

The Fighting Worker

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Workers of
The World
Unite!

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U.A.W. (C.I.O.) Rank & File Organize

NO-STRIKE, LITTLE STEAL & BUROCRACY
SORE SPOTS

The Fighting Worker extends the hand of fellowship to a new working class paper that has made its appearance, the "RANK AND FILER," organ of the rank and file members of the UAW-CIO. The first two issues which have appeared, present adequately the viewpoint of the rank and file membership, as opposed to the bureaucratic leadership, and make the focal point of attack the no-strike pledge, presenting a strong case for repeal of the pledge.

The new paper makes what the Revolutionary Workers' League considers a serious political error, in that it comes out in support of a Labor Party. Readers of the FW know that we have consistently opposed such a party, as being an opportunist move, and an agency of the ruling class to mislead and further oppress the workers. We hope the Rank and Filer will recognize the mistake of giving support to any opportunist groups. However, the very appearance of the paper is an indication of the militancy developing among the membership of the union, and as such is a healthy sign.

Growing Opposition to Bureaucrats

The need for such a spokesman of the membership has long been recognized, and is the result of months of growing opposition to the bureaucratic leadership of the UAW-CIO. Repeated "unauthorized" strikes have for the past several months given concrete evidence of the resentment against the "no-strike" pledge. It is significant that in many plants, where the workers went back to work after only a brief period of protest, on promise that conditions would be improved, they have come out again after a few weeks or even days, when they recognized the hollowness of the promises of management. In some cases the second strikes have won partial victories.

The winning of the right to a no-strike pledge referendum by the rank and file, which was achieved at the 1944 UAW-CIO convention at Grand

Rapids, was in itself a signal victory over the bureaucracy. Now the leaders of the rank and file are correctly following up this victory with a consistent class struggle fight. The Lansing locals and the Lansing CIO Council are protesting the conduct of the referendum. All officials of the Olds and Reo plants received ballots, while the Amalgamated Tool & Die local received none. Again, at the Chicago CIO Industrial Union Council, the membership united against the attempt of the Stalinists to force through a contribution of \$300 to support the No-Strike Pledge Committee.

Example of Timken Local

As an example of conditions against which the Rank and Filer is fighting we note the following procedure in Timken Local No. 174. An election was held January 3, 1945, for Shop Committeeman candidates; Garrett, (rank and filer); Miller, (Reutherite); and Dalton (Stalinist). Sam Garrett got 26 votes, Miller got 21 and Dalton got 20.

Five of the votes for Garrett were thrown out by the Reuther administration (all Negro votes) and then a runoff election was ordered. An appeal to Ades bore no fruit.

The runoff election, held January 25th gave Garrett 64 votes to Millers' 28, but Garland, the Reuther henchman, refused to certify Garrett because "he did not like Garrett's campaign methods." As of February 9th the local still had not certified Garrett.

Everywhere the rank and file are coming to life, and showing signs of militant opposition to the misleadership to which they have been subjected. What they do not, in most cases, yet recognize, but must in order to achieve their goal, is that only in the building of their OWN, MARXIST REVOLUTIONARY PARTY can they hope to win any real victory against the capitalist class. In this task and in their day to day struggle, the FIGHTING WORKER will continue its support of the auto workers.

Labor Action Twists the Truth

The "honesty" with which the Schachtman brand of Trotskyites reports the news is made clear in a recent article in "Labor Action." These "honest" souls, who lay claim to being the only continuers of Trotskyism, deliberately falsified the report of the United Protest meeting on Greece held in Chicago under the auspices of the Revolutionary Workers' League, U.S.A., the Workers' Party and the Socialist Party and YPSL.

According to "Labor Action," Jan. 15, 1945 the resolution adopt-

ed denounced the role of British, American and Russian imperialism. Now, of course, this is only wishful thinking. We of the Revolutionary Workers' League do not subscribe to Schachtman's totally false position that the Soviet Union has undergone a counter-revolution and is now "Russian imperialism." As a matter of fact, the resolution says no such thing. The entire resolution, which "Labor Action" did not bother to print, is correctly given in the February, 1945 FIGHTING WORKER.

Worker Comments on F. W.

Comrades:

Please mail me a bundle of the Fighting Worker, issue of February, 1945. This, in my estimation, is a perfect edition of a fine, revolutionary workers' paper.

Fraternally yours,

A. C. — California.

Counter-Revolutionary Conspiracy

BIG 3 AGREE TO MAINTAIN CAPITALISM AT POINT OF ALLIED BAYONETS

To paraphrase some remarks by Karl Marx, a specter haunted the Crimean Conference... the specter of Communism. The much-advertised "unity" that was supposedly achieved there can be boiled down to just this one point — UNITY AGAINST THE DEVELOPING PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION. The statements issued by the "Big Three" — Stalin, Churchill, Roosevelt — is convincing proof of that.

What was so terribly urgent about this conference? We have been told on at least two other occasions that all the plans for occupation of Germany were fully completed, that there was absolute harmony on this subject, etc. etc. ad nauseam. A few conferences ago a Committee was set up in Western Europe and another in Southern Europe to take up just such knotty problems as Yugoslavia and Poland. Con-

sultations between the general staffs of the Allies, we were informed, have been running smoothly and would increase in scope.

Then what was the urgency of this conference? If there was such harmony on fundamentals, why was it necessary for the three high moguls themselves to get together? Details can always be assigned to lesser lights, once fundamentals are agreed on.

Disunity Keynote of Conference

Obviously, however, the whole structure of the "United Nations" and the present "Triple Alliance" is rent with division and dis-unity. If you read the statement of Messrs. Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin carefully it strikes you like a ton of lead.

The statement has not one word to say about the situation in Greece — the most important event since Teheran. At least two of the so-called Allies — Russia and Britain — were involved in this fight directly, with force of arms. Guns of the Soviet Union, used by ELAS, were shooting down British Tommies, who were helping Greek dictators. American imperialism stood by wisely and boiled the pot. Yet the "Allies" have not one word to say about Greece, about how to patch up the situation, how to avoid future conflicts of that sort! Does that indicate "Unity?"

The statement is quite flustered over the success of "Dumbarton Oaks" and the proposal for a new League of Nations to be launched in San Francisco on April 25th. But there is not one word about the badly bungled Chicago air conference, and the lack of agreement on the Bretton Woods monetary and trade conference. THESE differences have obviously not been patched up. Can there be any unity between nations so long as they have major differences on the most important ECONOMIC problems of the day?

There were a dozen other major and minor points of difference that never were patched up: the attitude of the Allies toward Fascist Spain, on which the Soviet Union has sharp differences; the problem of Turkey and the Dardanelles; the war in Asia and requested Soviet participation; the refusal of the Stalinists to permit Allied correspondents and UNRRA relief administrators into Soviet-occupied territory; and many others.

Agreement to Maintain Capitalism

On one thing, however, there was full and unconditional agreement: to maintain capitalism at the point of Allied bayonets. "The three governments," says the statement, "will jointly assist (1) the people in any European liberated state or former Axis satellite state in Europe where in THEIR judgment" (i.e. the judgment of the Allies) "conditions require (a) to establish conditions of INTERNAL PEACE, (b) to carry out emergency measures for the relief of distressed peoples, (c) to form INTERIM GOVERNMENTAL AUTHORITIES broadly representative of all democratic elements in the population and pledged to the earliest possible establishment through free elections of governments responsive to the will of the people; and (d) to facilitate where necessary the holding of such elections." (our emphasis).

Can anyone imagine a more brazen

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Negro G. I. Learns "Democracy"

JIM-CROWISM RAMPANT IN ARMED FORCES

G. I. Joe has been told lots of things about the democratic war he is fighting. But if G. I. Joe stops to think about the very make-up of "his" army, he will clearly see the lack of democracy, especially as it affects the largest minority group in the army — the Negroes.

So remote is the army from equality of opportunity for all that Negroes are used in a purely menial capacity — as the KP and dirty labor battalions. The only exceptions to this rule are those cases where Jim Crow units are organized in the combat forces under pressure of the need for organizing some semblance of Negro support for the imperialist war.

Organize Against Discrimination

It is well known to all that the Negroes have remained outstandingly cold to this fight for "democracy." Negroes have been foremost in their resistance to the draft laws. When drafted they have militantly fought against being the dirty work brigades. Repeated acts of mass mutiny have been reported, (concealed for the most part by the bulk of the boss class daily press), receiving serious attention only in the Negro papers.

Seventy-three Negro soldiers of Company E, 1320th Engineers, General Service Regiment, refused to report for dirty work at Oahu airfield. Sentences ranging from light to thirty years were meted out. Fifty-seven Negro soldiers in the Army Air Forces at Marana Air Field, Arizona, went on strike against their permanent KP duty at less than

legal pay.

These are not isolated cases. In the South Pacific, Negro soldiers work as stevedores eighteen hours a day and die like flies of malaria, sunstroke and overwork.

Negro soldiers, compelled to unload shiploads of cigarettes, lined up for the distribution; they were given PACKAGES of cigarettes, while the white soldiers were given CARTONS. And this by the Red Cross which was demanding pints of blood from the families of these same Negro soldiers at home! (And segregating their blood from that of their white fellow-donors.)

At Port Hueneme, California over 1,000 Negro Seabees have been on a hunger strike as a protest against the refusal of the Commander to grant advancement in ratings to Negroes. Instead white men were brought in from other battalions and promoted.

A Negro Seabee battalion in Trinidad not sharing in the benefits of "rum and cola", became fed up with slave-labor and went on a sit-down strike. Fifteen of the men were discharged without honor. Now the point is not the "honor" of a discharge. But all these men who receive other than honorable discharges are economically hit in the GI "bill of rights." Every worker in uniform will recognize the old boss class tactics — divide and rule.

Soldiers and sailors, campaign on your own post for an end to segregation and discrimination. Expose the lie of democracy in the armed forces.

Nationalism Keynote of Int'l

T. U. Congress

The World Trade Union Conference held in London was the first international workers' conference, during the war. What a sad showing! Having for years forced down the throats of the workers of their respective unions the nationalist, class-collaborationist policies of their bosses, the labor fakery from all countries have forgotten even the meaning of the word internationalism.

First of all, only trade unions from the "allied" countries were invited to send delegates. As a matter of fact, a large part of the time of the Congress was taken up discussing whether belated invitations should be sent to the trade unions of Finland, Bulgaria, Romania and Italy; R. J. Thomas, head of the powerful Auto Workers Union (CIO) arrived

just in time to see that this question was settled along the lines of U.S. Imperialism's foreign policy. He was able to "outshout the French, Spanish and Russian delegates" and "unity" American style prevailed, the delegates were invited and the credentials committee was to decide whether they would be seated as observers or regular delegates.

It was decided not to invite delegates from Polish unions with headquarters in Lublin. Argentina and Spain were not invited, nor were the AFL and UMW represented.

Nationalism and Slave Labor

If its composition did not warrant the name of WORLD trade union congress, neither did the programs of the delegates present, or the resolutions adopted by the congress.

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Counter-Revolutionary Conspiracy

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bit of hypocrisy? The three powers promise to INTERVENE to keep the masses quiet. They will use their own judgment in setting up "interim" governments and undoubtedly choose the personnel. If necessary they will even intervene to see that the elections run the way they, the Allies, want them too. THAT, you understand, will all be done under the name of "democracy."

We would certainly love to see one example of such "democracy" by the Allies or Stalin in this war! Is Greece an example? Or "liberated" Africa? Or "free" India? Or Porto Rico? Or Poland?

The only "aid" given by the three governments has been to such reactionary elements as Darlan, De-Gaulle, Badoglio, Plastiras, and their ilk. Not one single election has been organized by the "democratic" powers.

Destruction of Germany

The attitude of the Triple Alliance can best be gauged by their remarks on Germany. "It is not our purpose," they say, "to destroy the people of Germany." No! But they are demanding and they will exact from Germany "control (of) all German industry that could be used for military production," which means all the basic industry of the country. Furthermore they will force millions of German workers into slave battalions to "make compensation for this damage in kind to the greatest extent possible."

Compared to this, the Versailles Treaty was mild! This proposal would completely destroy the German people, reduce them to a poverty such as no people has ever known before. It would reduce at least thirty to forty million people to slow death by starvation and

Int'l T. U. Congress

(Continued from Page 1)

Each delegate showed himself not as the representative of the working class of his country, but as the agent of "his" government and the interests of "his" bosses. The fact that the Soviet delegates with their nationalistic proposals by far outdid the delegates from capitalist countries goes to show that the trade unions in the Soviet Union have long ceased to be instruments of independent working class action and are now tools in the hands of the Stalinist bureaucrats.

After having tried to torpedo the Congress by proposing that it take no definite action on the issues before it — and having been defeated on this issue — Walter Citrine, head of the British delegation, presented the program of British imperialism for the postwar period. He also presented a report, in full support of the British intervention against the Greek Revolution, in which the ELAS forces were treated as "dirty reds."

Delegates endorsed the Big Three Crimea declaration, supported "unconditional surrender," punishment of "war criminals," allied control of German heavy industry, transportation and banking system, and compensation for damages to allied countries. Some even demanded use of German workers for reconstruction of damage in allied countries. Just imagine "labor leaders" demanding slave labor conditions for the German working class!

The working class all over the world must expose these fakers and their congress, they must make it clear that the resolutions of the congress are not those of the international working class, or for that matter those of any national working class, that they do not recognize the national borders and the frontiers built up by the bourgeoisie, but only class borders.

overwork. And yet Stalin, Churchill and Roosevelt have the nerve to say they do not want to "destroy the people of Germany!"

Not one word is said, incidentally, about the composition of the Big-Three-imposed-government that will rule Germany. Obviously there has been no agreement as yet. Will it be headed by a German Badoglio — for example Von Papen? Will it be a Stalin-stooge-general? The three governments have set up all sorts of "governments-in-exile." Why didn't the Crimean conference set up a German government-in-exile? The three powers agreed only on generalities and abstractions — the big fight between them on specific points will come after the conference.

Concessions and Fraud

On two points Stalin cut his "allies" in on his territory. He permitted them to put a few of their people in the Polish government and a few more in his Yugoslavian government. These were concessions that will some day pay dire dividends. The agents that are put into these governments by the Anglo-Americans will attempt to build a base in these border countries for an eventual smash at the Soviet Union; they are advance agents for the Anglo-American imperialist armies. They are part of the monstrous game now being played by all three "allies" against each other, but particularly they are part of the strife between the imperialist powers on the one hand and the degenerated workers' state on the other.

The masses of humanity are sick of the imperialist war. They are sick of the lies of "unity" and the grandiose aims and promises being fed them by the "Big Three." They are becoming ever more conscious of the basic aims of the war — loot and plunder; and of the basic agreement between the Big Three to maintain the capitalist order in Europe at any cost (we deal with the Soviet Union in a separate article).

The Crimean conference will go down in history as part of this vast fraud.

Echoes from the Past

This is the first in a series of statements made by various union members and officers in regard to war in general, and this one in particular before we got into it. They require very little comment.

From a speech by Gus Scholle, then Michigan CIO Regional Director.

"The CIO believes that we are an enlightened and intelligent people. We, therefore, do not believe that wars settle anything and we are unalterably opposed to our nation becoming in any way involved in the European war which is now being waged. If we were a tribe of aborigines or if we belonged to the caveman era, we probably would not have the mental capacity to recognize the futility of worker battling worker.

But we now know the reasons for which all wars have been waged. With few exceptions, the wars in the history of mankind have been waged by one group of exploiters against another group of exploiters; by imperialists against imperialists; and always with one objective — profit and political power and the right to exploit still more workers.

Naturally, we realize that in the United States we have our own imperialists who would be glad to tell us how glorious it would be to die for our own country. We realize that, in a selfish desire to have greater profits, these same economic royalists who have investments abroad are very willing, in order to save their foreign investments, to send millions of young Americans to die ingloriously on foreign battlefields.

The true-spirited American citizen does not care to die gloriously or ingloriously on the battlefield, especially when he has not been given the opportunity to live gloriously in our own nation since 1929.

The CIO is willing to wage war on unemployment, slums, starvation, disease and all social ills in our own country. But we are unalterably opposed to sending one American citizen beyond the borders of this nation to any foreign land to sacrifice his life on the altar of imperialism."

The above speech was made at the Michigan CIO convention in May, 1940. Scholle is now whooping it up for War Bonds, and breaking strikes.

WORKERS OF THE WORLD

IN INDIA — LIVE NOT, LEARN NOT

Col. William A. Noble, chief surgeon of a Salvation Army Hospital in India, reported that less than 6 per cent of the women of India and only 14 per cent of the men are literate. There are only 35,000 doctors for 400 million people and in some places only one nurse for 200,000 people.

Leopold Amery, secretary of state for India, reported in the House of Commons, when questioned about the employment of women underground in Indian coal mines, that the rates of pay were the same as for men and, tho low, compared favorably with those paid in other Indian industries — an average of 18 annas (45 cents) per day. He said expectant mothers are prohibited from working for a month before and a month after delivery . . .

This is the "civilization" and "prosperity" British imperialism is bringing to the Indian workers.

Robert Francis Mudie, home member of the viceroy's executive council (India), told the legislative assembly that books on the civil war in France and the Paris Commune are banned in India "because it is considered that their effect in this country might be to encourage violent revolution."

JAPANESE WORKERS "VOLUNTEER"

In Japan, the exploitation of labor is stepped up to an unbearable degree. Domei, the Japanese news agency, said that in an effort to increase war goods production, Japanese workers at a war plant have pledged to work 108½ hours weekly — from 7:30 a.m. to 11 p.m., seven days a week. The dispatch added that the workers had set themselves to increase production by 80 per cent. We can easily conceive how voluntary these pledges are, when a slave-driver with a gun in each hand stands behind the workers.

The Japanese forced more than 60,000 prisoners to labor under worse than slavery conditions to speed thru the Thailand-Burma railway and road and then erected a monument to the 25,000 who died along the way, the British war office charged. Less than 1,000 of these were Japanese. "In addition many thousands of Asiatics were used and the death rate amongst them was almost certainly much heavier than amongst the white men."

WORK OR FIGHT A LA SOVIET UNION

Nikolai Morozov, 26-year-old lathe operator, exempted from military service because he worked at an aircraft factory near Moscow, stayed away from work two or three times. The first time the court ordered that 20 per cent of his pay should be deducted each week for six months. He hadn't paid off before his second offense occurred. That time the court ordered the deductions should be made for 10 months. The third time Nikolai was sentenced to five to seven years in jail. The judge suggested that he join the Red Army, in which case his sentence would not be cancelled, but "we'll agree to review it — after the war."

BELGIAN WORKERS STILL NAIVE

On Jan. 16 and 17, the workers of the port of Antwerp, supply funnel for the allies' western front, went on strike. The ship repairmen walked out and then dockworkers quit in a sympathy strike. The strike was directed against civilian shortages of butter and coal. Other grievances included: Some shifts were 12 hours, instead of the agreed 7½; a lack of transportation for workmen, lunch boxes confiscated in security searches, failure to receive promised hot meals at noon, and a delay in receiving accident insurance compensation. The strikers were promised official action and returned to work.

Only through struggle at the point of production can the workers gain any concessions, this they know; but promises of official action do not get them anything, whether dished out by Allied or Axis agencies.

FRATERNIZATION VERBOTEN!

It now turns out that the story about the posters appearing on the walls in Holland warning Dutch girls against associating with American soldiers (on which we commented in this column) slipped through the censorship. An American army chaplain, at the request of Dutch clergymen, tried to have the story stopped, but it had already been published. Last week an American private who whistled at a pretty German girl, while marching into a village as "conquerors" was heavily fined for "fraternizing with the enemy."

CANADIANS NOT INTERESTED IN IMPERIALISTS' WAR

Half of a group of 15,600 home defense troops — 7,800 — went AWOL before being sent overseas. After 20 days 6,300 still were missing. After 21 days they are considered as deserters, for which they can get life imprisonment. Hundreds of these deserters are hiding in the mountains, where they have formed armed bands, defying the Canadian government.

John Bracken, National Progressive Conservative leader, revealed that home defense troops threw rifles and ammunition overboard while en route overseas.

In Drummondville, Quebec, about 1500 civilians battled Royal Mounted Police and special army constables who were trying to round up deserters and force them back into the armed forces.

BRITISH STRIKES INCREASING

London, Dec. 28 (Chicago Tribune Press Service)—Because he failed to show up for work Oct. 23, 30, and Nov. 3, Jonathan Fishburn, 33 a Durham miner, today was sentenced to six months in jail . . . An individual worker or action can't beat the ruling class laws. Organized, united class action can gain concessions.

Continuing their militant struggles of a few months ago, the English Clydeside workers still keep up their fight. On Feb. 5 ten thousand Clydeside shipyard workers stopped work for several hours to demonstrate for immediate wage increases.

Over 10,000 British stevedores and miscellaneous dockworkers have just concluded a 9-day strike which completely shut down the waterfronts and made the military use troops for loading and unloading freight.

Some official figures will give a picture of the mounting tide of workers' actions. The British labor ministry announced that 3,648,000 working days were lost in Britain the first 11 months of 1944. This total was the greatest in 12 years and compared with 1,810,000 days lost in 1943.

WOMEN OF FRANCE FIGHT FOR FOOD

Several thousand housewives marched in a demonstration in Bordeaux demanding that the government supply more meat, fats and kindling wood . . . Disorders resulting from a lack of heat and food were reported from the mining regions of northern France. More than 150 tons of coal were taken from the yards of the Anzin mines by 1,200 inhabitants of Denain, while in the same district 350 housewives unsuccessfully attempted to break down the doors of a sugar refinery.

Stalinist Hoodlums Beat Up RWL Members

Their strikebreaking tactics in Unions, their ardent support of the "Commander-in-Chief," their voluntary flocking into the armed forces, their support of anti-labor legislation, and their disciplined hoodlumism proves beyond the wildest expectations of the ruling class the qualifications of the Stalinists to become officers in the American armed forces. FDR can well be proud of acceding to Earl Browder's claim that his party members are suitable officer material.

Comrades of an RWL Chicago local unit issued a leaflet called, "From Chattel Slavery to Wage Slavery" for distribution to a mass meeting on Negro history — but, apparently such history is not for the masses, not when the Stalinists have anything to say about it.

These self appointed social-patriots ordered the comrades away from the DuSable High school, and then, following them to the carline corner proceeded to label them as "fascists which could be smelled a mile away." In typical cop or army officer style, they shot their questions — "who are you?" "Where do you live?" "What organization do you belong to?" "What's your name?" etc., etc. Suggestions that the inquisitors read the leaflet were answered by loud threats and screaming of "fascists" until they had a small chorus of political hoodlums (who also had not read the leaflet) joining in with and without rhythm.

As over two hundred people had cheerfully accepted the leaflet and apparently were going to read it, despite the "commandant" who stood at the school door ordering them to throw it away, the Stalinists resorted to an old stratagem. Reinforcements from within the meeting were sent for, mostly men (Negro and white) who in a very disciplined fashion proceeded to surround the two girl comrades, shake them up, bend their arms, twist their shoulders, and finally succeeded in taking away and destroying the rest of the leaflets before anyone else knew what was going on.

The official cops, who had been plentiful were nowhere to be seen at the moment. But they really were not needed — the Stalinists have proven themselves to the satisfaction of FDR and the capitalist class to be excellent upholders of the worst features of the capitalist system.

THE FIGHTING WORKER

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Anglo-American Rivalry Leads to New Wars

Bretton Woods, Dumbarton Oaks, the Air Conferences, UNRRA and similar conferences held last year have singularly enough been unable to solve the basic economic antagonisms that exist among the so-called United Nations. The truth is that they achieve agreement only on minor details and postpone to a later date discussion on the more vital issues. Candidly, this means, in undiplomatic words, that an ALL-OUT economic fight among "United Nations" is unlikely until victory over the Axis is won.

But, despite this agreement, the very nature of capitalism has compelled the United States and Great Britain to take independent measures to secure their economic future against each other.

Disunity has existed from the very beginning. It expressed itself in various political and diplomatic forms. The Giraud, De Gaulle, Darlan, et al, affair was no mere clash of personalities or ideologies, but a political struggle between the U.S.A. and Britain for hegemony. With the victory over Germany practically certain, the rift has widened and the harsh words of disunity are flying thick and fast in Washington and London.

In November of 1944 the course of events was more than discernible to everyone but the myopic liberals. When Churchill proposed, in Paris, a western European block of Britain-France-Belgium and the Netherlands, the liberal journals considered this only in its secondary sense. This, they said, does not mean that weaker nations will be dominated by anti-democratic imperialism: — look how our "Good Neighbor Policy" in South America reconciled the interests of a powerful nation with that of smaller nations. Even in this sense they are wrong, but the basic sense of the statement: — that any such bloc was primarily designed as an economic bludgeon against a competitor — they do not even consider. Events have recently projected this oversight as a vital living issue in international politics.

The rift between Britain and America has been presented in ideological terms: democracy versus power politics; free trade versus cartels. At each Conference of the Allied Nations this has inevitably cropped up. But these terms are catch-words, meaningless by themselves. The question is: Why does America stand for so-called free trade and against cartel agreements? Is it that the United States is more democratic than Great Britain? Is it that the U.S. is less imperialistic than Britain? No!

The U.S.A. is today the greatest, richest and strongest imperialist nation in the world. Her gigantic wealth and productive potential is so vast that as a competitor on the foreign market she can undersell and outsell any combination of imperialist powers. If the unrestricted free-trade and the open market is permitted by Britain, in a very short time America would scoop up the entire world market. Great Britain realizes this and is attempting to protect her interests by building spheres of influence and restricted markets.

Let's go deeper into the very delicate situation Great Britain is faced with in relation to the United States. The U. S. is primarily an exporting nation. She exports not only capital, but commodities as well. It also is NOT a debtor nation, has no payments to make "abroad." This means that the outside world would constantly be in need of American dollars in order to buy American goods, and the wealth of the world would flow thru Wall street. Britain is not in such an advantageous position.

Britain today is living on her past investments in India, Argentina, the Dominions, and colonies. This has enabled her to import twice as much as she exports. But this unequal balance of trade cannot exist indefinitely. Britain MUST EXPORT if she wants to exist as a first rate power; which means that she must build up her industries and find new investment markets. It is at this point that the British Empire finds itself in keenest competition with the United States.

Since the war America has been able to make great inroads into what were formerly exclusively British markets, and has the perspective of making even deeper inroads before the conclusion of the war. In effect Britain, in one recent squabble with the U.S., has said this: "cut out this sham talk of democracy and free markets — you are just as imperialistic a nation as we are; let's divide the world markets between us." But can the vast productive capacity of the United States permit this? It could, but for a short period only. This is well realized by the heads of the American State as they attempt to wring all they can get from the present crisis of Great Britain.

Only one nation will gain economically in this war — the United States. Before the war, because of its highly developed capitalist system the U. S. was the main driving force FOR the war. Because of this same factor she must be the sole economic victor — unless in the course of the war the Proletarian Revolution intervenes and overthrows capitalism and its system of production for the market.

The cause of wars cannot be found in the hearts and

Peace Plans Heighten Contradictions of Soviet Union

A giant nutcracker is closing its jaws over Germany. From the East, the Red Army threatens Berlin. From the West and South Anglo-American imperialism is closing in. If the present plans of the Big Three are consummated, Germany will soon be overrun and the three powers, plus France, will occupy slices of the Reich for an extended period.

To the average individual, fed on the pap of the capitalist press, this means the "end of the war in Europe." To the Revolutionary Marxist it means something entirely different.

It is truly strange how short is the memory of most people. In those hectic days of 1939-40, when Stalin and Hitler were carving up Poland and the Baltic states, everyone (except the Marxist) visualized a long period of collaboration between Nazi Germany and Stalinism. Today, when the Big Three are carving up Germany, the man in the street sees in this, similar signs of unity and harmony.

Actually, however, we are witnessing a repetition of 1939-40, although the actors have changed slightly.

This is the LULL BEFORE THE STORM, with each of the three main actors fencing for position for tomorrow's battle — intervention against the Soviet Union. And the strategy of Stalinism — castrated by its policy of nationalism and maintaining the world status-quo — is limited to two tactics:

1—Conquer, occupy and fortify buffer states between the Soviet Union and the Anglo-American armies — states like Hungary, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Poland, parts of Germany, Czechoslovakia, etc.

2—Play on the divisions within the ranks of the imperialist powers.

Look closely and you will see both these tactics at play. Why for instance are no allied correspondents, no members of the Red Cross, no members of the UNRRA (so-called "relief" organization) permitted into Russian occupied territory? Five years ago, similar German emissaries were kept out. Stalinism is fortifying these territories for eventual defense against its "allies" and it is unwilling to have its plans checked and looked into.

Why all the difference on economic policy, such as the differences on the monetary fund, the question of air transportation and others? There is obviously little sense to making concessions to a future invader.

Why all the talk in the United States of "work or jail," "increased draft quotas," "stepping up of production?" Why is so much news by the big press associations slanted AGAINST the Soviet Union — more so today than ever before? Why the recent attack by the Army and Navy Journal against the Red Army and its "failure" to take the offensive?

There is but one answer — the preparations for intervention against the Soviet Union are going on full speed. They may never be consummated. Other things may occupy the time of the imperialists — such as an increasing wave of Social Revolution in Europe and Asia. But the Anglo-American imperialists are PREPARING for such intervention. They are attempting to get technicians into the Russian fortress, to gain necessary information on terrain, fortifications, etc. They are attempting to get trusted imperialist people into Soviet-controlled puppet governments in central Europe. The Anglo-American imperialists are PREPARING FOR THE WORST, but hoping for the best — i.e. that they can so undermine the Soviet property relations that the USSR will topple over into the capitalist side of the fence with relatively little struggle. Before they finally dump Uncle Joe Stalin out of the window they want to utilize him to the utmost, in the general drive against the European masses.

And what a job Uncle Joe is doing for his imperialist partners!

WITHOUT THE AID OF STALINISM THE TASK OF THE ALLIED IMPERIALISTS OF "KEEPING ORDER" IN EUROPE WOULD BE NEXT TO IMPOSSIBLE! In Greece, in Yugoslavia, in Hungary, in a dozen places, only the demagogy and the military might at the service of Stalinism keep the masses tied to capitalism. Only a spark is needed throughout Europe to ignite the revolution. A call to Revolution by the Red Army, as it marches toward Berlin would, today, rouse the masses in every country of Europe, including

Spain (which is not in the war), and in many countries of Asia.

But Stalinism is just as fearful of upsetting the status-quo as are its imperialist partners. Under Stalinist leadership the Red Army is actually supporting and maintaining capitalist governments beyond the Curzon line. Is that something strange? No, not exactly. In the early 19th century, the capitalist army of England united with the Feudalist armies of Central Europe to fight the revolutionary bourgeois armies of France. The contradictions within the English Armies, as a result of this, militated in favor of France, and it was many years before the capitalist army of Napoleon was defeated.

The contradictions within the Red Army today are damaging the Soviet Union no end. Can any one visualize American capitalism, with the capitalists owning the steel, coal and auto industries, while Workers Committees own and operate the railroad, rubber and textile industries? That is a crude analogy to what is happening in Soviet Russia (including its conquered areas) today. One large sector of its economy is state-owned and operated, with total elimination of the capitalist or large landowner. Another sector is largely dominated by such capitalists and landowners.

When the Red Army takes over parts of highly industrialized Germany, that contradiction will grow ever fiercer. The effect on class relations within the Soviet Union can only be estimated, but there can be little doubt that if the Revolution in Germany really gets under way soon, it will mean the end of Stalinism very quickly. No nation can live half-capitalist and half-transition economy. Very little information is coming out of the Soviet Union today, due to censorship, but when the whole story is told we will undoubtedly learn of many manifestations of the class struggle.

All the major powers realize today the importance of Germany from the standpoint of the European Revolution. That is why they are so intent on carving it up and maintaining a police force there for an extended period of time. Life will soon prove, however, that the Anglo-Americans and Stalinism will be unable to pursue the same policy in Germany. The pressure of Soviet property relations will be felt in Germany even more than in Poland or in Yugoslavia.

It is true that Stalinism is maintaining capitalism in the two latter countries, but it is likewise true that the pressure of Soviet property relations — the class consciousness of its Red Army, for one thing — is forcing through many reforms in these areas which are not even contemplated in other sections of Europe. There is, for instance, a considerable division of land amongst the peasantry and preceding it, a considerable expropriation of Yugoslav and Polish landlords. The R.W.L. holds no brief for these emasculated "reforms," nor for that matter, the manner in which they are being introduced. We only point to them to show that the Stalinists are under compulsion to introduce reforms or lose their mass base, both at home and abroad.

Occupation of Germany may solve a few of Stalin's problems. It may give him a temporary military respite. He may be able to milk his section of Germany sufficiently to alleviate a few of the Soviet Union's economic problems. Military victory will also make Stalinism more popular. But the occupation of Germany will also intensify Stalin's contradictions. It will bring closer the clash with Anglo-American imperialism. It will force a decision on whether to attack Japan or not. It will create much sharper cleavages within the Soviet Union itself than ever before — and a military lull may be just the moment when the class struggle will reach the point of political revolution in the Soviet Union. It will create a sharp difference with the "Allies" on how to govern Germany.

Above all, if the Stalinist-controlled Red Army is unable to check the German Revolution (since upon it will fall the major part of this task), it will mean the end of Stalinism as a world force and as a governing clique in Russia.

The German proletariat — and the rest of the world proletariat — must be conscious of this role of Stalinism. The Soviet Union, it is true, is the only progressive nation on earth, despite Stalinism. As a potential force the Red Army could play a revolutionary role to aid the proletarian revolutions of the countries they occupy, but under bureaucratic Stalinist control they are forced to play a counter-revolutionary role. All Social Reformist forces play a counter-revolutionary role when the masses rise up — from Vandervelde to Noske to MacDonald, Citrine and Stalin.

The German working class must fight ANY force that attempts to check the Proletarian Revolution in Germany, including the Red Army — if it continues to follow the present Stalinist policy in Eastern Europe. The surest way of helping the Russian workers to re-establish Soviet democracy in the Soviet Union is to fight the Red Army's attempt to maintain capitalism in Central Europe today.

Along with such military resistance the German proletariat, in its Revolution, should offer the Russian workers and the Red Army a united front against world capitalism. In such a united front we should not drop our attack against Stalinism. We change the form of our attack, but we continue to work for the political revolution against Stalinism. We advocate arrest of the Stalinist misleaders by the workers, election of Red Army officers by the rank and file, the revival of Workers' Councils at the rear.

The combination of a German Proletarian Revolution and a political Revolution within the Soviet Union would mean the swift death of the whole capitalist world.

As the Red Army marches toward Berlin, we, the workers of the United States and elsewhere, must wish for and work for such a possibility.

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

Bulletin of the Provisional International Contact Commission

MARCH — APRIL ISSUE

Labor Party — Brake on Revolutions
Aspects of the Red Army
Thesis on Palestine
International Notes (report from Great Britain)

★

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souls of men, it emanates solely from the system of society under which we live. Economic rivalry which drives nations into bloody struggles for economic conquest are now at work within the very ranks of the Allied "democratic" powers. Within this 2nd imperialist world war the seeds of the 3rd imperialist world war are beginning to sprout.

"Culture," Classes, & The "Little Flower"

IDOL OF THE PETTY BOURGEOISIE

The mayor of the largest city in the world is a stooge who spends most of his time running errands for Wall St. Recently, he spent half a day pinning medals on street cleaners — that didn't prevent him from using them later as strike-breakers against the N.Y. school workers strike. Though he speaks pro-labor at every important union convention held in the city, he speaks just as sincerely pro-capitalist at banquets such as the one awarding John D. Rockefeller Jr. a testimonial for outstanding citizenship. When the war began, he wanted to be a general; when the Italian Revolution broke he wanted to be its American hang-man; but his secret ambition is to be a housewife!

Every Sunday he tells his household troubles to several million radio listeners. While at the International Airways Convention in Chicago he had a radio extension made to N.Y. at the cost of two hundred dollars so he wouldn't miss his Sunday radio broadcast. But he didn't have the money! So the distinguished mayor appealed to his radio listeners for the two hundred dollars.

How is such a stupid person re-elected mayor of a giant metropolis after term? — Because he is an ideal representative of the class that elects him, the middle class. He is the petty mayor of the most petty bourgeois town in the United States.

N. Y. C. NEEDS REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP

New York badly needs an independent workers' movement. Of the 7,625,000 people living in the city, there are only 579,000 industrial workers. To these workers are added 770,000 wholesale and retail trade workers, hundreds of thousand of teachers, clerical workers, civil service appointees, etc., who in turn are swamped by 1,226,000 members of the middle class. The middle class in turn grovels in the dust before the enormous N.Y. capitalist class with all its wealth, "culture" and 123,000 servants.

These class statistics show that while New York is a vast sprawling spider of a city with dozens of huge slum-tenement areas, it is predominantly the playground of the United States capitalist and his small fry imitators, the middle class.

Millions of United States workers still look to New York, with its American Labor and Liberal Parties, for political leadership. This is an error. The center of the Amer-

RENEW YOUR SUB!

The 2nd Imperialist War FROM BOSS WAR TO WORKERS WAR

IMPERIALISMS' NEEDS CHAINED TO ITS ECONOMY

As a result of the economic rivalry between America and Britain there are serious differences as to how to conduct the war itself. The U.S. wants a completely smashed Japan, but wants a limited German state under its domination which can act as a counter-weight to British control of Europe. Britain on the other hand needs a counter-weight to American power in Asia: she wants a completely destroyed Germany, but only a controlled Japan.

Britain called its dominion heads together in an attempt to form a dominion bloc. The rivalry of the two powers was evident even then when the Canadian Minister, Mackenzie King, refused to go along with a tightly knit bloc. It must be remembered that the U.S. has a four billion dollar investment in Canada, and Mr. King knows on which side his bread is buttered.

These facts are well known to the rulers of the earth. The rivalry between America and Britain extends to such important things as who shall control the nickel, tin, oil, rubber, electric, and other markets. This rivalry can only be TEMPORARILY ameliorated if the two powers can now gain control of the lucrative Asiatic and European markets — that is if they can eliminate the Axis imperialists and divide up the loot. But how long can such a "peace" last? It can only be an armed truce. The needs of each of the two great economic structures encompass full control of the whole world. America, especially, with its two hundred billion dollar a year productive machine, must continually search for new markets or close her factories and face Revolution at home. In order to get the markets she must exercise political control of the areas conquered — either through a WORLD police system, controlled by the U.S., or directly through U.S. imperialist control.

SEEDS OF THE THIRD WAR

The rivalry between the powers is reaching new heights. FEDERATIONS of states are in the making. The U.S. has its base in the Western Hemisphere. Britain vests her hopes on maintaining control of her dominions and such countries as Holland, Belgium, and a number of other governments-in-exile. Britain is openly talking of a Federation of States in Europe under British influence, as opposed to a World Federation. The U.S. can and must talk for a WORLD Federation, because the U.S., with its enormous economic and military strength could easily dominate such a Federation. Thus Uncle Sam is now changing places with Britain. After the first war, Britain wanted a WORLD Federation (a League of Nations), but Uncle Sam recognized clearly that in any such League Britain would dominate. Today, John Bull, with his declining strength relative to America, has reversed positions. The rivalry between the two powers has changed some of its FORMS; but the antagonism is sharper than ever. Sooner or later it must burst forth in full fury.

Of course, this one rivalry does not exhaust the subject. There is the important rivalry between Japan and Germany — between the "haves-nots", Italy, France, Spain and the "haves," America, Britain, Germany, etc.

The seeds of the THIRD world war are already planted. More than that — they are partly grown. And the imperialist powers KNOW IT. That is why they are demanding an ARMED peace. They want a two-edged sword directed not only against the MAIN enemy, Proletarian Revolution, but against each other when necessary.

Capitalism can not live without WAR. Only the elimination of the class struggle, BY THE SUCCESSFUL PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION can end imperialist war.

PART V

TO TURN IMPERIALIST WAR INTO CIVIL WAR

How shall we end the War? Obviously it can not be ended by PACIFIST prayers. All things today are being settled by FORCE, pure brute

ican Labor Movement is in the mid-west, the heart of the basic industrial section. The working class of the United States doesn't need reformist mayors but revolutionary leaders. Not class harmony tactics but class struggle strategy. Not an American Labor Party but a Revolutionary Workers Party. Not the instability of shopkeepers but the strength of the independent labor movement. Not the sickly "cultural leadership" of middle class New York but the healthy revolutionary leadership of proletarian Detroit!

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force. A system that will spend 350 billion dollars and millions of lives in world war I, and then go ahead to spend a TRILLION dollars (1,000 Billion) and more millions of lives, 21 years later, will obviously not rule itself out of existence as a result of a pious prayer. Capitalism exists only by the FORCE of its Army and Police system. It will not yield its power and its profits, no matter how many millions of people have to be slaughtered. It forces the working class, in self defense, to take counter-measures.

The war can not be ended by compromising with the Capitalist class as the Trotskyists and other centrists advocate. We can not "fool" the capitalist class into giving up State Power. We must refuse categorically to support any phase of the bosses war — either its internal program (rationing, price-fixing, War Labor Board, Censorship, No Strike Pledge, Job Freeze, Labor Draft, Legislation against the closed shop, Wage Freeze, forced Bond Purchases, increased taxation, or any of the various forms of Work or Fight plans) or its external program for dividing up the markets and loot of the world. We are opposed to all forms of capitalism's corruption or rationing program even if it should be administered under so-called "Workers' Control" because these actions HELP THE IMPERIALISTS TO PROSECUTE THEIR WAR.

We are equally opposed to a "Labor Party" in which Revolutionists are supposed to live peacefully with supporters of the war and the capitalist system. Those who are FOR the war, and those (centrists) who are for WORKING WITH THOSE WHO ARE FOR THE WAR, are on one side. They cannot give the kind of leadership to the oppressed which will lead to the end of oppression . . . they can only fool and, befuddle the masses. They cannot take humanity one step further ahead, they can only hold it back. Those who are on the side of the proletariat, the working class and the oppressed and exploited minorities, are for revolutionary means of opposing the bosses' war. The profit system has perpetrated this stark brutal murder of the masses too often.

We face the situation today where either capitalism must be totally destroyed or humanity pushed back to the abyss of barbarism: to total dictatorship by the bosses, to undernourishment, brutality, caste system, concentration camps and other methods of control used by Fascism.

THERE CAN BE NO COMPROMISE WITH A SYSTEM THAT REFUSES TO PRODUCE EXCEPT FOR MURDER — THAT KEEPS THE MASSES ON A SEMI-STARVATION LEVEL — THAT BUILDS THEM UP ONLY FOR PURPOSES OF SLAUGHTER!

ACTIONS FLOW FROM PROGRAM

What program can lead us out of this morass? The Revolutionary Workers League deals with this problem in all its material. In other pamphlets and articles we have dealt exhaustively with the character of the Soviet Union, and the social-patriotic reactionary and at times counter-revolutionary role of Stalinism; the need for a new Revolutionary Marxian Party and a New Communist (4th) International. We deal with them here only briefly, to supplement the theme of this brochure: THAT ONLY PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION CAN END IMPERIALIST WAR!

Here then is a short resume of a program for us which will lead to a successful Proletarian Revolution in ALL countries:

- 1—Against the imperialist war — a war for plunder, profit, markets and spheres of influence.
- 2—For the Proletarian Revolution which alone will end imperialist war and defeat fascism.
- 3—For a new Fourth (Communist) International. For a new Revolutionary Marxian Party in the United States.
- 4—Against a Labor Party and all other forms of Popular Frontism.
- 5—For independent working class action on the political and economic fields. For strike action now — including the sitdown strike — to gain better wages and working conditions. No faith in reformists and Labor fakery.
- 6—For full equality for the Negroes, Mexicans, Chinese, Japanese and all other oppressed minorities in the United States. Against Jim Crowism and Anti-Semitism.
- 7—For Workers Defense Squads in the Unions and elsewhere to defend the working class from the Fascist inroads of capitalism.
- 8—For full and unconditional independence for the Philippines, Virgin Islands, Porto Rico and all other territories of the United States, including those islands and areas now occupied by American military forces. For the right of self-determination for all colonies.
- 9—For the defense of the Soviet Union against World Imperialism and Stalinism. Extend the October Revolution. For a political revolution in Russia to reestablish Workers Democracy and continue toward Socialism.
- 10—For a Workers Council Government in the United States and all over the world.

VIVE LA COMMUNE DE PARIS

"Workingmen's Paris, with its Commune, will be forever celebrated as the glorious harbinger of a new society. Its Martyrs are enshrined in the great heart of the workingclass. Its exterminators, history has already nailed to that eternal pillory from which all the prayers of their priests will not avail to redeem them." (Karl Marx).

March 1871 — and the workers of Paris rose in revolt against their ruling class. They had suffered war and exploitation, oppression and misery long enough. Too long! And despite the fact that their own bourgeoisie was engaged in a war with the German rulingclass the French proletariat used their guns against their main enemy — the one at home. Whereupon the French and

German rulers united to put down the Paris Commune.

With tremendous odds against them the Parisians were able to maintain their Commune for 70 long days. They instituted hundreds of the forms of socialism and won increasing support throughout France. But they failed to spread the revolution to other parts of the country, and they failed to completely smash the bourgeois state and its instruments of power, such as the banks. The bourgeois, who had fled the city with much of its wealth intact, was able to reorganize and proceeded to smash the Paris Commune with some of the most vicious brutality recorded in history.

The Commune was drowned in the blood of the Paris-

ian workingclass, the men, women and children who fought to the end for their freedom. But the Commune is not dead; it lives on in the purpose of the revolutionary movement of today. Its bitter lessons have been well learned. ONWARD TO THE BUILDING OF THE REVOLUTIONARY MARXIAN PARTY — ONWARD TO A WORLD COMMUNIST SOCIETY!

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