskyist movement, took form in 1923-24 as the Marxian trunk of the Communist International in the struggle against Stalinist revisionism. But serious organizational and political errors undermined its base from the time of its formation and struggle, through the Chinese Revolution and up to the defeat in Germany and the victory of Hitler. The impact of the German events, and the revision of the Marxian position on the political and organizational independence of the revolutionary organization, threw the Trotskyist movement completely off its Marxist base. Once the final break was accomplished an extraordinarily rapid shift to the right took place. Today Trotskyism stands on a wholly centrist platform, having fundamentally revised the basic principles of Marxism.

The RWL has dealt with the Trotskyist movement previously and will continue to

take up as occasion demands the material and actions of this centrist tendency which must be exposed as an obstacle to the creation of a true 4th International. In this article however, we want to discuss some of the other smaller groups on the American scene.

REVOLT GROUP

A much smaller and less significant group than the Trotskyites, but acting as a feeder to them, is the Stamm "Revolutionary Workers League (Revolt)" group. Splitting from the RWL a year ago on the basis of a struggle against our anti-capitalist pro-communist orientation, the Revolt group presents today a totally economist line. Its material deals in the main with trade union and unemployed questions, presenting these merely from an "advanced" trade union approach. Its political material also is watered down to this level. It has failed to make any theoretical contributions and to a great extent still lives off the past theoretical work of the RWL. It presents a false position on democratic centralism and a sectarian evaluation of the Trotskyist movement as having been centrist since 1928. This position is complemented by the "left" orientation of the Revolt group on the Trotskyites as indicated in their political collaboration with the Trotskyites in labor defense work, and their material in the "Revolt", which criticizes the Trotskyites mainly on secondary questions of mass work, weak organizational base, and their anti-Stalinist orientation. The Revolt group is a centrist group moving to the right, held together largely on a personal basis and living on slander.

MARLEN GROUP

The Leninist League, U. S. A., another small group, presents as its main line for building the revolutionary party a POLITICAL REJECTION of the independent anti-capitalist approach in favor of aiming "exclusively in the direction of class conscious workers in the Stalinist, Trotskyite, Lovestoneite, Socialist and other organizations." To the Marlen group only by

winning the advanced workers away from Stalinism can the new party be built. They present the defeatist idea that unless Stalinism and the other reformists and opportunists can be isolated first, the working class is doomed in advance. Reacting violently away from Stalinism, the Marlen group fails to understand that centrism and reformism will exist so long as there is capitalism, that it is fatal to single out one reformist agency of capitalism in labor's ranks, deadly as Stalinism is, and relegate the struggle against the MAIN ENEMY, capitalism, to a secondary place. Such a policy can lead only to turning one's back to the class struggle, to sectarianism and tail-endism.

THE L. R. W. P.

The League for a Revolutionary Workers Party (Field group) split from the Trotskyites in 1934. The "political" basis of Field's split was his opportunist position on the New York City Hotel strike. Field also raised the question of "mass work" against the Trotskyites, but like Wiesbord, altho he was correct in criticizing the Trotskyites on this point, his own position was equally false.

The central error of the LRWP has been its "New Zimmerwald" line, that is, that the party must be built through the unification of the revolutionary groups on a "minimum" Marxian program. They have posed this "fusion orientation" in opposition to a correct policy of independent activity in the class struggle on the part of the revolutionary force, with united front activity and fusions with other forces as an important but **auxiliary** aspect of the task of building the Marxian party.

PRESENT NO CLEAR LINE

In the documents of their May 1938 convention the LRWP showed a partial correction of this position by no longer specifically putting forth the "New Zimmerwald" line. But neither do they present the correct line. In building the party, they say, "...it would be wrong to subordinate one to the other in principle"... the various aspects of united front work, negotiations, independent class struggle activity, fraction work, etc. And again, "...It is necessary to attract.. not only raw workers — but also political labor organizations" (quotations throughout are from the 1938 Convention Bulletin of the LRWP). Everything here is put on the same

plane. But the question is that the main line, the key, to our work of building the party must be the independent activity in the class struggle on an anti-capitalist basis.

TAIL-ENDIST LINE

An aspect of the New Zimmerwald line of the LRWP is its position in favor of indiscriminate negotiations with other groups. It will negotiate merely for the sake of "clarifying" positions. Marxists reject the opportunist policy of orienting the revolutionary organization on fruitless negotiations, a policy which can result only in a futile tail-ending of one or another political grouping. Marxists enter into negotiations with other groups only on the basis of a definite perspective for a positive outcome to such negotiations, although such an outcome is of course not guaranteed.

The New Zimmerwald line of the LRWP has been expressed in the past in its attempts at a "unity conference" with Wiesbord and others, in its orientations on the Workers Party, against the Workers Party, on the Trotskyites and against them, etc., etc. As late as 1938 the LRWP proposed negotiations to the Trotskyites.

The LRWP supports organizations that are not Marxist, but are the "best" organizations under the circumstances, such as the POUM in Spain. To say, after the event, that the POUM "could not survive the first serious test" does not answer this question. What will this policy mean tomorrow in France for example, where some other centrist force may be the organization "closest" to Marxism when the revolutionary upsurge develops? An organization is Marxist or centrist or reformist (or the sterile off-shoot of Marxism, ultra-leftism). A "best" organization, or an organization "closest" to Marxism, is still not Marxist and must be fought.

BLUR CENTRISM AND MARXISM

Underneath the New Zimmerwald line — this "fusion orientation" — lies a failure to understand what is centrism, a tendency to blur over the distinction between Marxism and centrism. Thus, the LRWP shies away from a clear analysis and criticism of centrism. It has avoided taking a clear cut position on whether centrism can be reformed into Marxism. For example, in one place it says "Trotskyism can at best be considered a tendency for the 4th In-

ternational shot through with centrist weaknesses..." Does this not mean that essentially Trotskyism is still Marxist? In the next breath it speaks of the Trotskyists as a "centrist organization... an obstacle in the building of the 4th International..." And then again an ambiguous formula opens up possibilities of the Trotskyites correcting themselves: "To rehabilitate what can be rehabilitated (?) in the Trotsky organizations... a thoroughgoing revision of the policies... is indispensable..." This kind of carefully phrased ambiguous language serves at best as an umbrella for the two opposing positions: that centrism can be reformed into Marxism, that it cannot be reformed. Such formulations are centrist formulations calculated to avoid a clear cut position. They indicate that the underlying false concept of unification of the revolutionary groups on a "minimum" program as the MAIN line for building the new party has not been clarified and still persists.

WHAT IS THE SOVIET UNION?

On the Soviet Union the LRWP presents an utterly confused position, opening the door wide to the concept that capitalism exists in the S. U. It fails to give a clear analysis of the relation of bureaucracy to revisionism, fails to make clear that bureaucracy arises out of and is an expression of revisionism, even though the bureaucratic actions may appear first. But far worse is the concept that there "is no longer a proletarian state." However, at the same time we find "Only the economic institutions of the revolution remain..." What then is the Soviet Union? It appears to be neither a proletarian dictatorship nor capitalism! The same begging the question occurs in relation to the state. "What exists in the S. U. is neither a proletarian officialdom nor yet an apparatus devoted to the capitalist class, that is, a capitalist state apparatus..." It is a Thermidorean bureaucracy characterized by personal careerist degeneration..." What kind of state is it — IN ITS CLASS ESSENCE? What class does the "Thermidorean bureaucracy" represent? Why is not this term clearly defined?

Further we read that Stalinism must be overthrown "by a political revolution that will reestablish the proletarian dictatorship." (Our emphasis). Does this mean that capitalism exists in the U. S.? Then,

"The social foundations of the existing order (?!) in the S. U., its productive and property relations, will not only be cleansed of the infiltrations (!) of capitalism, but extended and developed as the march to socialism is taken up again". Does this mean there is a proletarian dictatorship? This hopeless muddle allows anybody to conclude anything.

The LRWP also fails to see the dynamics of the situation in the Soviet Union, the relationship of Stalinism to the working class and the development of a "third force", the bourgeois stratum, within the bureaucracy to a challenging position.

The RWL holds that the Soviet Union represents a transitional system, a warped workers state, a proletarian dictatorship in decline. There can be nothing in between the dictatorship of the proletariat and the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The party and state bureaucracy is not a class, it is socially heterogeneous. Its origin and social base is the working class; it has not cut its umbilical cord with its historic origin, altho the center of gravity of its social composition is the petty bourgeoisie, with a bourgeois stratum, and altho it plays today a counter revolutionary role. (See article in MARXIST, May, 1939).

REVOLUTIONARY DEFEATISM

While the LRWP criticises the Trotskyist centrist position on revolutionary defeatism, its own position is by no means clear. It does not discuss the essence of the question: the working class on each side in the imperialist war working through revolutionary class action for the defeat of "its own" bourgeoisie, even if this means the "victory" BY THE ENEMY BOURGEOISIE. This is the key to the policy of turning the imperialist war into civil war, since military reverses accelerate revolutionary developments and are therefore preferable to victories which strengthen the "victorious" bourgeoisie against its workers.

The Trotskyites adulterate the whole concept of revolutionary defeatism into only a question of the struggle of the workers against their own bourgeoisie, and deny that revolutionary defeatism has any relation to the question of the "enemy" bourgeoisie.

The LRWP calls for class action in the rear and fraternization, etc., at the front; and speaks of workers "working for the defeat of their own bourgeoisie." What

does this mean? Do we work for this defeat EVEN IF IT MEANS THE "VICTORY" OF THE "ENEMY" BOURGEOISIE"? That is the Marxist position. Or does it mean the Trotskyist position which opens the door for Trotsky's world war position of "neither victory nor defeat", a position which Lenin rejected as being a bridge to social patriotism? Ambiguity on this question is fatal.

MATERIAL AID TO CENTRISTS

On a number of other questions the LRWP presents weak and ambiguous formulas that serve as an umbrella for two positions. It rejects material aid to the Loyalist bourgeoisie, but speaks of such support to the "left wing working class elements," a phrase which covers its previous position of material aid to left ("best") political groups such as the POUM. Material aid is political aid. Revolutionaries give material and political support to the revolutionary Marxian party and to workers forces in struggle against the bourgeoisie. Revolutionists do not give such support to centrist political forces.

The LRWP favors the slogan of the constituent assembly in fascist countries, where such a slogan can play only a reactionary role and dissipate the energies of the masses. In its policy for mass work in the U. S. the LRWP presents a confused evaluation of the CIO and its relation to the AFL, a false perspective of "progres-

sive left wings capturing the entire trade union movement", a complete underestimation of the question of workers control of production, and an opportunist tendency of hiding the face of the party in mass work. In its organizational structure it reveals a false understanding of democratic centralism, leaning toward loose social democratic concepts.

CENTRIST FORCE

The political positions and line of the LRWP stamp it as a centrist force. Nevertheless, a number of positive factors such as the collaboration of comrade Krehm with the RWL reps in Spain, united front activity in the U. S., the partial correction of positions at the 1938 LRWP convention, indicate a leftward development of this group. The shift to the left is expressed in the change in direction of the LRWP from an orientation on the Trotskyites a year ago to an orientation to the left in the past period. But the LRWP has had other orientations and can easily shift to the right again. The left development reflects the pressure and sentiment of its membership. It is to be hoped that the discussions and criticisms made above will contribute to the clarification of these positions and help the revolutionary elements to a clearer vision and a break with centrism.

The regroupments in the movement can achieve a positive purpose only if they take place on a Marxian basis of a correct programmatic position and positive action in the class struggle.

American Imperialism in Latin America

The entire problem of the relationships between the imperialist policy of United States capitalism and Latin American colonies is at once simplified and complicated by a number of factors not operating in other colonial areas of the world market. The United States is the one imperialist power which produces a very great supply of raw materials, most of which are used in its own basic industries. Hence its import of raw materials for industrial use is much smaller than is the case with rival imperialist powers, e. g., Great Britain and Germany. Its control

of the raw material sources in Latin America aggravates the U. S. contradiction of being at one and the same time the leading exporter not only of capital and manufactured goods, but of raw materials as well. Secondly, the mere fact of geographical proximity tends to make the United States the proud father of the American family circle. No European power has its colonies in its own backyard. Japan, to a certain extent, plays a similar role in China, but competition between the yen and the dollar for supremacy is impossible on the same world scale as between the

pound sterling or even the export mark and the dollar. The American continents are, broadly speaking, the back-door of American imperialism. The Caribbean is traditionally an American lake. From these two peculiarities flow many of the obvious features of American colonial policy.

DOLLAR IS CHIEF INVESTOR

While United States imperialism began its inroads on Latin America with the Spanish American War (at least on a large scale), the political basis, of course with other motivations, was laid down three-quarters of a century before by the Monroe doctrine. The economic exploitation that has taken place is almost entirely in the fields of raw material supply (or, in many cases, merely a reserve), and of capital investment. The total United States investment in Latin-American enterprise, as of 1936, is variously estimated at anywhere from \$2,847,000,000 (**American Direct Investments in Foreign Countries**, U. S. Department of Commerce, Economic Series, No. 1) to \$8,577,000,000 (Harry Elmer Barnes, Introduction to **The Banana Empire**, by Kepener and Soothill). In **America South**, Carleton Beals suggests a figure of six billions. All the estimates, however, make it clear that the dollar is the chief foreign investor, with the pound running second.

One of the largest fields for American investment is the petroleum industry. But although this has been enormously capitalized, hardly any oil is imported or even refined. This is essentially due to the enormous overcapitalization of native American petroleum production and the need for markets for the greatly overproduced supply of both crudes and refined petroleum products. Hence vast oil fields have been neglected or merely surveyed, while oil is exported from the U. S. refineries to South and Central America. The vast oil holdings of American imperialism in Latin America are almost entirely for the sake of maintaining control of the world market to the exclusion of British imperialism.

IMPORT — EXPORT PROBLEM

In 1934 the total American exports to Latin America had a value of \$334,000,000. A good deal of this trade was in basic machinery for equipping American owned mining enterprises. One of the basic problems of American imperialism is

an increase of exports to Latin America. The miserable living standards of the colonial serfs handicap the import of consumers goods. The way out implies price reduction, "refined" dumping, and limitation of U. S. production to favor raw material imports from the colonies, thus giving them a trade balance that makes exports more practicable.

These are a few of the facts regarding economic domination of the Americas. Politically, this domination was manifested at the Lima Conference. The most recent example is the maneuvers regarding Mexican oil expropriation. The Revolutionary Workers League has shown in the past that fear of proletarian revolution in Mexico forced this "subsidy" of silver, oil, etc., on American imperialism. In the end it will be the Royal Dutch-Shell Corporation, owned by the Englishman Samuel, not Rockefeller's Standard Oil, which will suffer.

THE GOOD NEIGHBOR

Recent Latin American events clearly reveal the fraud of New Deal "democracy". Roosevelt has endorsed the blood-stained murderous dictators of half a dozen Latin American countries. Indeed, it was Roosevelt's regime which placed the most vicious of these dictators, Batista, in power over Cuba. Vargas, the butcher of Brazil, has been referred to by Roosevelt as another representative of the great Western democracies. At the 7th Pan-American Congress in Montevideo, in 1933 the whole world laughed at the plight of Uruguay's ruler, Terra, who was driving to crush the threatened insurrection against his tyranny while Roosevelt was daily calling him the beloved representative of his people.

Especially vicious has been direct military intervention in defense of American imperialism. We briefly cite the control of Panama, the occupation of Haiti and the Dominican Republic, the subjugation of Cuba, war in Nicaragua, intervention in Mexico, etc. Most bloody of recent events was the slaughter of 13,000 unemployed Haitians by the Dominican agents of American imperialist policy. The State Department casually overlooks this crime. But the Stalinists blithely ignore such facts and go on singing hymns of praise to Roosevelt, the great white father of Peace, Freedom, and Democracy. To

those who piously hope for the dawn of the new day in Latin America, who are taken in by the "good neighbor" policy, we say the "good neighbor" has the same relation to foreign policy that the "forgotten man" has to domestic class relations. Both are utter hoaxes.

So long as American imperialism exists it will strive for increased domination and exploitation of its Latin American colonies. The Latin American region is an invaluable weapon of military power in imperialist war. Conversely it would be invaluable for any enemy of the United States in such a war. This is why all the papers are so piously horrified at German-Italian and Japanese trade developments in Latin America. The continent's military significance lies not merely in its proximity to the U. S. Vast oil reserves, an independent rubber supply, great metal deposits, raw materials, all require further exploitation by American imperialism. This exploitation will be deeper and more extensive, involving worse peonization of labor.

PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION

Inevitable conclusions regarding the tasks of the social revolution in Latin America flow from these conditions. The Latin American workers must fight for independence from U. S. domination, but they must never forget that this independence can only be achieved by relentless struggle to gain emancipation from their own comprador bourgeoisie. Otherwise the masses will simply exchange American enslavement for servitude to some other power. It is the great lesson of Lenin's concept of imperialism and of the permanent revolution that only the proletariat

can carry through the democratic tasks of the coming revolution. These tasks will be carried out against the native bourgeoisie, and not by four-class blocs, so-called democratic dictatorships of proletariat and peasantry, etc. For the millions of peasants the social revolution is the only road. The break-up of the great haciendas will not solve the problems of agricultural production. While expropriation of the haciendistas and parcelling the land to the poor peasantry will be a necessary first step, the long range perspective must be based on the agricultural proletariat who will readily move towards collectivization. For decades after the capture of power, the proletariat will have to continue the struggle against layers of the peasantry.

The coming Latin American revolution will not be an agrarian or bourgeois revolution, to be later followed by proletarian revolution (the "two revolution" concept). It will be a proletarian revolution whose first phase will be agrarian. The whole concept of permanent revolution is inseparably bound up with this evaluation. Yet the former outstanding exponent of permanent revolution, Trotsky, has made it clear that he regards the Cardenas regime as progressive. To support this Wall Street puppet negates the revolutionary action of the masses.

The American working class must aid to the fullest extent in smashing the domination of U. S. imperialism over Latin America, and must help our southern class-brothers in establishing Soviets. The problems of the Latin American masses are tied up with the problems of the American working class and can be solved only by joint action of the oppressed masses both here and in Latin America.

BUILD THE "MARXIST"

The issuance of the MARXIST in printed form, instead of the mimeographed FOURTH INTERNATIONAL, has made it possible to triple and quadruple the circulation of the publication. Workers and readers have written in greeting the appearance of the new organ and welcoming its material.

Help build a theoretical journal of Marxism. Send in your sub. Contribute what you can. Make the MARXIST grow!

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- The Cry No One Can Fail to Answer -

Help The Victims Of Fascism

With the set back of the Spanish workers thousands of leading comrades and militant revolutionists are stranded in foreign lands in desperate need, and must find refuge in some country. This is in addition to the thousands and thousands of workers and oppressed who have fled from Italian and German Fascism.

We have received urgent communications from the Red Aid of the Austrian Revolutionary Left and from many individuals in Spain. Plans are being made to organize broad red aid committees and united action to force the New Deal to open its doors to the refugees.

Meanwhile, funds are urgently needed. The RWL has established a temporary Red Aid Committee. We urge all friends and sympathizers to immediately contribute for this urgent work.

—○—
Funds are needed for the workers who have escaped and are living a precarious life in "democratic" countries.

Funds are needed for women and children of revolutionists who have entered concentration camps and have not been heard of since.

Funds are needed to get as many as possible of these victims out of Germany (and Austria and Czechoslovakia).

Some of the revolutionists have escaped out of the German hell and are living precarious lives in the "democratic" capitalist countries, but the majority are still in Germany and need your aid to get out and to enable others to organize their fight against Fascism.

—○—
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Send Funds To

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1904 W. Division Street, Chicago,

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