

The Fighting Worker

Workers of
The World
Unite!

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History of UAW

In Two Parts — Part One

The UAW and the rest of the CIO unions were born out of the great depression. The mass movements of 1930-31-32, the Bonus March, Hunger Marches, unemployed demonstrations; all the militant actions of those days taught the workers the value of united action and threw a mighty fear into the capitalist class.

WHY UNIONS

There are two reasons why unions are organized. First, the needs of the workers; second, the needs of the capitalists. Capitalists do not like unions, but when the workers start organized action the capitalists must either destroy the organization or control it.

Revolutionists believe that the struggle for immediate demands, while improving the living conditions of the workers (while they work) will also show them that their problems can never be solved under capitalism. Intelligent capitalists believe that once the workers start to move in great numbers, attempts at destroying the organization are more dangerous to capitalism than fostering and controlling it.

Both are correct. It is purely a question of leadership and tactics. Militant revolutionary leadership can lead to the destruction of this robber system and the building of a workers' world of peace and plenty. Reactionary, capitalist controlled leadership can make the union a bulwark against revolution, far beyond the time when the living con-

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AUTO WORKERS SPEAK OUT

Detroit, Aug. 16

At the time I write there is less than the usual amount of fighting for the positions of leadership in the UAW-CIO.

R. J. Thomas is allegedly in France; in the safer parts of course. The only purpose of the trip is to enable him to squash the fight against the no-strike pledge with hysterical and emotional "eye-witness" stories of the need of the armed forces for more production.

The Addes-Frankensteen faction is apparently satisfied to let well enough alone, and the Reuther faction does not feel strong enough to put up a battle to improve its position.

One reason for the truce this year is the apathy of the rank and file, who don't give a damn which gang of horse-thieves is on top of the heap. The "leaders" realize their lack of support and fear to start a fight that might get out of control in spite of their machines of organizers and local officials.

In spite of the fact that there is no organized opposition a fight for control might end up in a free-for-all that would cause the delegates to vote for the proverbial Chinaman, against the gang in power.

Another reason is the need of the officers to present a solid front against the workers' demands that the union put up a fight for the needs of the membership. The officials have to stand together to defend each other's record of strike-breaking and crawling to the demands of the employers and their

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Chicago, Aug. 18.

The purpose of a union convention is to make the union a stronger force in fighting the battles of the working class. The delegates alone will decide whether the UAW-CIO comes out of this convention stronger — or weaker.

The "Leadership," as usual, offers a program that leads backward. In place of collective-bargaining they propose collective begging. Their program (shorn of all the clap-trap) is simple: Keep the no-strike pledge and put "friends of labor" into political office.

RESULTS OF CLASS COLLABORATION

LABOR HAS NO FRIENDS. What gains we have made in the past have been by our own strength; thru strike action or the threat of it. What have our "friends" given us since our "leaders" gave away the right to strike? The WLB, wage-freezing, job-freezing, the Smith-Connelly anti-labor law, the Little Steal formula. What else?

In return for Labor's no-strike pledge Roosevelt promised EQUALITY OF SACRIFICE. Let's look at the record! Labor is tied hand and foot, our standard of living has dropped; 350,000 workers killed and wounded; TO MAKE 1943 THE MOST PROFITABLE YEAR IN HISTORY.

This is what Roosevelt, Murray, Thomas, Wall St., and Stalin's Stooges want us to continue! The no-strike pledge and support of Wall Street's politicians is PLANNED to lead Labor down a blind alley; to

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Workers Revolt Against Allied 'Democracy' and 'Liberation' in Paris

The Paris events occurred just as we were going to press. Therefore the article below, wholly inadequate, neither gives the picture entire, nor covers every phase of the heroic struggle of the Parisian workers. In truth, these events themselves are far from concluded. Subsequent articles will round out and fill in the gaps in this article.

A pre-revolutionary situation exists in Paris today, carrying on the red line of working class struggle that goes thru all the pages of the history of the war, Warsaw, Sept. 1939, Paris, July 1940, Milan, Turin and Northern Italy at the time of the overthrow of Italian Fascism, and coming as a surprise to everyone, including the Allied Supreme Headquarters, the armed masses of Paris have taken to the streets and forcibly ejected the German Imperialist Army

FRENCH AND GERMANS MAKE DEAL

The French leaders had signed an armistice with the Germans allowing them peaceful evacuation of the city. The Allied Headquarters was in full agreement with the and his National Committee of Liberation as the great "liberators" of France. Their plan was to present De Gaulle out peacefully and De Gaulle and his clique move in amid cheers and hurrahs as saviors. In this way the Allies hoped to build up the prestige of De Gaulle. Through a figurehead who would be acceptable to the masses the Allies could control the country.

FRENCH MASSES "JUMP GUN"

But the French masses "jumped the gun" in protest against the peaceful evacuation of the Germans and the De Gaulle and Allied protection of the French collaborators. The masses wondered if it was just so much talk that they had heard about unconditional surrender. In action the Allied imperialists and the French collaborators were using entirely different strategy. The German evacuation was being timed to the entrance of the Allies. Nothing was said now of unconditional surrender. One Imperialist camp was moving out in favor of another, and the French masses became indignant. Mass demonstrations broke out in the streets as the French rioted to eliminate the French collaborators along with the Germans. It was in these street fights that the true policy of the French leaders was revealed to the masses. When the surging mob stormed the Crillon, the headquarters of the German staff, they found themselves looking into the muzzles of the guns held by the FFI (French Forces of the Interior) who were stationed there to protect the safety of the German officers.

After having had Paris encircled for two days the Allies realized that De Gaulle and his National Committee of Liberation were not capable of checking the revolting French masses. So the Allies moved in to attempt to "keep law and order."

But, through sheer force the aroused crowds seized the center of the city and the communication lines. It is the French masses who hold the key points of the city. The Allies must gain control of these vital points in order to put down the revolt of the French.

ALLIES WILL BETRAY

The Allies are attempting to seize the leadership of the "confused" masses and use it for their own purposes. The kow-towing Vichyites who had enjoyed the protection of the Germans for four years and now were being protected by the Allies, were being viciously attacked by the French mobs. Even De Gaulle found himself being used as a target as two attempts were made on his life—once while he drove down the streets of Paris and again as he attended services at the Notre Dame Cathedral. Yes, the French masses are decidedly getting out of hand and the Allies must gain control.

The simplest way for them to accomplish this would be to place a local "Bagdolio" in power. The French are not yet thoroughly disillusioned with Allied Imperialism and without correct leadership in their struggle, they may allow this to happen. But, what does this mean? Shall we have another repetition of the "liberation of Italy"? Have the French masses been fighting hand to hand battles in the streets to create another Bagdolio regime? Have they arisen after four years of intense suffering to have the results of their energies wrested from them and placed in the hands of their main enemy—the French bourgeoisie?

NEED MARXIST LEADERSHIP

At this time the French masses are in dire need of a Marxian leadership—a leadership that will point the way to complete freedom from their oppressors—the imperialists—in whichever "camp" they appear. The main enemy of the French is at home. The "democratic" bourgeoisie will be put into power by the Allies to soften the fury of the people. This is what must be guarded against. The aroused French masses should continue their fight for freedom—they must organize themselves into soviets and strike out against their own ruling class

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DELEGATES! STOP THE BUROCRACY!

GIVE THE LEADERSHIP TO THE RANK AND FILE!

Dear Fellow-Workers:

Last year the Revolutionary Workers League pointed out to you the necessity of a militant program if the UAW was to serve the interests of its members. At that time we pointed out that the basic issues before the convention were:

1. Rescinding of the no-strike pledge.
2. The five day, thirty hour week, with double time for all overtime.
3. Democracy in the union.
4. No discrimination against Negroes and women.
5. Resignation of the "labor" members from the

WLB and no reliance of government agencies.

We pointed out that to carry out such a program a new leadership was needed, that nothing could be expected from the Reuther-Thomas-Addes groups, that the leadership must come from deep down in the ranks of the auto workers, not big names, but people with militant programs. We pointed out the necessity of a militant Shop Steward organization based on progressives in the plants from all unions.

LEADERSHIP vs. RANK AND FILE

What has been the history from the last convention to now? The identical struggle between the top-leadership desperately trying to hold back their own membership and the rank and file trying to carry into life the very program we advocated at the time of the Buffalo convention. But since that time other things have also occurred. On the part of the bosses, the nearer it appears that there will be military victory over Germany, the more arrogant they become. Not only Churchill and Roosevelt but every owner of a factory, cynically begins to discard the big promises of the early days of the war and to openly proclaim that the post-war world will be the same old pre-war world with the addition of all the burdens caused by the shift from a war to a peace economy. How that will hit the auto workers every rank-and-file member knows. It is ridiculous to even listen to any talk about post-war reconversion when now, while the war still rages, unemployment makes ever increasing ravages in our ranks; and the question of cutbacks remains incapable of solution. Even according to Nelson of the WPB, from two to three hundred thousand auto workers will be jobless by the end of the year.

In the face of the renewed class arrogance and the social impotence of the bosses, what has the leadership of the union done? Nothing for the workers, everything for the

bosses and the government. A militant leadership would have rallied the auto workers to fight for the program we gave out at Buffalo. Instead the present UAW heads use the machinery of the union for the purpose of suppressing the fight of the workers, even going to the extent of attempting to drive them out of the union, and out of the industry, when they resist the bosses. What kind of a leadership is it that takes bread from union militants and their kids for fighting for the very things for which we created the UAW?

In the meantime the tide of militancy of the workers has risen higher and higher. Uncoordinated, leaderless, or with only local leadership, and without a carefully worked out program, this opposition is nevertheless making itself felt. The "big boys" have even begun to reconcile themselves, in some instances, to the paper rescinding of the no-strike pledge, hoping that they can hold on to their jobs by making verbal concessions to the rank-and-file and then hold them back from strike action.

THE WAR AND THE UAW

At this convention, again, every faction of the leadership will trot out the old standby "every sacrifice for the war." In the first place the auto workers, as all other workers, have had the main burden of the war shoved upon them. At a time when the auto corporations have waxed rich and fat on our toil, our wages, despite the lying propaganda of the journalistic harlots of the bosses, have at the best, barely kept up with the increased cost of living, and that "favorable" condition is the exception, not the rule.

WHOSE WAR?

In the second place, and most important, the delegates must raise the question: Whose war? This question is fundamental. If this war is, as the bosses and "our" leaders claim, a war in the interest of the workers, then it follows that sacrifice is necessary; but if it is not, then other conclusions must be drawn. The answer to that is easy. This war on the part of all those countries where the factories, the mines, the mills are in the hands of the capitalists is the same kind of a war as the 1914-1918 conflict, characterized by Woodrow Wilson, after that war at St. Louis as a "commercial war." It is a war in which we workers are called upon to shed our blood, break our backs, drain our pockets, so that after the war there may be more

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OPEN LETTER

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millions for the millionaires, thinner soup for the unemployed, and a new MacArthur, or maybe the same one shooting and burning new bonus marchers. At this convention we should once and for all scotch the idea that we should sacrifice in order to bring back the same old 1921, 1929 and 1937.

FROM BOSS WAR TO WORKERS' REVOLUTION

But already the character of the war is changing. In Germany the German workers, the auto workers of Opel and Ford, our class brothers, are preparing one of the greatest working-class fights in history. Imperialist war, before our very eyes, is being transformed into civil war. The horrible spectacle of workers cutting each other's throats for their respective masters is changing into the inspiring vision of workers turning their guns against the lords of hunger and murder, and fighting for a new world, the world of Workers' Council rule which will march on to the time when there will be no hunger, no war, no exploitation of man by man. In this fight the Reuthers, the Thomases, the Adesses, the Frankensteins are on the side of the bosses; the American bosses and the German bosses. But we have no doubt as to where the heroes of the UAW sit-downs will be, and it will not be on the side of Ford or General Motors.

WORKERS' CONTROL OF PRODUCTION

We see at this convention all factions of the leadership helpless on the problem of the coming unemployment. Why? Because the only practical solution, as contained in the slogan "Works' Control of Production for Use Under a Workers' Council Government" means fight, fight against the bosses, fight against the government. And "our" leadership is good for only one kind of fight, a fight to hold back, suppress, expel their own membership.

TWO ROADS

It may be that ours will be a small and puny voice at this convention. But we say this year, as we did last, that all efforts to solve our problems by any other means than by our own independent action are futile. We shall continue to say this, and events will continue to prove if correct, as they have proven us correct since Buffalo. Two roads are before the union. One leads to speedup, hunger, unemployment, and, yes, the third imperialist war. Let us take the other and make this the real turning point of the UAW. Let us build, not soft jobs for fakery, but the effective fighting union that we started out to build.

A PROGRAM FOR THE UAW

In this convention, after this convention, organize and fight for:

1. IMMEDIATE RESCINDING OF THE NO-STRIKE PLEDGE AND THE USE OF THAT VERY EFFECTIVE INSTRUMENT, THE STRIKE.
2. THE FIVE DAY, THIRTY HOUR WEEK, WITH DOUBLE TIME FOR ALL OVERTIME.
3. DEMOCRACY IN THE UNION. SHOP STEWARD LEADERSHIP CONTROLLED BY THE RANK AND FILE. NO OFFICIAL'S SALARY TO BE HIGHER THAN THE PREVAILING WAGE. FORMATION AT THIS CONVENTION OF A PERMANENT PROGRESSIVE CAUCUS.
4. NO DISCRIMINATION AGAINST NEGROES AND WOMEN.
5. FIGHT FOR THE RIGHTS OF THE VETERANS WHEN THEY COME BACK JUST AS YOU ARE NOW FIGHTING ON THE PICKET LINE FOR THEM WHILE THEY ARE AWAY.
6. IMMEDIATE RESIGNATION OF ALL LABOR MEMBERS FROM THE WLB AND ALL GOVERNMENT AGENCIES. DIRECT DEALING BY THE UNION WITH THE EMPLOYERS.
7. SMASH THE LITTLE STEAL FORMULA. FOR A GENERAL INCREASE IN WAGES OVER AND ABOVE THE RISING COST OF LIVING.
8. FOR WORKERS' CONTROL OF PRODUCTION FOR USE UNDER A GOVERNMENT OF WORKERS' COUNCILS.
9. FOR REJECTION OF THE FALSE SLOGAN "SACRIFICE FOR THE WAR." FOR AID TO THE GERMAN WORKERS' REVOLUTION BY ALL MEANS. FOR AN END TO THE WAR THE WORKERS' WAY.

Faternally
CENTRAL COMMITTEE REVOLUTIONARY
WORKERS' LEAGUE USA, AFFILIATED
TO THE INTERNATIONAL CONTACT
COMMISSION FOR A FOURTH INTERNA-
TIONAL.

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

Bulletin of the

Provisional International Contact Commission
for a New (Communist) 4th International

★ ★ ★

SEPTEMBER, 1944

Revolution and Defeatism — Revisionist and Marxist
Max Schachtman — the Ghost of Eugene Duhring

★ ★ ★

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Post-War Prosperity or Pauperism - Which?

As the present imperialist world conflict approaches its end the misleaders of the American Labor Movement and the more optimistic newspaper economists are turning to crystal ball gazing and think they see in the accumulated savings of the workers of this country and in the needs of the war torn world, a basis for an unprecedented cycle of world wide business revival after the war. Particularly, with respect to the future of the domestic economy they contend that in the wake of closed war plants, when millions of war workers will be out of jobs, the demands for new autos, ice boxes, radios and other average consumer commodities will be so great that the wheels of peace-time production will be kept turning at a terrific pace.

There probably will be considerable industrial activity following the war, but to say at this time that boom prosperity is a sure thing is simple nonsense. Any orthodox economist knows that people do not rush in to spend their savings in the face of economic uncertainties. On the contrary, they conserve their savings as long as possible, and if they remain unemployed too long, their savings will have been spent for food and shelter and other basic necessities.

FROM WAR TO "PEACE" ECONOMY

Undoubtedly, if the war workers could step out of war production into peace goods production, many of them would spend their savings for new cars, furniture, washing machines, etc. But they cannot do that!

Under the most favorable circumstances millions of war workers will suffer protracted periods of unemployment.

Moreover, this country's post war economic health will be largely conditioned by general world conditions. In view of the war's great destruction and the inevitable financial bankruptcy of every nation involved, excepting perhaps this country and the Soviet Union, we may safely predict that in the wake of it all the capitalist world, if it survives the war, will experience another civil war phase in the present era of wars and revolutions from which may result the social revolution in several of the European nations. In fact, already we can see the beginnings of civil war in some countries of the old world. Therefore, when considering the post-war prosperity question in the light of the over-all world picture, we cannot agree with those who think they see a beautiful and prosperous capitalism emerging out of the ruins of its own making.

WHAT ABOUT PRE-WAR?

The enlightened workers know that this war represents world capitalism's worst crisis. Also that for years before the war broke out in Europe in 1939 all of the capitalist nations, — without exception, — were in the throes of deep economic crisis. Each nation in its own way tried by every conceivable means to avert a crash. Italy's Fascism and Germany's Nazism, Japan's Asiatic Imperialism and Britain's trade promoting agreements with the Dominions of the Empire and other nations, as well as the New Dealism of the Roosevelt regime, were one and all devised to save the decaying capitalist economy; and each has failed in its purpose. From their sick beds the capitalist nations plunged into war in search of the economic health and recovery which

AUTO WORKERS SPEAK OUT

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government agencies. The fat boys have to scratch each other's backs this year.

There are some signs of activity from the "outs" who want to be "in." McGill of Flint is staging his annual sand-bag campaign, a yearly convention performance. He gathers what support he can among delegates dissatisfied with the officers, threatens to run for a job until he gets some concessions, then quietly folds up.

Dick Leonard has been visiting militant delegates an offering to join the fight against the no-strike pledge in return for support for him for 1st Vice-President. This can only mean that he believes the pledge may be rescinded, and wants to get on the band-wagon in a position to use his newly discovered role as a "militant" to head off strike action. That is a regular Reuther tactic, getting in front of a rank-and-file revolt in order to slow it up. The Reuther clique, however, is rather cold toward the idea of getting in a big fight this year for the sake of "Slick-Dick" Leonard. They have offered to support him for a job as 3rd vice-president which might be put over without pushing anyone else out of a soft job.

May Reuther, Walter's wife, who does most of the thinking for the Reuther tribe, is reported to be opposed to any deal with Leonard on the grounds that he is too hard to watch.

So, Dick has gone out on his own hoping to line up enough delegates to use as a club against both factions. My prediction is that Murray and Thomas will settle the squabble on the basis of a 3rd vice or nothing for Leonard. They dare not take a chance on a 3-man race for two jobs which would probably result in the elimination of Reuther. That would leave Leonard and Frankenstein as vice-presidents. They can, and would team up against the slow-witted Thomas, who is a perfect stooge for Murray and Roosevelt.

Ever since Thomas has been President he has thrown enough support to both Reuther and Frankenstein to keep them in office where they can fight each other. There is no chance of them getting together, they know each other too well. If either of them was out the one remaining would be more than a match for Thomas, and would eventually eliminate him.

The Stalinists are training their usual group of pretty girls to gather votes from susceptible delegates, as only a woman can, if you know what I mean. J.

they could not find in peaceful ways. The grand result, a knocked down world and an economic crisis more wide spread and convulsive than any previous one, is an historical certainty.

PROSPECTS AND TASKS

It should be clear even to the most blind among us that these are not times in which the workers of any country can profitably speculate whether capitalism can become prosperous again. On the contrary, world capitalism locked in a titanic struggle of imperialist rivalry is creating the conditions for a working class victory everywhere. It is the duty and task of the workers to organize politically in order that they may take over the economic means of life (the industries and natural resources) in the crisis that will be sure to rise from the chaos created by the imperialist war, and operate them to provide employment and economic security for the producing people of this nation.

see that we do not take action on the job where it hurts the Bosses' profits.

There is a reason for this. Mark Hanna, capitalist and political boss explained it when he told a Chamber of Commerce meeting: "WE CAPTAINS OF INDUSTRY cannot control labor with the help of OUR LABOR LIEUTENANTS." So: 1st Lieut. Murray and 2nd Lieut. Thomas lead the army of workers away from strike action which the bosses fear and divert our time and energy to electing SAFE political hacks. Then we are supposed to nurse our grievances in silence while we wait and wait and wait for handouts. Next election it starts all over. That is RESPONSIBLE unionism! Responsible to whom?

Labor is being slowly, carefully, and permanently shackled by Government agencies into a straight jacket that looks more and more like Hitler's Labor Front. If we don't break loose now it will soon be too late. LABOR MUST DEPEND ON ITS OWN STRENGTH, NOT LEAVE OUR FATE IN THE HANDS OF BOSS POLITICIANS!

WORKERS AND SOLDIERS

We cannot desert our brothers in the armed forces! What is the good of them supposedly fighting Fascism across the Seven Seas if they come home and find it here? Are they going to come home to sell apples? The answer is, yes — unless Labor is strong enough to protect them. The 4 Freedoms? Come to earth brother, remember when we didn't even have freedom of speech in the shop!

The only way this lousy set-up can be smashed is by independent action of the working class. The place to start is this convention. Restore control to the rank-and-file by rejecting the sell-out policies of the "leadership."

THOMAS HAS PROMISED TO RESIGN IF WE REVOKE THE NO-STRIKE PLEDGE! GOOD! VOTE FOR THOMAS FOR EX-PRESIDENT!

WITHDRAW THE LABOR STOOGES FROM THE WLB; THEY ONLY HELP THE BOSSES RULE.

SMASH THE LITTLE STEAL FORMULA WITH STRIKES! THE COAL-MINERS DID!

—Rank-and-File—

History of UAW

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ditions of the workers become intolerable.

ROLE OF LEWIS

In 1932 John L. Lewis was already president of an industrial union, the mine workers. He was doing a good job of keeping the miners under control; his union had declined in membership from 403,000 in 1924 to 150,000 in 1932. He was a logical candidate from the capitalist viewpoint to gather up the discontented masses and lead them up a blind alley. It was at his suggestion that Gerard Swope, president of the Morgan owned General Electric company wrote in section 7a of the NRA, giving labor the right to organize. (The NRA plan was presented to Hoover in December, 1932 but it was saved for F.D.R. to put into effect.)

POPULAR & CURRENT PAMPHLETS

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Red Army and Capitalism

Soviet bayonets are upholding capitalism today in central Europe! Beyond the Curzon line, the Soviet forces are permitting the old capitalists to remain in power.

To the readers of the FIGHTING WORKER this will come as no surprise. We predicted as much when the Stalinists divided the Soviet Union into 16 "autonomous" Republics. We stated then that this was merely a formula for eventually absorbing CAPITALIST "autonomous" Republics into a general Eastern Federation of States under Stalinist control.

But the significance of these events is very great. In one part of Poland, for instance, — the Eastern part — the Red Army expropriated the native and German capitalists and landowners, and re-instituted State property. In the other part they permit the capitalists and other exploiters to remain. How is this phenomenon explained?

How do the Stalinists explain it? According to the theoreticians of the bureaucracy, we have "Socialism" in the Soviet Union. Furthermore the Soviet State is growing stronger every day. Why then is it FORCED to permit capitalism to exist beyond the Curzon line? The answer that Stalinism believes in self-determination is a bitter joke, because there can be little doubt that given a free opportunity to choose, and given equal access to socialist as well as capitalist propaganda, the masses everywhere would choose a Workers Council Government (dictatorship of the proletariat).

The advocates of the concept that Russia is a "bureaucratic collectivist" State, a new form of society, or that it is a "state capitalist" regime, fare no better than the Stalinists. Obviously if the Soviet Union represents no FUNDAMENTAL antagonism to the world imperialists, it should then be at the height of its strength TODAY, WHEN IT IS WINNING SO MANY MILITARY VICTORIES. Why then, is Stalin permitting "private" capitalist property relations to exist? Why must the most successful and powerful army in the world grant any concessions to Roosevelt or Churchill, or anyone else? If it is STRONG it would naturally be in its interests to continue the same property relations (whatever Schachtman or others choose to call it) in the territory it conquers.

No, neither Stalinism nor Schachtman Trotskyism can explain the present events. On THEIR theories, the Soviet Union is today at its strongest point. It needn't therefore concede anything.

Unfortunately for these people, however, The Soviet Union is today at its weakest — despite its military victories. The danger to Stalinism comes from WITHOUT, the threatened Revolution within Europe. That "danger" represents the REAL barometer of Soviet strength. Contact with the Revolution in Europe and continued collaboration with the Allied counter-revolution, is bringing the Soviet Union to an explosion; again, despite its military victories. All the contradictions of Soviet society under Stalinism are merely waiting for the historical torch to blow it skyhigh.

The Soviet Union today must be compared with a human being in a death-like coma. Any "normal" criteria will not explain whether he is "alive" or "dead." He does not move, he is unconscious, he can not reproduce — he can manifest exceedingly little of the signs of life. To enter such a man in a 20 mile cross country race would be an act of insanity. On the other hand to bury him at this moment would likewise be criminal and insane. A human being in a death-like coma represents MERELY A POTENTIAL. He CAN recover and become a good cross country runner again. He can ALSO not recover, and die.

That is the situation with the Soviet Union. The political structure of the October Revolution has been horribly warped. None of the important democratic provisions of October still remain, either in civilian life or in the army. Even the property relations have been considerably warped; and the whole mode of production has been tampered with and distorted to give a disproportionate share of its fruits to a parasitic bureaucracy.

The basic conflict in the Soviet Union is between the Transition Economy and the Stalinist bureaucracy. Within each of these factors, however, there are additional contradictions. For instance, the transition economy, is an immeasurably superior mode of production to that of Capitalism. Can any one doubt that? Whereas the czarist armies were completely disintegrated by Germany in 1917 — a relatively weaker German Army — to day the Red Army, based on socialized Production, turns the tables the other way. Yet, there is within that essentially healthy transition economy, the contradictions of unequal wage standards, enormous concessions to the managers, engineers, bureaucracy, etc., and the beginnings of primitive accumulation of capital. (The Russian manager may not hire labor for himself, nor reinvest his money in the productive process, but he is "saving" that money and preparing to convert it into capital at the first opportunity.)

Within Stalinism, too, there are great contradictions.
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FDR and Reaction only Victors in Philly Traction Strike

The recent transportation strike in Philadelphia was not merely an "anti-Negro" strike. Concealed in the poisonous concoction of race hatred spewed forth by the strike leaders are the criminal, reactionary, and anti-labor schemes of those who fomented, provoked, and tacitly encouraged the strike.

TOOLS OF THE BOSSES

It is clear that McMenamin and the other leaders of the defeated company union used the strike to defeat the Transport Workers Union, and restore their own power and influence. But there can be no doubt that these were merely blind tools in the hands of the company and the big business and political forces behind the scene.

The formerly open shop Philadelphia Transport Company was openly aiming to smash the CIO union, which some five months ago won the fight to represent the men. Whoever heard of a company allowing strikers to check in each morning! Whoever heard of a company providing company property for a strike headquarters! Yet the car barn at 10th and Luzerne streets was the official headquarters of the strikers!

AIMS OF THE BOSSES

Lined up with the company was the Republican political machine, backed by multi-millionaire Joseph Pew, owner of the state of Pennsylvania and creator of its governors. Working through Republican Mayor Samuels, they sought to put Roosevelt on the spot. He would either lose Negro support by upholding the strike, or lose labor support by upholding the FEPC and breaking the strike.

To discredit the labor union, foment race hatred and divide Negro and white workers, and at the same time strike a blow at the Democratic machine, the financial and business interests behind the company were ready for almost anything. How did it happen that the inflammatory speech by McMenamin to the strikers was recorded and re-broadcast to the whole city by station WIP?

ROLE OF THE STALINISTS

The Stalinist leadership of the CIO TWU played directly into the hands of the company. Placing the needs of the imperialist war first, deliberately building up the most reactionary nationalist chauvinism against any semblance of working class unity, Stalinism had only one program — smash the strike at any

cost. And this, not primarily in the interests of the Negro workers, but because the strike was interfering with the noble task of workers cutting up each other in Europe and Asia. A solution that would convert the aims of the strike, unite the Negro and white workers for their just demands was impossible to this leadership.

NATURE OF THE STRIKE

Looking ahead to a post-war era of unemployment and depression, fearing for their jobs and standard of living, faced with the competition of Negro workers, encouraged by the Company, racial prejudices deliberately inflamed, deserted by their official leadership, it is no wonder the strike was solid. The strike was compounded of equal parts of fear, ignorance, and treachery. Unfortunately there was no force to intervene and put it on a healthy basis.

WHAT SHOULD HAVE BEEN DONE

A leadership really bound up with the interests of the rank and file would have placed the strike right side up. Its program would call not only for a thirty hour week with no reduction in the weekly pay, but would have unified the workers by demanding an end to the "proportional employment" policy of the FEPC, and demanding that all workers, Negro and white, have access to all jobs on the basis of ability. It would have demanded a substantial increase in wages. It would have insisted on the right of returning veterans to resume their jobs, demanded adjustments in over-time and swing-runs, correction of the seniority rules, bonus, etc.

By uniting the Negro and white workers and placing the real demands at the fore-front such a leadership would have given voice to the fundamental interests of the working class, the struggle for its own interests in opposition to those of the bosses and to the slaughter and destruction of their imperialist war.

THE STRIKE

But there was no such leadership. Nurtured on the same milk of chauvinism and capitalist ideology as the Stalinist leadership, the McMenamin leadership saw all solutions in the ousting of the Negro workers. A strike was called and the car lines were completely tied up. Tied up so much that the economic life of

Philadelphia was deeply disrupted. Then all the forces of capitalist society were brought to play. In the greatest demonstration of militarization that has yet been seen in recent American labor disputes, the bourgeois state moved in. The leaders of the strike were arrested, the strikers were denied further employment if they remained out (and unemployment compensation); the other bosses were warned not to hire any of the strikers under penalty of having their war contracts cancelled and their employees released to other industries; the draft boards cancelled the deferment of all the strikers and ordered their immediate reclassification for induction; the OPA denied them gasoline, shoe and food rations issued on the basis of essential employment. Last, but not least, the leadership of the Transport Workers denounced then, not primarily on the chauvinist basis of the strike as regards the Negro workers, but on the chauvinist basis that the strike interfered with the prosecution of the war effort. After the troops moved in, the strike was broken.

LESSONS OF THE STRIKE

Many are the lessons that must be learned from this situation if the horrible defeat suffered by the Philly proletariat is to be rectified. First, the need for solidarity of Negro and white workers. Never again should the workers of Philadelphia or any other place suffer themselves to be the pawns of the bosses and surrender to chauvinism. Second, the need for a new leadership of the Transport Workers, neither the chauvinist Stalinists nor the chauvinist McMenamins. What is needed, let it be clearly said, is a Marxist leadership, one that would neither have fallen into the trap of calling off the strike because it hurt the progress of the war or the still worse trap of splitting the ranks of the workers with a chauvinist strike. A really militant leadership could have utilized the tying up of Philly for the purpose of getting real gains for all the traction workers, men and women, Negro and white. Third, the strike showed the power of the workers. For days the whole economic life of the city was disrupted by this strike of a few thousand workers. Fourth, the increasing militarization of the capitalist state machinery was exposed.

Now, what must be done? The solution of the problem is indicated by the nature of the problem itself.
(Continued on Page 4)

They Come Home Armed

to bear arms shall not be infringed upon."

WARREN KNOWS SCORE

Our Governor Earl Warren recently refused to consider accepting nomination as Vice Presidential candidate on the Republican ticket on the grounds that war workers have flocked to California by hundreds of thousands, possibly exceeding the million mark. Added to this will be the returning armed forces in almost equally great numbers. He feels that he is needed in California. Apparently he too sees that there is nothing but mass unemployment ahead with the public debt increased many fold over the previous unemployment and depression period which lasted until the outbreak of this war, a period of about twelve years.

Workers here believe that Warren was boosted to the Governor's job by the "60 families" because of his success in convicting three innocent union men, King, Ramsey and Connor on a murder charge, while Warren was District Attorney of Alameda county.

These three innocent union men constitute a repetition of the Tom

Mooney case and are still in California penitentiaries.

LOCAL FASCISTS PREPARE

Small farmers do not yet know if they will be permitted to purchase shotgun shells to protect their crops but ammunition appears to be plentiful for the lackeys of the "60 families" to hold target or revolver practice shoots.

Hitler is quoted as saying that the principles of Nazism will be triumphant throughout the world regardless of which side wins the war. We can see that our Capitalists see turmoil ahead and are preparing to make Hitler's words ring true.

WORKERS PREPARE ALSO

Readers of the Fighting Worker see the trap the Capitalists are preparing for us and call upon every reader to subscribe, send in funds and distribute this paper everywhere. We are certain of the victory of the working class in the fast approaching crisis because the issues are crystal clear. SMASH FASCISM BY SMASHING CAPITALISM AND SUBSTITUTE PRODUCTION FOR USE UNDER WORKERS' CONTROL.

RED ARMY AND CAPITALISM

(Continued from Page 3)

There are undoubtedly those factions within it who are preparing for restoration of capitalism. The factory manager or writer who has more money than he can use is certainly thinking along those lines. There are, on the other hand, large elements within the bureaucracy, who while they are opposed to the Proletarian Revolution have their base within the Soviet property relations—Transition Economy.

The Soviet Union is thus like the human being in his coma. Torn by all these contradictory forces, the general direction of the Soviet Union under Stalinism is IN AID of world capitalism, and TOWARD CAPITULATION TO CAPITALISM WITHIN RUSSIA. In other words, superficially, it ACTS in many instances as if it were already no longer a Workers State. It attempts to use its Army to prop up capitalism. It uses its word machinery to re-inforce class peace. It fights Revolution everywhere, and it deepens the cleavages within Soviet society itself. But, like the man in the coma, the Soviet Union does represent a POTENTIAL. It is not yet dead. It can be converted by a Political Revolution back to the Socialist mileu.

What then must our strategy be, as the Red Army marches into Rumania — just to take an example — and insists on the maintenance of capitalism? Or into Czechoslovakia? The R.W.L. defined its position on this point — in sharp distinction to the official Trotskyites — way back in 1938.

The Cannonite position of "material aid but political criticism" to Stalinism during the war is today exposed in all its naked stupidity and revisionism. The concept of NOT overthrowing Stalinism DURING the war — as put forth by Trotsky, — leads to criminal betrayal of the Rumanian, Polish, and later German, French and other Revolutions.

Stalinism MUST BE FOUGHT NOW! In those countries where the Red Army is maintaining capitalism, the Red Army must be fought by the workers of the country involved WITH FORCE OF ARMS. But, some people will ask, have you then given up your position of the "Defense of the Soviet Union despite and against Stalinism?" No, we have not. On the contrary, ours is the only position that makes sense.

Let us assume that in Bucharest the Rumanian workers have set up a genuine Soviet. The Red Army, still willing to accept Stalinist orders, now attacks that Soviet. What shall the Rumanian workers do? Obviously they should arm themselves, make every political and military effort to extend their Soviet territory, marching against every defender of capitalism, whether labeled Soviet or not. But, at the same time, these workers should also use very possible effort not to surrender the economic base of the Soviet Union.

How does this work? The main enemy of the Rumanian workers is the Rumanian capitalists — the main enemy is at home. In Rumania the Bucharest Soviet will call for Revolutionary Defeatism. It will tell the soldiers to DESERT THE FRONT, destroy the front, destroy the state, go home and reorganize into Soviets, workers' guards, etc; SMASH THE FRONT! END IT! But to the Red Army the Bucharest Soviet will say: "Arrest your Stalinist officers, elect new officers of your own rank-and-file on an INTERNATIONAL PROGRAM, fraternize with Rumanian Soviet workers, and above all, CONTINUE THE FRONT, CONTINUE THE WAR, BUT PUT IT NOW ON THE BASIS OF EXTENDING THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION." In one case the Bucharest workers will advocate DEFEATISM, in the other DEFENSISM. And that is possible only because the Soviet Union and its army still represent a POTENTIAL help to the world revolution. Whereas the armies of all the imperialist powers, like their state, will have to be completely smashed before the workers can be organized into a Workers Army; the Red Army can be utilized immediately for protection of the Revolution providing only that it executes a few purges of the Stalinists and other counter-revolutionists and re-institutes democracy.

Basically it must be made very clear that the fate of the Soviet Union in the last analysis depends precisely on the Revolution in Europe and elsewhere. But the possibility of POTENTIAL aid from the Red Army must not be discounted. It can be an enormous force for the World Revolution.

To summarize our position then:

1—Within Russia and within the conquered areas where the capitalists have been expropriated, we call for "marching separately and striking together." In the civilian areas we attempt to organize independent Soviets, independent Workers Militia. We refuse to subordinate these to Stalinism, but we offer and attempt to strike together with the Stalinist forces against the imperialist enemies. In that way (similar in many respects to our strategy in Spain) we attempt to introduce the Political Revolution in Russia.

2—In those areas where Stalinism and the Stalinist-controlled Army attempts to maintain capitalism, we fight the Red Army openly, but we do so within the general line of overthrowing Stalinism mand defending the economic base of the Soviet Union.

Some people will say this is a mix-mash, and they are right. But the mix-mash is the result of OBJECTIVE events, the situation of a DYING Workers' State in its last "comas." Under such circumstances it is hard to distinguish between the parts of the organism which are dead, those dying, and those still living. The strategy to save the organism must consequently be likewise complex. The Soviet Union MUST BE SAVED. It still shows its signs of October. For instance when the Red Army took its part of Poland and the Baltics in 1939, it immediately expropriated the capitalists and landowners, and introduced State property. When the Germans invaded Russia, they dissolved the col-

lectives and granted the land to INDIVIDUALS. It dissolved state property and gave most of it to the monopolists in Germany. But when the Red Army moved back it again expropriated the capitalists and capitalist elements — up to the Curzon line. Here Stalinism had to concede to the Allied capitalists, precisely because of its weakness, precisely because it fears the coming World Revolution and it needs the finances, military and other aid that the Allied powers will give to smash that Revolution.

In many respects the situation with the Soviet Union is analogous to a strike situation called by labor fakers for reactionary demands — such as firing a Negro. Do we as Revolutionists attempt to SMASH the strike? We do not. We immediately set up a Progressive Committee. And we appeal to the strikers to CHANGE THEIR AIMS TO BONAFIDE ECONOMIC AIMS. We call on Black and white to unite for better wages and better working conditions. And we inform them that they must fight the labor faker and the boss simultaneously. Only that we fight the labor faker with different means and different weapons — we want to preserve the UNION. We want to SMASH the Company.

He who does not understand this in relation to trade unionism, will never lead workers to victory. And he who does not understand the strategy of the "Defense of the Soviet Union despite and against Stalinism," is sacrificing a potential force of 180 million people lined up behind the Proletarian Revolution. Such a "stupid sacrifice" can well prove fatal.

We repeat: the fate of the October Revolution in the Soviet Union, now badly warped, depends primarily on the results of the European Revolution. But the fate of the European Revolution will be immeasurably enhanced by a cleansing of the Soviet Union of Stalinism, a Political Revolution in Russia.

Workers Revolt in Paris

(Continued from Page 1)

as well as the Germans. And here in the United States the working class must cry out to the American Imperialists, "Hands off the French Revolution!"

- 1—Don't give up your arms!
- 2—No collaboration with a De Gaulle-Coalition government!
- 3—No support to the war, which is still an imperialist war!
- 4—The issue remains Communism vs. Fascism!
- 5—Hands off the French Revolution!
- 6—For a Soviet France!
- 7—Build the French Revolutionary Marxist Party, section of the New (Communist) 4th International!

HISTORY OF THE UAW

Labor organizations have been legal for years, the new law was merely encouragement for the workers to go into the AFL and be captured. The workers stayed out in droves. When the NRA was invalidated the Wagner Act was substituted for this same purpose.

Tho the workers stayed out of the AFL they did not stay out of unions, and in many cases, such as Briggs in 1932, they struck without a union. Hundreds of small independent unions were forming all over America.

RISE OF INDEPENDENTS

First among these was the Mechanics Educational Society of America formed among Detroit tool-makers in 1932 to fight piece-work and wages as low as twenty cents an hour. Later, this union expanded to take in production workers and in 1936 split with the majority coming into the UAW.

Under the NRA the auto companies started company unions to head off real organization; in opposition the workers formed their own organizations under the cover of the company plan. One of these which formed the backbone of the UAW was the Automotive Industrial Workers Association. It was formed by company union representatives in the Detroit Chrysler plants in 1934. R. T. Frankenstein was the first president, R. J. Thomas was vice-president. In the early days of organization Frankenstein opposed a dues paying union, and wanted it financed by a twenty percent kick-back from merchants on members' purchases. (Imagine "Dicky" objecting to the members paying dues?) Later he incorporated the union at a cost of forty dollars. It cost the members fifty dollars to get it unincorporated when they found out about it.

The Chrysler Corporation, unable

to stop the growth of the AIWA, brought in Father Coughlin who was looked upon as a savior by many workers in those days. Father Coughlin's refusal to support the strikers in the Motor Products strike in December, 1935, broke his influence with the workers.

In 1934 the AFL held out fresh bait in the form of Federal unions but it did not take. As an example of how it did not take: in the Detroit Dodge plant in 1935, the AIWA had 1800 members, the AFL had 23, and 12 of them were company paid stoolies. This is a typical example of what forced the capitalist controlled AFL to make another move. It chartered the UAW with the Federal locals as members in the fall of 1935, with Francis Dillon appointed as president and Homer Martin as first vice-president. One of the first acts of the new UAW was the breaking of the Motor Products strike in Detroit in December, 1935. The MESA and AIWA had joined in calling it. After about two weeks Dillon ordered the international officers to lead their members and a lot of assorted scabs through the picket lines. In a few days the strike was broken.

AUTO WORKERS JOIN CIO

That was too much; even Homer Martin objected to being a union-made scab. The leaders split into two factions with Martin leading one and Dillon the other. Martin however had the followers and in the spring of 1936 a convention was held in South Bend which threw out Dillon and made Homer president. At this convention the UAW refused to take dictation from the AFL leadership and elected their own officers. As a result of this, Green shortly thereafter suspended the UAW from the AFL. There was a clear understanding that the UAW would affiliate with the CIO, and on the basis

of that understanding the AIWA joined the UAW. At the time of affiliation the AIWA had 20,000 members, the UAW 18,000.

MILITANCY WINS DEMANDS

The capitalist class lives in constant fear of the workers and keeps as tight a rein on them as possible. As President Benjamin Harrison said "The principle function of government is to keep the working class in subjection." It had become clear to the ruling class that while thousands of workers were organizing independently, they would not join the AFL. Early in 1936 the CIO was launched by Lewis, Murray, Hillman and company. It was a trial balloon but the workers flocked in after the break with the AFL was clear. In 1937 the CIO was formally expelled from the AFL.

As an example of the action of independent unions, the 1800 members of the AIWA in the Dodge plant were much more dangerous to the company than the later membership of 23,000 in the UAW. The 1800 were militants, and in the spring of 1936 when Chrysler fired 3000 workers, the 1800 got them rehired. Then for good measure they demanded and got the minimum wage raised from 45 cents to 75 cents per hour, as well as a number of other minor demands. The threat of a strike was enough to make the company give in, because they realized that the militants would stay out until hell froze over if necessary. Later when the Wagner Act and the CIO had brought in thousands of backward workers to outvote the militants, the UAW in 1937 and 1939 was compelled to stage two eight week strikes in the same plant to get two cent an hour raises. This illustrates the principle of capitalist government encouragement to the workers to organize. The principle is simple, to load the militants with a majority of backward workers who insist on dragging their feet while being carried.

That incident explains the whole philosophy of the Wagner Act, the CIO, labor board elections, etc. The purpose is to bring in the backward, conservative worker to outnumber the militants, and elect and obey "responsible leadership" and to follow conservative, that is, company policies.

Midland Steel in Detroit staged the first sit-down in 1936. It had been originally organized by the MESA, and joined the UAW after the break with the AFL. The sit-downs in Flint in December, 1936 were won with a membership of about ten percent of the workers in the union, the rest were outside and had no influence on the union's actions. General Motors was compelled to make concessions to the UAW leaders so the leaders could get the militants under control. The same was true of Chrysler.

(To be continued)

Philly Traction Strike

(Continued from Page 3)

The progressive Negro and white workers of the Transport Workers Union should get together in a unity committee based upon a program such as indicated above, a program that should reject any restriction of employment for any worker, including the "proportional employment" plan of the FEPC. The perspective should be a union leadership that would unify the workers, not separate them. This committee should be formed at once.

There is grave danger that the Philadelphia bosses' attempt to divide and discredit the labor movement will be repeated in other cities. It is this threat that militant and forward-thinking workers must be prepared against. It is not enough merely to take a defensive position. A positive program of offensive action against the boss class for the interests and needs of labor is the only real solution.