

The Fighting Worker

Official Organ of The Revolutionary Workers League, U. S.

Workers of
The World
Unite!

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Extend the October Revolution

The workers have very few holidays that they can really call their own. But the outstanding one is the celebration of the October Revolution. This holiday, November 7th, completely boycotted by the capitalist class, commemorates the taking and maintaining of State power by the workingclass.

The workers and peasants of the vast Russian empire forced the end of World War No. 1 by the revolutionary overthrow of the Czarist regime. Based on a Marxian program they were able to establish the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, institute transition economy based on production for use instead of for profit, and build a powerful and cohesive Third International. Military intervention by 17 major capitalist powers, and an economic blockade of nearly 10 years duration were not able to wipe out the basic gains of the October Revolution.

With the rise to power of Stalinism and the ensuing theory of "Socialism in one country" came the period of devastating destruction of international solidarity of the working class. The decrees of the Stalinist bureaucracy have resulted, in the name of the "Workers Fatherland," in active suppression and smashing of the struggles of the working class for liberation the world over. The policies of Stalinism have permitted bourgeois democracy and capitalist forms of production to make powerful inroads on the hard-fought for Soviet economy and structure.

FORWARD WITH INDEPENDENT WORKINGCLASS ACTION

The Third International is Dead — its rotting corpse has lain too long on the front doorstep of the working class, contaminating our health and sapping our vitality. The corpse must be buried once and for all. For the "spectre of communism" asserts its place as a living progressive force in present day society. Proletarian revolution is the answer of the workers to the capitalist system of war, unemployment and oppression. To that end we clear the debris of the past and work unceasingly toward building the new vehicle of the international working class — the New Communist (4th) International.

For the Extension of October — For the Defense of the Soviet Union.

For a POLITICAL Revolution against the Reactionary Bureaucracy of Stalinism within the Soviet Union,

For a World Union of Socialist Soviet Republics!

Join the Revolutionary Workers League NOW — help build a powerful Marxian Party in this country. Join the affiliate to the International Contact Commission in your country.

WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE! YOU HAVE NOTHING TO LOSE BUT YOUR CHAINS! YOU HAVE A WORLD TO GAIN!

Spread the Picket Line; Oust Labor Fakers

October 16, 1945. A half million workers are out on strike, from one end of the nation to the other. Long harassed by wartime restrictions, the wage-cutting Little STEAL formula, higher prices; and now faced with a general loss of 12 hours in take-home pay, plus continued inflation, millions of workers are looking toward the picket lines to resolve their problems. Dock workers, elevator operators, busmen, lumber workers, auto workers, miners, and oil workers — all joined the picket parade.

Out of the nebulous and uncoordinated struggles it was evident that the leaders of labor had their sights set on a general 65¢ per hour minimum and a 30% rise in hourly wages for industrial workers to take up the slack caused by the cut in hours.

Fakers Organize Defeats

But if the Murrays, Greens, Lewis' and their ilk had any plans for getting these things it was only a plan for organizing the defeat. The big test for the Unions was the oil strike. Shutdown of the gasoline industry nationally would stop the whole wheels of American business. The big Standard Oil Company, titan of the industry, was unorganized. Other companies were willing to grant a 15% boost, but balked at doubling it.

The strategy for Labor was obvious. Steel workers wanted a \$2 a day increase; auto workers were demanding a 30% boost. The National Association of Manufacturers and other employer agencies were backing up the oil monopolists to the hilt. Why then didn't the labor

fakers take the hint? Why weren't the steel workers called out? Why wasn't the oil strike spread throughout the country? Why was the strike tempo slowed down?

Murray, the Stalinists and the whole stinking gang of labor fakery didn't take the obvious course, because their feet are enmeshed in the rotten fabric of the bourgeois state. They were willing to put a little pressure on Uncle Harry in the White House, but they weren't going to put the squeeze to him. They weren't going to let the bourgeois state down.

Peace time strikes thus have a very reminiscent touch of war time strikes in them. It was impossible to win strikes during the war if the strikes were led by patriots who were for a victory of American Imperialism. It is similarly impossible to win peace time strikes if the reformist trade union fakery control the Unions and channelize the efforts of the masses into safe capitalist channels.

(Continued on Page 2)

ASIA UP IN ARMS

U. S. Aids Chiang Kai-Shek Against Chinese Masses

The Marines are landing again. This time the age-old counter-revolutionary forces of American Imperialism are landing against the struggles of the Chinese workers and peasants in North China. Uncle Sam's Navy and navy land forces are helping the reactionary regime of Chiang-Kai-Shek regain control over all of China.

The struggle in China is momentarily very confusing. The Stalinist Yenan government is attempting to control a belt of some 500 miles between Outer Mongolia and Manchuria. But American naval forces are escorting Chiang-Kai-Shek's forces into that very territory, particularly into the big cities such as Peiping and Tientsin.

According to Time Magazine: "In the heart of Communist China, the ancient Machu capital Peiping was smartly seized by Chiang's 92nd and 95th armies flown from Hankow and Shanghai by the U. S. tenth air force. Into Shanghai itself, surrounded by the chastened Communist new Fourth Army, U. S. planes had borne Chiang's 94th Army. Later the U. S.

forces transferred its China theatre headquarters into the city. Nanking was firmly held by Chiang's airborne new sixth army. Canton by his foot-slugging U. S. trained new 1st Army . . . On the China coast the Communist 8th Route Army held a solitary port, Che Foo. But a strong U. S. Naval force cruised offshore. At strategic Tientsin and Tsingtao U. S. Marines landed and nonchalantly took over. Later they would hand the cities to the nationalist government. Other Marine contingents had raised their standard in Peiping and Chinwangtao . . . The U. S. was underpinning its energetic diplomacy with the sword, and the Communists were powerless to prevent it."

The press reports that the U. S. is about to give Chiang 3,000 airplanes and considerable other material.

Unkept Promises

What is behind all this intervention by American Imperialism? The masses of China have been living in untold misery ever since the war began — and before. All the prom-

ises of the Kuomintang for "democracy" have been just so much bunk. Not a mile of land has been divided; not a single national or local official has been elected by popular suffrage. Inflation has reached unheard of proportions. Revolution is definitely in the air. In large sections of China the agrarian masses have already taken some action into their own hands. In these sections Stalinism, under Mao Tse Tung, has dulled their efforts considerably. But the nascent struggles of the people of China are visible for all to see.

In order to maintain its base and to extend it, Mao's forces are getting at the head of the growing Revolution — in order to behead it. Stalinism is putting forth many bourgeois democratic demands, demands far to the left of what Chiang and his master American Imperialism are willing to grant.

Wall Street's marines are fighting precisely these aspirations of the masses for bread and land. They are continuing support to their puppet Chiang, who has suppressed proletarian revolution in China for two decades. In 1927 Chiang killed off dozens of thousands of Chinese workers in Shanghai, Canton and elsewhere. Since then there has been a state of civil war for almost two decades.

In order to protect her investments in China, and the lucrative investments about to be made, (estimated at 4 billion dollars) American Imperialism is giving all aid to Chiang to smash the rebellion of the Chinese masses.

The struggle in China today has other aspects too. It indicates a sharpening of relations with the Soviet Union; otherwise Chinese Stalinism would not be so implacable. It indicates that all of Asia is close to the vortex of Revolution.

Oust the Imperialists

The Chinese Revolution is a major development in world history. We workers in America must support it with all our might.

We must demand first of all that America keep her hands off China. Remove all marines and other military forces and equipment from that vast nation. Here at home we must call upon the merchant marine and dockworkers to refuse to ship materials to Chiang or to the American military forces.

No aid to the forces of counter-revolution!

Inside China the Revolution will mark time until it hits the large cities. Possibly it has already done so. But the agrarian masses under Stalinist influence must not be forgotten. Stalinism will not solve its problems; in fact only a dictatorship of the proletariat can bring liberation to those people in the hinterlands. But the Revolutionary Marxists of China will attempt, where feasible, to march separately from and strike together with the Yenan forces against Chiang and American Imperialism; thereby striking a blow against reaction and exposing the reformist policies of Stalinism at the same time.

FOR WORKERS COUNCILS AND MILITIA IN CHINA!

BUILD A NEW REVOLUTIONARY MARXIAN PARTY!

LONG LIVE SOVIET CHINA!

Colonies Fight for Independence

ROBBERS UNITE AGAINST JAVA

While the antagonisms between the imperialists are increasing, these big robbers show a united front as soon as revolt against one of them rears its head, be it in capitalist or colonial countries. The Indo-Chinese masses started revolting against continued and renewed exploitation and oppression at the hands of French imperialism. Immediately British military forces began suppressing the revolt with the aid of Japanese troops, because there were not enough French troops on the spot to cope with the situation and reinforcements had not arrived yet.

The imperialist British "Labor" government realizes that no matter where on the Asiatic continent the oppressed colonial peoples revolt, that revolt in spreading directly threatens their empire. While bitterly competing with France for colonial power (Levant etc.) British imperialism is compelled to help France preserve her empire from native liberation.

While the U. S. as far as we know officially taking no part in the armed conflict (though there have been quite a number of incidents between American and Indo-Chinese) the U. S. position is clearcut. Together with Great Britain, it has signed a pact giving France full rights in Indo-China.

Taking advantage of Japan's defeat, the Indonesian nationalists declared their independence and formed a republic. The exploitation of this rich colony was one of the cornerstones of the Dutch empire before the war. As in Indo-China British troops were the only ones on the spot. So far there has been no large scale fighting, but open warfare is in the air and Britain is considering the necessary measures for maintaining Dutch imperialism in Java and "maintaining order."

The first 1,000 Dutch soldiers have arrived on Java and by a strange coincidence they are wearing American uniforms and are armed with American weapons. Says Nat A. Barrows in the Chicago Daily News: "American interests in the Pacific may require more active participation in restoring order."

Although we are sympathetic with the struggle for independence of the colonial peoples and support any fight which actually weakens imperialism, we have to warn the Indonesian masses that their struggle can be successful only in conjunction with the international proletarian struggle. They cannot rely, as does the nationalist leader Dr. Soekarno, on the aid of any imperialism, Japanese or American.

The striking Australian dockworkers, who refuse to load ships with the materials that will help Dutch imperialism to crush the Indonesian movement are their true allies. Their action shows that they understand that the struggle of the colonial peoples has to be integrated with that of the international proletariat. The American, British, Dutch and French workers must take similar steps of solidarity.

The Occupation of Japan

The youngest of the world imperialist powers, after a brief period of expansion, has been stripped of her gains afield and is being "legally" looted of all domestic industry that has any bearing on the world market. The United States State department finally came out officially with its declaration that "The Policy is . . . that Japan will be put in a position where it cannot

renew aggressive warfare, that the present economic and social system of Japan which makes for a will to war will be changed so that that will to war will not continue, and whatever it takes to carry this out will be used to carry it out."

Production for Profit Continues Orders have been issued, in line with usual procedure of conquering capitalist nations; to eliminate

all heavy industries; for rigid control of the Bank of Japan; for detailed inventories of arms, all chemicals and facilities, auto industry, narcotics, treasury, over \$250,000,000 in gold, silver and platinum and the diamond cache, and transportation and communication materials, have been put under Allied guard.

But control doesn't mean that (Continued on Page 4)

"PEACEMAKERS" QUARREL IN LONDON TALKS

Only an infant can believe that the London conference of Foreign Ministers broke up over the question of whether five powers or three powers should frame the terms of peace with the Balkan powers and Italy. The excuses and counter-charges by Molotov and Byrnes sound like epics from Grimm's Fairy Tales rather than the charges of mature men.

What is behind all the present issue is not yet entirely clear, except that American Imperialism was able at London to align the whole world against the Soviet Union. Stalinist Russia stood alone against the bloc of the other four powers and she was unable to gain any major concessions.

Big Stick Discards the Mop

America turned hands down on permitting Russia to participate in the administration of Japan. There was no recognition of the Stalinist puppet regimes. General Eisenhower issued a statement roundly condemning Stalin for hogging the major offices in the areas under its control and for refusing to permit other parties representation equal to their supposed mass base. The fact that American Imperialism does the same thing in its own areas is, of course, not the issue. Discord among the world powers is growing by leaps and bounds.

A new crisis is looming on the horizon — a crisis that will effect the world proletariat and the Stalinist position within Russia. America is wielding a "big stick." And the reason for it is not hard to find.

According to Time magazine: "All over Europe men looked elsewhere toward Communism for a kind of security and dignity that their pre-war system had failed to insure

them. In consequence the Communist (it should read Stalinist) parties, far from being all-powerful or irresistible were on the defensive . . ."

In other words, Stalinism's usefulness in throttling the aspirations of the masses is coming to an end. Some of the oppressed are turning away to the left, others to the right. The Imperialists have almost exhausted whatever gain they can get from the treachery of the Soviet bureaucracy and its satellites.

Neither Cash Nor Credit for U.S.S.R.

Obviously then this is the time to put the knife to Uncle Joe, weaken his position within central Europe further and, incidentally, continue to undermine his position within the Soviet Union as well.

The attitude of the United States is most clearly expressed in the question of credits. Uncle Sam is favorably disposed to grant a 5 billion dollar gold loan to Great Britain, but the only loan being granted to the Soviet Union is a pittance one for 350 million dollars merely to cover merchandise that was already assigned to Russia during lend-lease days.

Molotov's behavior in London is one of the most disgraced in all history. Here is the representative of a worker's state with much in his mouth, unable to expose the imperialist maneuvers of his four confederates because he is a partner to this robbery, because he (and the bureaucratic machine he represents) has been imperialism's main agency within the working class of the world peddling the policies of imperialism.

Profits and Peace Don't Mix

Instead of exposing the U.S. role of robbing the rival imperialists, Germany and Japan and most of the colonial countries, of keeping the world standard of living down, of exposing millions to hunger and death, of utilizing UNRRA funds for cheap political purposes against the masses and their efforts at liberation — instead of utilizing London as a forum, Molotov broke off negotiations on the pathetic note of whether three or five powers shall draft "peace" treaties.

London proves again that the solution of Stalinism, like the solution of the imperialists can only lead to more war, more fascism. Atom bomb or no atom bomb, wars can never end under capitalism. In the coming months we shall see more revolutions — we are witnessing a number already, Malaya, Java, China — and more preparations for war — against the Soviet Union and against the world proletariat.

The only way to end war, the only way to defeat fascism is through the Proletarian Revolution. There can be and will be no peace under capitalism. London is just another bit of proof — if proof is necessary.

CLARIFICATION ON "CONFUSING ISN'T IT"

On page 4 of the October 1945 issue of the F.W. there appeared an article entitled "Confusing Isn't It?" This was not an article of the Revolutionary Workers League — it was a letter which was sent to the editor of the Trotskyite paper — "The Militant" and not published by them. The author sent it to us and asked that we publish it for what it was. We did, but neglected to explain its origin.

WORKERS PAY MILLIONAIRES GET TAX CUT

October 16, 1945

The daily press devoted much space to the House-approved tax reduction bill saying that if passed by the Senate, it would mean that 12,000,000 people in the lower income brackets would be exempt from paying taxes. However, following the passage of this bill by the house, even the Secretary of the Treasury Vinson attacked the bill for benefiting mainly those whose incomes are above \$20,000 a year.

The bill guarantees that no taxpayer would get less than a 10% decrease. According to Griffing Bancroft of the Chicago Sun, Vinson "produced tables to show that under the House bill a man earning around \$1,000 a year would have his income after taxes, or 'take home pay' increased by less than 2%, while a man getting \$1,000,000 a year would have his income after taxes increased by 90%."

Vinson also urged the complete repeal of the excess profit tax under the pretense of trying to "encourage production."

The workers needn't look forward to any rosier future where they won't have to pay taxes — at least not under capitalism. The taxes will be cut, but the cut will be for those in the higher brackets — for the workers will receive only the crumbs. The excess profit tax will be cut drastically or removed entirely leaving "incentive" for enormous profit with the government stepping in and taking only a tiny slice, while it imposes the major burden of the costs of operation on the workingclass.

RENEW YOUR SUB!

WORKERS OF THE WORLD

REBUILDING OF FRANCE

The criminal atrocities committed by French capitalism against German slave workers ("war prisoners") have finally burst into the news. The conditions of these slave workers have become so unbearable and scandalous that even the French bourgeois press and the American papers after them could no longer ignore them. Even then De Gaulle tried to cover up, claiming that the employed prisoners receive the same rations as French workers.

The French liberal newspaper "Figaro" on Sept. 22 quoted Gen. Buisson director of war prisoners as saying that food rations in French camps were "just enough to allow a man to lie down, not move, and not die too quickly." In the Cormeilles fortress near Paris, 400 out of the 1500 German prisoners are supposed to be able to work. What clothes they have are torn and do not fit. They sleep on concrete floors in overcrowded, vermin infested rooms, without mattress; most of them have no blanket. They show signs of having been mistreated.

All this is being put under the heading of rebuilding what was destroyed in France by the war. At the same time a great part of the French workers are out of work because industry is at a standstill, and they cannot live on the starvation wages offered them. That is why the French bourgeoisie introduce German war prisoners whom they can force to work for practically no wages at all and no food either.

"LABOR" GOVERNMENT'S HEADACHE

The largest dockworkers strike since 1926 is taking place in the ports of Britain. More than 40,000 stevedores are defying their union officials, who are trying to bring them back to work and then negotiate for their demands. The dockworkers, who have voted "no confidence" in their leadership, are demanding a forty hour week and \$5.00 a day pay. 400 ships were tied up in England's ports.

One of the outstanding features of this strike is its extent, considering that it is a "wildcat" strike. The Revolutionary Communist Party ("Trotskyites") was "accused" of preparing and fomenting the strike. Instead of proudly claiming their part (if any in the class struggle) these centrists denied the "charges." Another important aspect of the strike is that it is taking place under a "Labor" government, and therefore against that "Labor" government. It is an expression of the lack of illusions of the dockers.

Zionism, Tool of Imperialism Has No Solution for Jews

The "Jewish Problem" is once and for all in the foreground of events. All over Europe Jews live in "camps" and file of Jew and Arab. On the contrary the Jewish worker and the Arabian peasant have economic interests in common.

The Arabian landowner is fearful that further immigration of Jewish collective farmers will have a decided effect on the struggles of the Arabian masses for land. The Jewish capitalist is interested in fomenting strife against the Arabs in order to capture a greater area of economic interest. And Britain is interested in continuing the struggle, just as she provokes conflict in India between Moslem and Hindu, in order to maintain dominance over both.

Zionism can not solve the problems of the Jewish masses. A Jewish Palestine can only mean domination by one imperialist power or another. Today it is Britain, tomorrow it may be the United States. But there can be no liberation for the Jewish oppressed of Europe by building a Jewish homeland, anywhere more than the Garvey movement of "back to Africa" could solve the Negro problem. The solution of the Jewish problem is linked up with the struggle for international proletarian revolution.

Right of Asylum

That does not mean, of course, that we are opposed to immigration of hundreds of thousands of harrided Jews from central Europe. Revolutionary Marxists demand that all gates not only of Palestine but all other countries be open for both political and other oppressed refugees. We demand that the United States open its doors to those refugees, including Jews, who wish to come here.

Inside Palestine a movement of Arabs and Jews against British (and American) imperialism is long overdue. The masses of Palestine, the workers in the trade unions and agricultural laborers, should arm themselves for defense against the imperialist provoked attacks.

FOR ARAB AND JEWISH IMPERIALISM!

FOR THE RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION OF ALL MINORITIES AND COLONIAL PEOPLES IN THE NEAR EAST!
FOR A SOVIET UNITED STATES OF THE NEAR EAST!

Spread the Picket Line

(Continued from Page 1)

Murray, Green and Company are only the watchdogs of capitalism within the ranks of labor. By permitting the oil strikers to go back to work without any increase, they are playing Mr. Truman's game to a T. The idea is to stall the thing along for a few months until the 15% raise looks real big if you measure it in terms of retroactive pay. Mr. Murray and his stooge Mr. Knight is all keyed up to the idea of demoralizing the workers long enough so that the back pay looks big enough to forget about the 30% raise.

Actually, however, the 30% raise is very, very far from adequate. It will only cover the money loss in take home pay, but it will not make up for the big pay cut labor took during the war because of the Little Steel formula and its 15% limitation on wage increases; nor will it make up for the rise in prices of the post-war period.

Pay Rates Decline

The wage picture is much worse than appears on the surface. Millions of workers are being laid off — some only temporarily. But the rehiring rates, for some "mysterious" reason, are very much lower than the lay-off rates. Hundreds of thousands of factory women are learning about the new national wage scale — 55c per hour. Men are being offered 15c or 25c more, but the rates of pay are still 50c and 75c below the war scales. While this situation effects primarily the inorganized today, it must eventually hamper the bargaining powers of the organized workers as well.

The bourgeoisie are well organized for this strike wave. They're sitting it out until the labor factors confuse and demoralize the millions of organized men sufficiently for capital to deliver the coup de grace. Anti-labor legislation by the bushel is waiting in Washington until the opportune moment. The middle

class and the veteran are being hopped up with all kinds of propaganda about the "unreasonable" working man, who does nothing but strike. The way is being prepared for forced arbitration and for further government control of the trade union movement.

Unfortunately the working class had no effective opposition to the war. Within the trade union movement there was no strong group advocating a class struggle program. Now that the war is over thousands of people feel that militancy means merely strike action. There were so few strikes during the war that any breach of the no-strike pledge is considered almost "revolutionary." The Stalinists, with their new "left" reformist program are taking on an appearance of militancy.

Two Kinds of Strikes

In reality, however, there are two kinds of strikes — those with a class struggle program and those with class-collaboration aims. The labor skates are organizing the present strike wave along the lines of class-collaboration — have the capitalist state (the same state and government which swindled the worker's pay envelope DURING the war) handle the whole question.

No victories can be organized except with a clear perspective of uncompromising struggle against the capitalist state, its Trumans, Schwelbnachs and other lesser lights.

There hasn't been any new deal for Labor, despite the strike wave. The labor skates have merely gotten at the head of the movement to behead it. What is still needed is an organized left wing group with a class struggle program, stretching through the AFL, CIO and independent Unions; a group based on and of the rank and file — willing to take the leadership away from the agents of capitalism and keep it under their own control.

THE FIGHTING WORKER

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The 14 Points of the Provisional International Contact Commission

An elaboration of the following 14 points were adopted in 1939 as a brief political statement presenting a Marxian position on the basic questions of the day, by the groups forming the Provisional Contact Commission for the New Communist (4th) International, as the political axis for the International Bulletin, "The International News."

1. Imperialism and the Tasks of the Proletariat.
2. The Revolutionary Marxian Organization.
3. Participation in the Class Struggle.
4. Revolutionary Defeatism.
5. The U. S. S. R. and the Extension of the October Revolution.
6. The Struggle Against Capitalism.
7. The Character of the State.
8. State Power.
9. The Road to Power.
10. The Dictatorship of the Proletariat and Workers Democracy.
11. The Contradictions of Capitalism.
12. The New Communist (4th) International.
13. Communism.
14. Marxism.

Present Affiliates to the I.C.C.:

Revolutionary Workers Association of Great Britain
Central Committee of the Red Front of Greater Germany
Revolutionary Workers League, U. S. A.

For your copy of the 14-Point Program send 5c to:

People's Book Shop, 18 Noel St., London, W.1, England, or
Demos Press, 708 North Clark St., Chicago, Illinois, U.S.A.

Toward Building the Marxian Party in the U. S. A.

To All Revolutionary Marxists:

The military phase of the second world carnage has ended but out of it the masses found no solutions to their problems. Temporarily world imperialism has consolidated its forces against the forces of the proletariat.

The danger that faces the working class needs no further emphasis. The next blood-bath, which is inevitable so long as capitalism exists, will be a dozen times more bloody and a dozen times more costly. No corner of the world will be free from death and despoliation, including the United States.

Here at home the first big strike-wave since the war is being frittered away by the treachery of the reformists and labor fakers, who refuse to embarrass the bourgeois government and the bourgeois class. The enemy is just waiting patiently till the strikes die down to impose more governmental restrictions on the working class, to take still another step toward full decree government and eventually total military dictatorship.

That the masses of the world are ready, anxious and willing for action must be obvious to anyone who studied the social problem. During the war they fought thousands of guerrilla struggles for bread and land. Although that struggle was under the aegis of the agents of imperialism, it indicates nevertheless that the oppressed are ready to fight with arms in hand. In Italy, India, Greece we have already witnessed revolutionary struggles. Colonial uprisings have occurred in Argentina, Java, Malaya and many other places.

It's the same old story—without a Revolutionary Marx-

ian Party the masses will struggle and are struggling, but they can have no perspective of victory. In this critical moment therefore it is the incontestable duty of all revolutionists to unite to build this weapon of the proletariat.

In the last ten or fifteen years there has been a ceaseless decimation of the ranks of the Marxists. Dozens of centrist groups, and here and there even Marxian forces, just went out of business all over the world. It is time that this tendency were reversed.

The Revolutionary Workers League stands ready to discuss with any individual or group, whether they were once affiliated with the R.W.L. or not, whether they are at present unorganized or inside one of the opposition groups, concrete steps toward building our Marxian cadre into a Party with mass influence.

Secondary differences over policy in the past must not stand in the way of building the Marxian force. So long as there is political agreement on the fundamental line of Marxism, as embodied in the 14 Points of the International Contact Commission, no other obstacle should stand in the way of reintegration or amalgamation with the R.W.L. For our part we will make every effort to clarify our minor political and organizational differences and in a comradely manner iron them out.

The time vouchsafed us is not too great. Let us hope that enough sincere Bolsheviks act now to build a Marxian Party before it is too late, before we come face to face with new fascist terror and new imperialist war.

Fraternally,

REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS LEAGUE U.S.

CORRECTION TO ARTICLE IN OCT. 1945 F.W. ENTITLED "THE BEST AGENTS OF CAPITALISM"

The sixth sentence of the named article, which appeared on page 3, states: "Stalinism which differs from other social reformists in that its roots lie in the bureaucracy in the Soviet Union rather than in the capitalist class of each country — Stalinism is attempting to take the steam out of the hostility and anger of the masses of this vast area by such reforms"; is corrected to read as follows:

Stalinism differs from other social reformists in that its national roots lie in the warped transition economy of the Soviet Union rather than in the capitalist class of each country — the policies of the Stalinist bureaucracy, dictated by the false theory of Socialism in one country, attempt to take the steam out of the hostility and anger of the masses of this vast area by such reforms.

Pearl Harbor

For nearly four years the question of what happened at Pearl Harbor, how it was permitted to happen, and who was responsible has been battled around in the senate and house. The daily press, depending on its political alignments, have pursued either a policy of hush, hush, or the other extreme — that of sensationalism, scandalmongering and long pointing fingers of accusation. Named as the guilty have been Roosevelt, Rear Admiral Kimmel, Major General Short, General Marshall, Admiral Stark, State Secretary Hull, Major General Gerow, and many other lesser figures.

But Pearl Harbor is not a one day affair. It arose out of a policy which covered a period of many years. The bombing of Pearl Harbor was merely a culminating point. For a number of years the White House had pursued a policy of economic sanctions against Japan. For years the State and Military departments debated and took steps toward the fortification of the Pacific area — toward just such an event. Counter-espionage by the United States had broken the Japanese code BEFORE Pearl Harbor and were aware of the plans of the Japanese Military. The big slip-up occurred, according to official investigating reports, when the State department delivered a note to the Japanese embassy in Washington, — an ultimatum which had as its only conclusion the acceptance of economic domination by U.S. imperialism or military contest to see which shall have the markets of South America and Asia, — but the State department evidently neglected to immediately notify the Military command in the Pacific that it had thus laid down the challenge for war. The Japanese struck immediately. Von Clausewitz's famous analysis: "that war is politics by other means" is no idle phrase.

The bombing of Pearl Harbor was welcomed by the imperialist profiteers. They had a slogan of patriotism around which to wrap the corpses of thousands of American youth. In the name of a "yellow menace" they could slaughter and loot to the remotest treasure pockets of the earth. "Remember Pearl Harbor" became the battle cry of imperialism, and the chorus was taken up by the social-patriotic Stalinists and reformists of all colorations, who diligently aided American capitalism in the many million dollar campaign to sell the war to the American people.

Pearl Harbor served its purpose in 1941. It will be used for another purpose in 1946. Both the Republican Party and the Democratic Party (Tweedledum and Tweedledum of U.S.A. politics) are frantically trying to blame each other for being caught "unaware" December 7, 1941. In the electoral campaign, now that "war" is over and the conquests made, both parties are going to try and convince the weary people of the United States that it was all the fault of the other group, while THEY had been sanctoriously pointing out all along the errors of the policies being pursued. 'Twas ever thus in the hypocritically-conducted election campaigns of the "Land of the free." And similarly, in the trials of the "war criminals" of Europe and Asia we hear the same story — the plea to humanity that "it was not my fault — the other fellows made me do it."

Pearl Harbor — the entire imperialist world war No. 2 and all the ensuing death, misery, destruction, degradation and oppression — is the result of the needs of the capitalist class of each and every imperialist country which took part in the war. So long as there is the profit incentive there will be wars between nations — and the battle cry will always be dressed in the stirring call to "Remember the Alamo," "Remember the Lusitania," "War to end war," "Remember Pearl Harbor."

The working class will remember well — remember the phoney promises of peace, of 60 million jobs, of no profiteering, of the "Four Freedoms," of all the things which never came to pass and never will as long as the world we live in is run to serve the interests of the capitalist class.

The Coming Soviet Election

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union has ordered general elections to be held February 10, 1946. These will be the first elections in the Soviet Union since December 12, 1937, when the Supreme Soviet was elected for a period of four years. Since the German invasion in June, 1941, the Stalinists have continually postponed the elections until now.

The Soviet Union today more than ever before stands at the threshold of great social and political developments. Wracked in the past four years by Imperialist military attacks it must rebuild 90 billion dollars of damage and destruction, but at the same time must maintain its armies and vigilance to hold back the new open attacks developing on the part of the allied Imperialists.

BETWEEN PRESSURES

The Stalinist Bureaucracy finds itself in greater and greater jeopardy. On the one hand its concessions to the bourgeois elements within the Soviet Union, to the petty accumulators of capital, to the bourgeois elements in the Red Army amongst the Generals and rising Officer Caste, to the large and growing Russian Orthodox Church and religious institutions, have resulted in greater demands and pressure by this group on the Stalinist Bureaucracy. On the other hand the reactionary policies of Stalinism, its disavowal of the proletariat and the world revolution, widens the gap between it and the Russian masses. Thus the Bureaucracy finds itself between two fires. The roots from which it stems, and the enemy class which it has allowed to slowly gain power, both exert their pressures and influences.

It is interesting to note in this relationship the numerous press releases speaking about Stalin going on a vacation for reasons of "ill health" and of a struggle between Molotov and Zhukov for control. There can be no doubt that such struggles are occurring but are suppressed and kept hidden from the people.

It is in this background that the Stalinist Bureaucracy finds itself and in which the election will take place.

FURTHER DEGENERATION

Under the present electoral set-up, instituted by Stalinism in 1936, the Supreme Soviet is composed of the Council of the Union and the Council of Nationalities. The former is elected on a population basis, one deputy for each 300,000 persons. The latter is elected according to the geographical division. Twenty-five deputies from a Union Republic, eleven from an autonomous republic, five from each auto-

nomous region and one from each national area. The Russian workers will have one candidate for each office. If they object to this individual they have the "choice" of leaving a

Such is the degeneration of the Soviet Union in the hands of the Bureaucracy! Such is the road now followed: a long way from the days of October 1917 under Lenin!

Under Lenin, the strength of Soviet democracy was expressed through the individual workshops, the Soviets of the Workers, Peasants, and Soldiers. Candidates were elected on the basis of a Soviet structure and it was the Russian masses who did the voting and electing. The Bourgeois elements were excluded.

It is no accident that several priests are expected to be presented for the elections next February. It is no accident that the Soviet Union is in the precarious position it is today. The cancerous growth of Stalinism has brought the Soviet Union to the brink of counter-revolution. Stalinism must be eradicated as a force if the Russian proletariat together with the world proletariat are to build this world anew together.

Budenz Returns to Church

The bourgeois press is having a Roman holiday over the resignation of Louis Budenz, as editor of the Daily Worker and a member of the "Communist" Party. Budenz has gone back to the Catholic Church and is now busy hurling invectives at "Communism." Communism, he says, throtles the individual's freedom; it resorts to vilification, slander, etc.

Budenz's re-conversion to Catholicism is a bizarre joke. In the first place, Budenz never has been a Communist, in the Marxian sense. In 1934-35 he was associated with Abraham Muste (who also rejoined the Church) in the American Workers Party. When the AWP merged with the Communist League of America and became the official Trotskyist organization in the United States, Budenz jumped the traces and joined the Stalinists. He was always nothing but a right wing liberal.

By its monothicism and its false policies Stalinism gives rise to such lecherous individuals, including even outright fascists like Doriot in France. The working class must condemn not only Budenz the individual for this nostalgic attack against progress and socialism, but the two parent bodies that gave birth to Budenz, the Church and the Stalinists.

Occupation of Japan

(Continued from Page 1)

production has stopped or that profit-making ownership changed hands. Steel, for example, at the outbreak of the war was estimated at 7,000,000 tons annually, output is permitted to continue for peacetime production but at a level of about 1,000,000 tons annually. This cut is not due to U.S. policy but because bombings have destroyed the other steel facilities within Japan, and the plants in Manchuria and Korea are not subject to the dictates of the Area Steel Control Association nor the wishes of the former Japanese owners.

American policy of reducing Japan's industrial output differs greatly from that used in Germany. It claims that as an island Japan must be treated differently. Actually the conflicting interests of those who were for industrialization of China versus Japan have lost out for the time being. Revival of consumers production, textile, etc. is promised. It will be necessary too, for U.S. to have handy an industrial area in Asia which can be used as a bulwark against the Soviet Union, and against British competition in the East.

Class Relations

Meanwhile living costs have risen over 300%, the yen is considered a dubious form of exchange for material goods, and black markets are cleaning up. Tremendous food, fuel and housing shortages continue with no clear policy for relief.

In Japan, as elsewhere, despite the feudal carryovers, there are two main classes in society. Of the four main families in Japan the Mitsui and Mitsubishi have been the dominating force owning outright, or controlling, practically all of the industrial resources and wealth of Japan.

The working class of Japan has proved it militancy, its revolutionary understanding of the class struggle over and over again. During the period from 1941 thru 1943 there were mass strikes in the heavy industrial areas demanding food, protesting against the imperialist war. Thousands of Japanese workers were thrown in jail for their struggles against forced labor. Together with the small peasantry and sharecroppers they participated in rice riots, with demands for a better standard of living, for higher pay for sanitary housing, for all the demands that the workingclass everywhere must and does fight for.

The Emperor, the so-called "democratic" good Emperor and family is reputed to own 90% of all the land of Japan. The small peasant farmers divide up the rest on an allotment which calls for his family, plus the families of two sets of sharecroppers, to eke out a living on 2 1/2 acres of land.

The good self-proclaimed "democratic" sister-in-law of the Emperor, Countess Otani, tells the press that: maybe, eventually Japanese women should be entitled to vote, first they must be good homemakers, but above all the people must be taught not to make class distinctions! The 60,000 political prisoners just released can probably best appreciate that.

The Elections Offer Nothing

Since the occupation by American troops several changes have been effected. A new more "liberal" cabinet has been formed. Women have been given the right to vote, voting age is lowered, several individuals have been named as "war criminals," and a partial program of disarmament has been carried out. The Japanese Imperial Staff has been abolished by the Japanese

Emperor's Imperial Script, and new staff, which meets the favor of American capitalism will be nominated. New parties are busily getting organized for the scheduled battle of the ballots — with American troops handy to see that the right party get in. Meanwhile American business interests and missionaries are flocking back in droves.

The "left wing" parties have differences of degree in their program of reforms. The pacifists, Socialists and Stalinists (who say they advocate democracy in the American way) have nothing to offer but their past reputation as militants. None of them have even hinted at a program which offers bread and land, jobs and homes, much less anything so necessary as a Proletarian revolution to oust the victorious imperialists along with their own exploiting capitalist class.

Class Action — Foes Unite

While the half dozen or so political parties will organize their struggles around the forthcoming scheduled elections the actions of the Korean masses by mass action and general strike, forced the Japanese out of Korea despite the wishes of the U.S. that they remain.

In Manchuria and Northern China the masses took the situation into their own hands — there, too, the class struggle method showed results. The Japanese exploiters were run out — the Japanese rank and file soldiers surrendered by the hundreds of thousands to the "Communist" 8th route army and in some cases joined forces with them. Warehouses were thrown open to feed the hungry and supply the population with necessities. In the parts of northern China where the surrender was made officially to the American forces the Japanese troops are still armed to aid Chiang Kai-Shek and the American Marines in suppressing native revolutionary struggles.

U.S. Policy — Armed Intervention

For a clearer understanding of

U.S. policy in Asia it is necessary to take up briefly the Truman supported recommendations of the "Commission to Study the Organization of Peace" appointed by the American Association for the United Nations. Their report states that outright annexations would look bad for the U.S.A., therefore: "Territories which we acquire from Japan . . . and any bases we occupy in the territory of our allies . . . the possession of which by the United States may be essential to our own future security as well as to the effective discharge of obligations WE MAY ASSUME TOWARD THE GENERAL SYSTEM OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY . . . IF ANOTHER WORLD WAR MAY OCCUR . . . should be occupied by the U.S. under the terms of the United Nations Trusteeships" (our emphasis—ed.)

"General system of international security" can be interpreted only one way. The maintenance of the capitalist profit system and imperialism. The U.S. forces in the Pacific have as their main task, not the "re-education" of the people, but armed intervention to suppress the proletarian revolutions which are seething and boiling over in the most populous area of the world. The teeming billions of Asia are preparing to fight. — if necessary like the Annamese, with snakes and whips — but they are fighting against exploitation and oppression, against the weary cycle of privation, pestilence and imperialist war.

Before the U.S. imperialists can look with greedy eyes toward all of Asia and the vast domains of the Soviet Union they must first attempt to establish "law and order" in their jumping off place — Japan, and their bases in the Pacific Islands. But with active armed opposition from the colonial peoples continuing and growing the alluring visions of the world market for the products of industrial America grow somewhat dimmer.

Argentine Shake-Ups Reflect U. S.-British Struggle for Control

American Imperialism has lined up the major part of the Latin American market for its own ends. Argentina remains the thorn in its side. Unlike most of the other Latin American countries, Argentina's main products for foreign trade, wheat, meat products, etc. are American mainstays (products which the U.S. cannot import without harming its own voluminous resources of these same products). Britain, on the contrary, has long established trade with Argentina for these products in return for manufactured and capital goods. It is British capital that controls the railroads, utilities, etc. throughout the country. British capital has long been dominant. Its policy in Argentina is for the status quo, to maintain her present position, to hold off the onslaught of American Imperialism, which in the past few decades has been rushing up to snatch this market away. Behind the tensions in Argentina and the new government shake-ups is really the struggle between U. S. Imperialism and British Imperialism.

American Imperialism Uses Strong Arm Method

The approach of the United States to the problem has been to attempt to force a government into power that it could deal with. For a while, at the beginning of the year when the United States was able to get the Argentine government to support the Mexico City and the United Nations Conferences, it thought that it would be possible to deal with the Peron regime. However, as the months passed and the Argentine government continued its own course the United States decided to mobilize more pressure both internally and externally against Peron's government. This is reflected in the ousting of Nelson Rockefeller, and the placing of Sprille Braden (of the Braden Chilean Mine interests), as U.S. director for Latin American Affairs. Strikes and demonstrations continued throughout the country

against the Peron regime with the demand for a "democratic" government. However, it can be seen by the list of those arrested in these demonstrations, students, ex-Cabinet ministers, newspaper editors, university presidents, heads of powerful industrial and agricultural associations, etc., that the working class was in the background. It was American Imperialism playing its strong arm game.

The fact that the Peron group was able to regain its original position on the basis of "mass demonstrations" in "his" favor shows that they are able to play the same game as U.S. Imperialism.

The ability of the military government in Argentina to resist the pressures of American Imperialism is threefold. 1—It has the support of British capital. 2—The United States cannot effectively mobilize all the Latin American dictatorships against Argentine military group because they fear the same actions may be taken against themselves. 3—Argentina is the strongest Latin American power and its neighbors respect its strength.

The shakeup in the Argentine government and the return of the Peron group is an indication of the strength and backing it has and the further failure of American Imperialism, to force a government into Argentina with whom it can work, for American interests.

For the masses of Argentina a real struggle for working class democracy can only be waged by a struggle against all Imperialisms from abroad, and against all the native exploiters at home. This struggle must be coordinated with the struggles of all workers in all countries.

For unity of the Argentine workingclass, with the workers and peasants of all the South and Central American countries! Oust the Imperialists! For a United States of Soviet Socialist Republics of South America!

A Letter from One Revolutionist to Another

October 14, 1945.
Dear Comrade of the S.W.P.:

I'm writing to you because we have worked together in the Trade Union against the bosses and the Stalinist bureaucracy which defended their interests in our ranks. I'm writing because I regard you as a fellow worker and a genuine revolutionist. Many times in the past we were able to fight together in the class struggle and yet honestly discuss our political disagreements in a comradely fashion — what is your honest answer now?

YOUR PARTY — THE SWP — UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF CANNON, HAS ENDORSED THE CANDIDATE OF THE STALINIST PARTY, BEN DAVIS, for city council in New York City. The Trotskyites explain at length that they are against Stalinism and all it represents; yet are endorsing Davis "solely because he is a Negro candidate on the ticket of a working class party."

But it was Davis and his ilk who led the Negro to slaughter in the imperialist war. What does Davis offer the Negro now? The same promise of reforms which were promised during the war but never carried through, never fought for and which can never be accomplished through a program of class collaboration.

STILL, WHAT IS THE REASON FOR THE ENDORSEMENT? This action flows from the whole oppor-

tunist line of the Trotskyites — left in words, right in action. The whole concept of the method of participation in bourgeois elections is false—anti-Marxist. The only purpose of participation in elections and Parliamentary activity of the "democratic" capitalist state is to use these means as a forum to educate the workingclass. Concretely participation in elections is a means for the revolutionary Marxists to EXPOSE the hypocritical class character of capitalist "democracy" and to present the demands for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a Workers Council Government.

WHAT IS MEANT BY "WORKERS' PARTY" — to answer the plaintive question of the average worker who expresses bewilderment at so "many workers' parties." What is the yardstick? A workers' party is one that expresses the historic interests of the working-class. It is revolutionary programmatic content that determines the nature of a party. In form — the composition of the membership — you may call the C.P. a workers' party. This is a poor excuse, however, for the endorsement of the CANDIDATE OF THE ASSISTANT BUTCHERS OF WORLD REVOLUTION.

BUT, WHAT ABOUT THE UNITED FRONT? This is all A, B, C, you may say — you know all this when you broke with the Socialist Party. You may add these arc some of the arguments you used against

the social-reformists like Norman Thomas. You may ask, what has all this to do with you and the SWP? Yes, it has to do with you and the SWP.

THE ENDORSEMENT OF THE STALINIST FLUNKY DAVIS IS PART OF A LINE. What fundamentally is the difference between creating a "genuine" Labor Party led by "real" workers' leaders, like Hillman, Lewis, Murray, Green, etc. and endorsing this type of reformist — Davis? Fundamentally they play the same basic role in betraying the workers — the difference is the immediate master they serve and the various treacherous methods: isn't that what you would say? What has an opportunist election bloc got to do with unity on a class line in action against the class enemy — on the picket line, in an unemployed demonstration, to protest against sentences to class war prisoners, etc.?

IN AN ELECTION PROGRAM WE CAMPAIGN TO RALLY THE PROLETARIAT AROUND THE REVOLUTIONARY BANNER OF MARXISM. The Marxist Party presents its full program. It doesn't need to be encumbered by reformist, centrist, Stalinist, social-democratic or Laborite alliances to water down its program in order to catch votes. We reject the revisionist concept of (practical) real-politik—we are not out to "catch votes" — Communism can only be introduced

by the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism — not by vote-catching. Again and again and still again it must be reiterated: Parliamentary election activity is only an AUXILIARY phase of the revolutionary struggles.

Examine this issue more closely. You will find that endorsing a Stalinist candidate and building a reformist labor party is nothing else but working for an aspect of the American form of "People's Frontism" — the very agency which is so desperately trying to behead the revolutionary upheavals in Europe.

AS A REVOLUTIONIST YOU MUST SEPARATE YOURSELF FROM THIS ACTION OF THE CANNON BUREAUCRACY. Waging a struggle against one specific issue within the SWP is not enough. Have the courage, in the light of these events to re-examine the role of Trotskyism and study the basic program of Communism as established by Marx and Lenin. No matter how small your number, organize and conduct a struggle for a revolutionary program. The logic of a genuine struggle against Cannon's centrist camp is to break from it. All your good work in the class struggle will come to naught unless you take steps to unify the forces of Marxism within a Marxian revolutionary Party.

Comradely,
— J, of the R.W.L.

ONLY PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION CAN DEFEAT FASCISM!