

Fighting Worker

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WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

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War & Revolution In the Making

A three-cornered struggle is going on for the mastery of the world.

The imperialist bloc around the United States, the Stalinist dominated Soviet Union, and the forces for World Revolution are arrayed against each other. Momentarily the Revolutionary forces do not seem to be in the foreground, but potentially this is the most powerful movement of all three. In the critical moment when Revolution threatens the whole capitalist system the other two forces, Stalinism and American Imperialism, will unite solidly against it.

The weapons used in the present struggle are as diverse as the participants. The United States is using food and loans as its major weapons against Revolution and against Stalinist reformism.

A billion and a half dollar loan was made to France on the eve of French elections in order to turn the tide away from the "Communists."

A promised loan to Poland however, is being withheld because the United States "suspects excessive Russian influence in Polish political affairs."

A loan to Russia itself is being withheld until the Soviet Union makes a number of concessions.

Food being shipped in wherever necessary is another major weapon. In this struggle the Stalinist machine is hopelessly outclassed.

Stalinists Losing Ground

Stalinism, throughout Europe, won phenomenal victories immediately after the war. It became the single most powerful Party on the continent.

By dividing up large estates in Poland, western Germany and throughout central Europe, by exposing the rightist parties in France and Italy, it gained the ear of hundreds of millions of workers who were moving to the left.

But in the past year the trend

It CAN Happen Here

"The hell it can't happen here! Fascism is here today. Headquarters Washington D.C."

So reads a placard in a demonstration in New York against the Truman inspired anti-labor legislation pending in Congress.

Workers in the United States are drifting rapidly away from the so-called labor government in Washington. "Labor must organize a 3rd Party NOW!" So reads another placard in the New York demonstration. Under the guidance of the Stalinists and Trotskyists (and some sections of the Socialist Party) the Third Party propaganda is gaining great momentum. The working class is reacting against the rightist trends of the Truman government and is moving to the left.

The reformists and centrists, however, are attempting to channelize these movements into safe, capitalist channels — Labor Partyism.

This represents today the greatest pitfall that the American worker faces.

It is a strange sight indeed to see the Stalinists and Trotskyists united on this platform, both calling for the building of a Labor Party. It should make the honest rank and file Trotskyists stop and ponder.

has been reversed. In France Stalinism lost considerable ground to the M.R.P. (led by Bidault and DeGaulle). The MRP gained 16 seats, the Stalinists lost 3 seats and became the second, instead of the first party of France.

In Italy, Stalinism came in third, behind the Christian Democrats and the Socialist Parties. They gained

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Gov't Bills Aimed At New Strikes

On May 24, Harry S. Truman sounded the keynote for an anti-labor orgy and witch hunt which is taking place on the floor of Congress and in the boss press. All the anti-labor legislation which has been pigeonholed for months is now being dusted off and served up as "bills which act in the public interest." Like Hayes in 1877, Cleveland in 1894 and Roosevelt in 1944, Truman tries to use the armed forces and the government to smash the resistance of labor. But the overlords of industry and finance know that sheer force and violence against strikes isn't enough. They have learned the need of binding the trade unions hand and foot through the use of all sorts of legal devices which would divert labor's militancy into long drawn out court battles. At the present there are three pieces of legislation which are being considered for passage. The Case bill, although vetoed, may still be brought up as a "rider" to other legislation.

First there is the bill Truman proposed which (1) gives Truman the right to declare an emergency in any strike which he deems vitally affects national economy (in effect any strike); (2) gives the president power to draft strikers; (3) rescinds seniority and reemployment after strikes; (4) subjects labor officials to fine and imprisonment for carrying on a strike (5) provides federal courts with authority to issue injunctions. With tongue in cheek, Truman attempts to bury an ax in labor's head while piously saying "labor's right to bargain collectively will not be impaired."

Case and Lucas

On the floor of Congress that sterling champion of labor Scot Lucas introduced a vicious bill which provides for additional measures to hamstring labor's fight for bread. Lucas' bill provides for (1) Govern-

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AFTER THE 18 1/2c — THEN WHAT?

The American working class is beginning to see through one of the greatest swindles of our times — the so-called 18 1/2c raise!

Workers in the Chrysler plants last month decided to ask for a new wage increase, over and above the 18 1/2c which was negotiated only a few months ago.

Wildcat strikes are in the offing everywhere, and such authoritative capitalist sources as Kiplinger's Newsletter freely predict that a new strike wave is inevitable within the next few months.

The conspiracy of the capitalist state, the employers and the Murray-Lewis-Stalinist labor fakers stand today exposed for what it is, a drive to cut the living standards of the masses.

The 18 1/2c raise was a phoney on the face of it. In the first place it excluded over four-fifths of the working class — those who were unorganized. In the second place it didn't even make up for the rise in the cost of living DURING the war. Government figures show that prices went up 34%, wages only 15% during the war; the working class had actually been working under a 19% WAGE CUT FOR OVER TWO YEARS! The 18 1/2c raise is technically supposed to bring prices and wages in line. Actually, however, most workers have had their time cut, from 48 hours to 40 hours and thus — even with the raise — their take home pay is considerably below what it was.

LESS TAKE-HOME PAY

Coal workers will earn \$4.50 per week less AFTER the new increase. Steel workers earn \$7.00 per week less AFTER the new increase. Seamen will earn between \$10 and \$50 a month less AFTER the new increases in basic pay and in overtime.

Oil workers are earning \$9.00 per week less AFTER their recent increase.

Electric workers, auto workers and others are all suffering under the same handicap — a cut in take home pay!

But the cut in REAL wages is considerably larger.

According to a government source, prices are going up more than 1% per month. Experts claim that prices will go up at least 15% this year. From June 3rd to June 12th, OPA permitted price increases on 53 items, most of them items that go to make up the workers' budget. Butter went up 11c per pound, cheese 6c, coal 40c to \$1.00.

Let no one think that the present developments are part of capitalist anarchy and planlessness. THE CUT IN WAGES IS A CONSISTENT AND WELL THOUGHT OUT PLAN BY THE TRUMAN ADMINISTRATION. Mr. Truman has deliberately permitted wages to go up slightly first and then boosted prices to more than keep up with it.

FIGHT OVER OPA

The argument between Truman and those who want to smash OPA completely is one merely of just how far this process shall go. Truman does not want to cut real wages to the point where class struggle runs out of hand completely. He is anxious to confine the struggle to certain limits. Other sections of the capitalist class are not so cautious. They feel they have the working class on the run and they wish to finish the job of lowering the standards of living.

The next strike wave will not be as tame as the last one. Many old timers who remember the brutal strike-breaking of the government after the first world war, and who remember the Palmer raids are wondering why such open brutality has not been visited on the working class today.

But it really isn't difficult to get the answer to that question. Workers, after the first war, were under the leadership of fiery militants, the I.W.W. or other revolutions. And they were demanding a raise in real wages.

The working class today is under the exclusive leadership of labor fakers, who were opposed to the strikes in the first place, and who sold the strikes out after they began.

Just note what the strikes "gained." Oil workers were offered 15% before they struck. The strike netted them only 3% more. Steel workers were offered 15c prior to the strike; they received \$1.25 a week more as a result of the strike. Coal workers were offered 18 1/2c before the strike, and that's all they got when the strike was over. The same can be said about other industries.

STRIKES AND PRICES

Obviously the capitalists were not anxious to break the strikes under these circumstances. The strike offered them an excellent camouflage for price increases which were many times as much as the wage increases — usually about 3 times to 5 times as much. (Steel price boosts brought them 450 millions; wage boosts amounted to only 90 millions.) The perspectives of the strike leaders were very much in line with that of the bourgeoisie. Murray, Green, Lewis Foster considered that the strikes were a necessary safety valve for the smoldering resentments of the masses. They opened those valves only long enough to gain petty concessions over what had already been offered and to dampen morale for other concessions.

The fact is that the labor fakerdom knew in advance that price rises would absorb wage increases many times over before the end of the year. They deliberately sold out.

No wonder then that the capitalist state was relatively mild with the Unions. They were assured in advance that the Unions would be torpedoed by the labor fakers within their ranks. Mr. Truman had a fifth column within the Unions as good as any fifth column that has ever existed.

Whenever the workers threatened to burst the bounds, Mr. Truman and the capitalist state, showed their real hand — they threatened to use strikebreakers in the railroad strike and in the threatened maritime strike on a scale never before used in the United States.

It is quite obvious that the next strike wave will not have the blessings of the Murray-Lewis-Stalinist brand of fakers. Those strikes will either be wildcat strikes or will be supported only in a lukewarm manner. It is obvious, too, that the government will utilize real terror — terror that will probably make the strike-breaking after the first war pale into insignificance — to smash these strikes.

FIGHT LABOR SKATES

The working class can prepare now to ward off this threat. In the first instance that means the establishment of rank and file progressive groups in each plant — AFL, CIO, independent, or even unorganized — to take over the helm of leadership and policy-making from the labor fakers.

It means a perspective and a plan for:

1— Spreading every strike that occurs to other sections of the in-

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Inflation is Tearing Holes In Our Pockets

The Chicago Daily News of June 4, in an article featured on the front page, has caused many a head to be scratched in perplexity. Quoting the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics this hunk of capitalist journalism informs us that the cost of living has soared only 26% in the last five years, or since before the war.

Many a worker who has stepped into a grocery store with a \$5 bill and has ended up at home with no change will now wonder if he had lost it on the way, for food was supposed to have gone up only 41%. It does not take any statistics or a research board to refute this nonsense. Any woman who does the family shopping has only to count the money she starts with and count the food she ends up with to know that the News is peddling the most shallow lies.

It appears that the News was somewhat conscious of the stupidity of the figures it printed. In mentioning that round steak "has gone up only 3c a pound and pork chops have risen 4 1/2c a pound" this rag is compelled to admit that meat is

unobtainable at legitimate prices and that workers are obliged to buy on the black market. About the prices there little need be said.

Even the meat sold at ceiling prices is robbery. The butcher grinds his meat at night throwing in every scrap tendon and piece of fat found in his shop. Chops and steaks are handed across the counter surrounded by fat.

As for the prices of fruits and vegetables we need to consult the planetarium.

In addition to its reservation about the black market the News states that these figures "do not take into account possible changes in quality."

Also — which is most important for the working class — "low priced items have disappeared." In other words the News itself proves that its headline of 26% is a fake.

All in all when we take into consideration the rise in prices under the OPA, the decline in quality, the need to buy on the black market and the disappearance of low priced goods from the market, the working

class has been shoved against the wall and banged over the head by the greedy capitalists who are so stuffed with profits that they cannot see their own shoes.

The lying Daily News and fraudulent government bureaus have come out with this 26% joke to hide the wholesale robbery of the workers so that they would be content with the 18 1/2c raise — when they get even that — which has been cast to them as scraps from the over-filled capitalist table.

Price increases are assured the boss class through its government bureaus. The OPA regulates price increases — it will not stop them. The workers' only weapon to fight these price increases is — strike for real wage raises.

"But higher wages will mean higher prices," chirps the capitalist press. Yes, there is only one long term answer to this problem. Instead of piling profits onto the capitalist table and taking scrapings in return, workers will have to take over the whole country and the ruling class will have to go to work — or starve.

Seamen Take Pay Cut In Latest "Victory"

The Stalinist leadership of the so-called Committee for Maritime Unity huffed and puffed last month in their negotiations with the ship companies . . . and they brought forth a mouse.

When all was said and done 70,000 seamen were saddled with a contract that cuts their pay by approximately \$10 to \$50 per month. A basic wage increase of \$17.50 per month is granted to seamen, in addition to a cut in hours from 56 to 48 hours per week. This will add a minimum of \$16 a month to the wage rates of the seamen — at \$1.00 per hour overtime rate. It may add a maximum of about \$35 per month. But, according to the liberal New Republic seamen "now earn \$60 a month less than they did in wartime."

At least one of the Unions in the CMU received no wage increases at all. Harry Bridges' Longshoremen received only the same 22c an hour that they had been offered months ago by a government fact-finding board.

Most Profitable Industry

What is most disheartening about the maritime settlement is that it

was undoubtedly the richest industry in the country, from the point of view of war profits. Like no other industry it was capable of granting some real increases, instead of cutting the take-home pay of the maritime workers as it did.

The net worth of the maritime companies jumped 125% from 1938 to 1942 alone. In the following 3 years profits were even higher. American Export jumped from 4 million dollars net worth to 31 million. Lykes Brothers from 5 million to 39 million. Waterman from 2 million to 15 million. Profits of American Export Lines in 1941 were more than nine times as much as its capital stock. Net profits in 1941 for all shipping were more than 20 times as high as in 1938.

What is even more significant is that most of the "companies were exempted from payment of federal taxes of any kind on the major part of their incomes." They were able to hide their profits in a tax-free reserve for "construction and special reserve." A 500 million dollar fund of this kind has been set up by the shipping companies.

The situation is even more scan-

dalous when one remembers that of the 3,100 ships being operated by the shipping companies and on which they make a profit, over 2,400 are owned by the federal government.

The average rate of profit of the shipping companies was eight times as large as for the rest of American industry during the war. Shipping earned profits of 80% per year.

Maritime Leaders Sell Out Seamen

The settlement of Joseph Curran and Harry Bridges for a cut in take-home pay is thus nothing but a sheer sell-out. It is no different from the big "victories" of Phil Murray, John Lewis and the other labor fakers, who undermined the strike wave and settled for big cuts in take-home pay.

In the face of the big stick of the United States government, the Stalinist gentlemen caved in entirely. Harry Truman promised to go in for strike-breaking on a generous scale. If the issues were not settled the government threatened to use the navy and coast guard "to meet the imminent critical situation confronting the country, caused by the pending merchant-marine strike."

It is significant that strike-breaker Harry didn't threaten to take over the shipping companies — which are only operating because of a steal from the government. Oh no! Harry lashed at the workers, and because of the cowardice of the CMU leadership, Mr. Truman was able to impose another cut in take-home pay and in real wages.

Phil Murray, arch labor skate, participated in the final negotiations. His CIO News therefore hailed the settlement as "Biggest Maritime Victory." We shudder to think what Mr. Murray would consider a setback if this was the "biggest" victory the maritime workers have received.

The Committee for Maritime Unity is an almost exclusive Stalinist affair. It is a caucus of top pro-Stalinist officials in six CIO Unions with the cooperation of the leadership in one independent Union. It excludes from its ranks the decisive CIO shipbuilding workers, who repair old ships and build new ones (about 100,000 members), and the powerful AFL Sailors Union of the Pacific and the Seafarer's International. Furthermore it is run merely by the top officials, rather than rank and file participation all the way down the line.

Rank and File Action

The Maritime workers, like the coal, auto, steel, electric, oil and other workers, will soon discover the limitations of the present "victory." In the face of the zooming price curve, the maritime workers will find it impossible to make ends meet in the near future. Another test is soon coming when the Longshoremen's contract expires at the beginning of October. At that time, it is hoped, that the rank and file will take the conduct of affairs out of the hands of the Stalinist reformists, and pursue a vigorous class struggle policy of merciless opposition to the capitalist state.

Harry Bridges, promised during the war to give up the right to strike for at least 20 years. In the present maritime crisis he showed that he evidently meant it. Despite all the clamor for strike he offered to give it up if the government would take over negotiations. This is just like saying that we will strike if J. P. Morgan & Co. is in charge of negotiations, but we will call it off if the benevolent John D. Rockefeller takes over!

The longshoremen and the seamen, with long traditions of militancy, will not be put off very long. Under rank and file committees they can again resume the advance begun in their glorious strikes of the thirties.

WAR AND REVOLUTION

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only four million votes out of 20 million. In Austria, Stalinism gained only 5% of the popular vote, in Hungary — which is under Red Army control — they received only 17% of the votes.

In the first round of struggles between Stalinism and American Imperialism, the latter has undoubtedly come off victorious.

Why?

Obviously the perspectives being placed before the hungry masses of Europe by Stalinism are incapable of winning them. The French Stalinists are voting for "a clause in the constitution (of France) upholding the sanctity of private property." They are playing not only a capitalist game of parliamentary politics, but an imperialist game to boot by defending the French Empire.

The French Stalinists are shouting for the Ruhr to be part of France; the German Stalinists demanding it

as part of Germany. A similar conflict rages in Italy and Yugoslavia over Trieste. Stalinism is everywhere playing a nationalistic and a reformist role. It confines its agitation to such things as stamping out the black market, giving small parcels of land to the peasants, and minor reforms for the working class.

Popular Frontism Again

But the workers of Europe know that such palliatives will not work. They could and would respond overwhelmingly to a call for Revolution. They responded originally to Stalinism because they thought that under the banners of the hammer and sickle they would march forward to the overthrow of the hated system of wage slavery. But the masses of Europe are today being disillusioned. They are offered no clearer perspectives by Stalinism than by capitalist parties.

History has shown on all too many occasions the results of such reformist tactics. Germany in 1930-32 was a prize example. The masses refused to respond to the nationalistic program of Stalinism ("against the Versailles Treaty"). They turned toward Fascism. The same was true of the era of Popular Frontism. The masses turned from the Blum government in France, and the Azana government in Spain, in great numbers when they realized the limitations of the reformist program of the Peoples Frontists.

History has seldom offered a greater opportunity to Revolutionary Marxists than what exists today. The American imperialists are using food and money as a political byplay to impose military dictatorship in Europe and Asia. Exposure of these tactics would be relatively simple. The program of Stalinism (and of social-democracy) is merely a tail to the capitalist kite. A forthright call to struggle for Communism by a new Revolutionary Marxian Party would sweep Europe today like a tidal wave. The masses are ready and eager for a social change. They are waiting for a political force to express their desires and to guide them to victory.

The fate of humanity for years to come depends today on the budding of such a Party in Europe, Asia and America. The alternative is a new world war and a relapse to more brutal forms of fascism.

Money Talks

Being rich is certainly no handicap in a capitalist court!

The sons of the poor go to jail for 20 and 30 years for paltry crimes, such as stealing a few dollars. One worker during the war, was sentenced to a year in jail for failing to do good work in his factory.

But such laws obviously have nothing to do with the rich.

On March 20th James F. Lincoln Jr., son of a millionaire arc welding factory owner, went on a moronic tear. He attacked a 9 year old girl, tried to rape her, hit her with a hammer, fractured her skull, and then "shot her four times with a rifle when she resisted his advances."

For this crime Lincoln was sentenced to 1 to 14 years. With his daddy's influence he will undoubtedly be released as soon after a year as possible.

The State's Attorney, James Burke almost fell over himself trying to be sweet to Lincoln and his attorney. The defendant's lawyer apologized for causing the state so much trouble and expense. The State's Attorney said that the "apology was unnecessary."

The little girl's parents also stated they thought that "justice" had been done. Dangling before them was the prospect of a \$7,000 settlement.

It would be nice to have \$7,000 around to settle every little difficulty confronted by the children of the poor, wouldn't it?

READ —

LABOR VIEWS

Weekly organ of the Chicago Units of the Revolutionary Workers League.

333 W. North Ave.

Military Dictatorship In Greece

American and British Imperialism may pose as great defenders of democracy throughout the world but the irony of their lying Imperialist propaganda is best evidenced in Greece. As a high test of their democratic actions elections were held in Greece recently which were observed by American and British teams, who stood at all the polls to insure that everything was fair. The election was boycotted by 50% of the working class and peasantry as being unfair since it was an attempt on the part of the Royalists, with British backing, to restore military dictatorship to Greece, and since the election lists of those qualified to vote were completely corrupted and distorted. Nevertheless American and British Imperialism decreed that the elections were democratically held. As if Harry O'Grady, who supervised the American teams and who is a president of the American Steamship Lines knows anything about democracy!

What are the results of these elections? A Royalist Government is now in power. Summary courts have been set up with the power to pass death sentences for using arms against authorities or interfering with police. Death sentences will be immediately carried out, no appeals to any higher courts. Any workers who goes on strike in any of the public utilities will receive a minimum of five years in prison. The police are authorized to enter premises, homes, or business establishments at any hour without a search warrant. Any person can be held in jail indefinitely without bond and without trial. After the court passes sentence, no pardons, reprieves or probations will be permitted.

Military dictatorship has been re-introduced to Greece. Under the watchful eyes of the British army of occupation which backs the move and with the benevolent approval of American Imperialism.

COME — HEAR

Revolutionary Workers League. Speakers every Friday night at 8:00

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WORKERS OF THE WORLD

On June 8 a demonstration was held in Alexandria, Egypt to protest the delay in evacuating British troops from the country. This demonstration was held on the day of London's "Victory Day Celebration" to dramatize the effect of the protest. The peaceful demonstration ended in nine persons being wounded by hand grenades as Egyptian soldiers and police attempted to disperse the demonstrators.

The "democratic" army of the U.S. has literally moved in on the Germans. So much so that the advisory parliament of Greater Hesse had to come out and protest the requisitioning of German homes by the U.S. Army. It said hungry Germans were being chased out of their homes with no place to go and that further requisitioning "must have disastrous effects on the growth of democracy" in Germany.

While the London Stock Exchange is boiling with activity in African gold shares, the native gold miners are paid \$.50 a day for their work. Because of "labor difficulties" it is rumored that they might win a minimum wage of \$1 per day!

In Hungary inflation has reached such a stage that the Hungarian pengo has a quotation of one thousand billion to the dollar. Therefore a streetcar ticket costs 1,600,000,000 pengoes and newspapers sell for two billion pengoes.

The daily newspapers and radio tell us that where the U.S. Army goes they bring the people security that they never knew before. Yet in Tokyo the Welfare Ministry revealed that 8,000,000 persons were destitute throughout Japan and 2,000,000 of them were unable to support themselves to any degree.

Socialist leader Leon Blum of France has stated that if France is to make the fullest use of the American loan the government must find means to prevent the widespread strikes. With this statement he again comes out in full support of capitalism and the crushing of any action of the workers.

Cuba too has felt the tremendous rise in the cost of living. Hams that cost only 20 cents a pound before the war, now sell for \$1 a pound . . . chickens have gone from 20 cents to 70 cents per pound . . . milk which was 10 cents a quart now is 25 cents . . . building costs have soared to such a point that a three-room bungalow on a narrow lot costs \$19,500.

From Manila comes the report that hundreds of armed men took over the town of Pantabang which is 90 miles north of Manila and set up their own government. The town was seized on June 1 and on June 8 President Manuel Roxas described the situation as "most difficult." Evidently not all the Filipinos react equally to the "democracy" that American Imperialist puppet Roxas speaks about.

The French Communist Party had as one of its key planks in the French elections the protection of Private Property. "Private property, the fruit of work and saving, and the right to pass it on to heirs must be defended against all attempts at expropriation by men of the trusts." To what low levels the CP will stoop to defend capitalism and betray the working class is no longer an academic question.

It seems that the Japanese government is having its troubles in restraining the Japanese workers from taking over industrial plants and operating them by themselves during wage disputes. Premier Yoshida announced that if workers persisted in taking over and operating plants the government would step up and hand over operations to a "neutral" party. The Labor bureaucrats agreed to inform member unions to avoid strikes at an hour when "production is badly needed in Japan." It seems that the Japanese workers have the same problem as the workers in America. Every time they take a militant step to get better living conditions they always find their own leadership together with the government siding with the Capitalist class.

Talks With Stamm Fail

The first attempt by the Revolutionary Workers League to integrate a group of comrades into the organization since the end of the war, met with failure last month. The comrades involved were a small group of revolutionists, around one of the former leaders of the R.W.L., Tom Stamm, who had for the most part remained inactive during the war. Stamm liquidated his own organization, the Revolt group in 1940.

A number of months ago the League published an "Open Letter" to all Revolutionists who agreed with the 14 point Program of the International Contact Commission. Three individual comrades and a semi-political group in Detroit responded to our letter. They informed us as a group that except for "minor differences on the Russian question" they agreed with the programmatic position of the R.W.L.

A conference was arranged in Chicago with Stamm and three others present, at which time the question of orientation, the press and the Soviet Union was discussed. At the conclusion of the conference Stamm stated that a "political basis for unification" existed. The R.W.L. withheld an answer until the plenary session of its central committee.

At that time we informed Stamm that since there is political agreement the next order of business should consist of integration into the R.W.L. and ironing out of whatever organizational matters exist within the League.

This proposal has now been rejected. The Stamm forces demanded two organizational guarantees:

- 1— That a specified press fund be established prior to their entry into the League, with the perspective of a weekly press immediately.
- 2— That the "Russian question" shall not be a basis for unity nor a reason for future splits.

The R.W.L. has independently been preparing for the eventual issuance of a weekly press and laid some plans for it at the plenum. The establishment of a monetary fund can obviously not be a bar to unification of Marxists. Furthermore there can be no specific categorical answer to the second question. The attitude of individuals and grouplets to the Russian question must be gauged in each instance to see how vital the differences are if any and how they affect the line of action of the organization at that particular point in history.

Stamm "discovered," too, after the plenum that a difference in "orientation" exists.

These three factors, we have been informed, hinders any possibly entry of the comrades into the R.W.L. at this time.

The success or failure of the present conferences is far

"Labor" Party in England

Prime Minister Attlee in a speech at the Labor party's annual convention on June 11 upheld "democratic Socialism" against Communism. We would like to know just what "democratic Socialism" means. From the action of the Labor Party we see that it means the upholding of "the King's Empire" all over the globe. In England itself it means no improvement in working conditions or wages unless the workers "take to the picket line" and fight off the government's attempts to break the strikes by arbitration or actual use of the armed forces.

Attlee went on to say, "I reaffirm my faith in democratic Socialism. It is social democracy which can set us free from the tyranny of economic power and preserve us too from the dangers of absolute power of the state." This is an amazing statement. Of course the workers of England are free of economic power and the power of the state — no left-sounding party of the capitalist class can ever give this to the workers. But where has Mr. Attlee shown that the workers are free or that there is any perspective of the workers being freed from the tyranny of the economic power of the capitalist class?

The exact opposite is what faces the workers of England — and until the illusion of a "labor party" is mashed, the workers will be tied to the capitalist state and all its powers. With the smashing of this illusion will come the realization that the only way the workers can be freed of the tyranny of economic power and the power of the state is when that economic power is wrested from the ruling class and seized by the working class. The state of the ruling class will have to be smashed and a workers state established. Only then will the workers know freedom from this "tyranny and dangers" of which Mr. Attlee speaks.

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outweighed by the political factor that the League is sincerely attempting to unify the ranks of the Marxists, just as it has for years. Our position, as stated in the "Open Letter" is that when political agreement on the fundamentals of Marxism can be obtained, then all tactical considerations must be relegated to the background. Stamm, who in 1940 attempted to unify all kinds of diverse tendencies such as DeLeonists, Field, and a number of other groups before going out of business, has evidently swung to the other end of the pendulum. After six years of complete inactivity in the revolutionary movement he now is opposed to unification into the Marxian organization on such "important" tactical grounds as how much money can be raised for a press fund!

Such hair splitting is an unwarranted luxury in the revolutionary movement today when events are marching toward another world cataclysm with seven league boots. If followed to its logical conclusion it must bring forth either a position of "spontaneity" of the masses, or of mere left wing trade unionism without political action.

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the following pamphlets:

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Programmatic Highlights

1. WORKERS REVOLUTION IN U.S. AND ALL OTHER CAPITALIST STATES to destroy private ownership of the means of production.

2. FOR A WORKERS COUNCIL GOVERNMENT IN U.S. and FOR A WORLD WORKERS COUNCIL GOVERNMENT, based on armed workers power.

3. DEFEND THE SOVIET UNION by re-establishing a Marxian Party, Soviets, Trade Unions and Armed Workers Militias to accomplish the Political Revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy and extend the October Revolution throughout the world.

4. FOR A REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS PARTY IN U.S. For a World Revolutionary Workers Party, including the Soviet Union. For a New Fourth (Communist) International.

5. RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION FOR ALL COLONIES AND SMALL NATIONS. For full and complete independence for the Philippines, Porto Rico, Hawaii and all islands and areas dominated by American imperialism.

6. MINORITIES — Full political and economic equality — right to vote, voice and organization, and equal pay for equal work — for Negroes, Mexicans, Chinese, Japanese, Jews and other minorities. Against Jim-Crowism, anti-semitism, exclusion laws directed against oriental peoples.

7. LABOR PARTY — Against a Labor Party or P.A.C. or other varieties of Popular Frontism, which can be only a political machine for the labor misleaders, Murray, Hillman, Lewis, Green, Reuther, to mobilize American workers to support the capitalist government, as in England.

8. FASCISM — Oppose all efforts of capitalist political groups to impose on the workers open, military dictatorship of finance capital by use of demoralized small capitalists, the unemployed, and misled veterans.

9. SOLDIERS—End conscription now. Recall all U.S. occupation and other armed forces from abroad. Liquidate the armed forces of American imperialism. Fraternize with workers in the U.S. and abroad.

10. FOR THE RIGHT TO STRIKE, including slowdown, sitdown, full stoppage and workers seizure of all production units. Against government strikebreaking, against the no-strike or Company Security policy. Spread the strikes. Organize Workers Councils. For Workers Flying or Defense Squads to defend against police, company and government terror. Arm the workers!

11. DEMOCRACY IN THE UNIONS. Unions to be under rank and file control.

12. 30 HOUR WEEK — 5 HOUR DAY with a sliding scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living.

13. UNEMPLOYED — Trade Union wages for the unemployed. Organize the unemployed in Trade Unions.

U.S. ATOM PROPOSAL A STEP TO WAR

Under capitalism even pacifist words are instruments of war.

This point is underscored in the present proposals by Wall Street's white-haired boy, Bernard Baruch, on how to control the Atom Bomb.

Speaking before the United Nations, Baruch proposed that an Atomic Development Authority be organized to police "dangerous" atomic research and activity. Ordinary atomic research for "non-dangerous" purposes would not be policed. If such an Authority is established the United States will tell the whole world just how atom bombs are made and will destroy its whole supply of them. There is only one catch to the whole business — before the United States agrees to this the Soviet Union must relinquish its veto power in the United Nations Security Council. Since this Council is dominated essentially by the tycoons of Wall Street, that would in effect mean that Russia must first agree to completely become a satellite of American Imperialism before the atomic bomb secrets could be "shared."

The Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union is in a mess today only because it became a member of this League of Bandits in the first place. No self-respecting representative of progress can possibly become part of the U.N. machine of imperialism. Having been forced into this position, Stalinism must now appear to the whole world as a disruptive force, as an aggressor.

The Baruch proposal is put forth today merely for that purpose — to put the Soviet Union on the spot.

Actually there can be NO CONTROL OF THE ATOMIC UNDER CAPITALISM. It is absolutely ridiculous to think that an Atomic Development Authority can police just "dangerous" atomic research, while the "non-dangerous" research is left alone. Capitalism is such an integrated system that production of a single atom bomb involves the workings of the whole society. In order to make atom bombs a country must have a highly developed machine tool industry; it must have a well-integrated railroad and transportation system; it must have a highly skilled labor force. Even if the United States should stop making atom bombs today it could easily outstrip the whole world in their production anytime war preparations came out into the open, because the United States has the INDUSTRIAL machine to do so. Under the guise of "non-dangerous" atomic research the U.S. could and would prepare for a quick turnover to "dangerous" atomic production. And so would every other country.

To police the world against atomic terror, the world needs a central government of workers and oppressed who have no interests in war and in exploitation — a world government based on workers councils, a dictatorship of the proletariat. Both the proposals of Bernard Baruch and the proposal of Gromyko — Soviet representative — add up to the same thing: they merely fence for position in preparing for the next war. The United States tries to put the onus for the future wars on Russia, and the Stalinist machine tries to defend itself by a silly and innocuous proposal that under capitalism the powers just give up atomic bombs, period.

Neither proposal touches at the heart of the question: Under capitalism atomic terror is merely an instrument of imperialist expansion. You can not eliminate the instrument until you eliminate the system which gives rise to it.

WHO WON THE WAR?

Who really runs this country and who gained by five years of Imperialist war?

The answer to this question is found in the report of a group of government economists who worked for the Smaller War Plants Corporation. Five great banking groups really run the show together with the aid of their stooge government in Washington. They are the Morgan, Rockefeller, Mellon, Du Pont, and the Cleveland group interests. The factories owned by these capitalist groups plus the options they hold on government owned war plants is about equal to half of all manufacturing corporations in 1939. With the huge reserves that they have piled up from their war profits these corporations "could purchase approximately 71,700 smaller manufacturing corporations, which represent 94% of the total number in the United States."

Furthermore, nearly all of the wartime machine inventions, and scientific research, accomplished with government funds, through additional taxes on the working class, were carried on in these big corporation laboratories. They now have the patents and can use these to make more millions of dollars of profit.

But what about the working class, what did they gain by the war? One of the capitalist stooges, Senator Capper of Kansas answered that question when he said that the commitments of American Imperialism throughout the world together with the internal workings of American economy can only mean a "lowered standard of living" which may be permanent.

A small group of capitalist interests run this country, profit and expand through Imperialist wars, and send off the working class to fight for them. The answer to this problem is obvious — the majority, we workers ourselves, must take over industry, run it through our own democratically elected factory committees and councils, kick out the capitalist government and all its instruments of force, and establish a Workers Council government and true democracy of the majority

Gov't Bills Aimed at New Strikes

(Continued from Page 1)
 ment seizure of struck plants (2) penalties for strikers who refuse to return to work (3) criminal penalties against strike leaders. It is significant to note that Scott Lucas is the man whom the "Communist" Party supported in his election campaign. Not to be outdone, Congressman Case introduced a bill which calls for (1) enforced "cooling off" periods before striking; (2) mediation board with injunction powers restraining strikes for 30 days after giving notice of intent to strike; (3) injunctions against violence (really against picketing); (4) will prevent supervisory workers from exercising collective bargaining rights.

Then there is the Byrd-Robertson bill which (1) prohibits unions from demanding royalty payments (health funds); (2) fines and imprisonment for violation of its provisions.

The present strike wave is a response to (1) spiraling cost of living and relatively low wage standards; (2) insecurity on the job; (3) labor is beginning to assert itself after having the war-time "no strike" pledge shoved down its throat. The trade union movement would have taken the offensive in a fight for wages and conditions long before this were it not held back by its Reuther, Lewis, Whitneys and Johnsons

Yes Men for Capital

The recent strikes are filled with many lessons for the working class which has correctly attacked Truman's vicious anti-labor stand. The Republican and Democratic Parties have proved once again if such proof were necessary, that they are both loyal parties of the mine owners, railroad tycoons, and financiers. The recent debates in congress between the so-called pro-labor and anti-labor congress was a tempest in a teapot. Actually the pro-labor congressmen are not opposed to anti-strike legislation in principle. They

are merely for cloaking the legislation in phrases hypocritically critical of the employers.

The Congressional Record for May 14 and 15 reveals that Senator Morse, a so-called pro-labor senator, said, "If after the truce passes and we are again faced with a shut-down of the coal industry — it is the obligation of a free government in the emergency to exercise all the forces of the government to keep its economy operating. If that means seizure of the mines, seize the mines." The difference between the so-called pro-laborites and anti-laborites in Congress is as between tweedle-dee and tweedledum.

The second important lesson for labor is that the government isn't a sacred cow against which one can't strike. It isn't an impartial umpire in the fight between labor and employer. The government stands exposed as a super-strike-breaking Pinkerton agency. The government acts as an agent to use all the force at its disposal to protect the economic and political interests of the boss. Its legalistic devices are a convenient cloak for masking its iron fist.

Hard Won Rights

The recent rail and coal strikes also proved that the strike weapon isn't a right which has been handed labor on a silver platter. In fact, it never was a right which was unchallenged by the employing class. History is filled with the use of anti-labor legislation, injunctions, massacres, scab-herding, company unions and the use of goons by the bosses to break strikes. Without the use of the strike weapon the improvements in conditions won in the last 40 years would be impossible. Without that weapon the working class would be completely at the mercy of the employers since labor would have no way of enforcing its demands. Just as rebellion

was the right of the Negro slave, so is the strike the right of the industrial wage slave. The hysteria of the kept press, columnists, commentators and congressional weasels reveals the tremendous effectiveness of the strike weapon in forcing an employer to grant better conditions. In fact, it is so effective that the employers and their government are moving closer and closer to an open employing class dictatorship similar to the German and Italian proto types.

One of the most important aspects of the recent strikes was touched upon in a recent Truman speech. Truman said no clique would be permitted to run the country. Of all the gall! Not a wheel would turn without the brain and brawn of the millions of American working class. The working class has so far only demanded an improvement in their living conditions. Yet this is looked upon as a challenge to the powers of the employing class. It is obvious that Truman's attacks on the clique rule were not aimed at the handful of capitalists which dominate the economy of the United States. This clique didn't hesitate for a moment to retire the mills, mines, banks and other sections of economy from production when they couldn't make a profit during the 1929 crash and depression.

Yet Truman and the boss class has done us a service. In their fear and hysteria they have shown their contempt for the laborer and his demands and have inadvertently posed a question. That question is will we continue to leave the boss class unchallenged in their right to throw people out of work when they can't make profits, plunge a whole world into war to preserve their profit system or will we attempt to organize a real industrial democracy by establishing a workers' council government.

EXPLOITER and EXPLOITED

While American housewives frantically search the stores in vain for cooking oils, Nick Ursino, a west-side importer of Chicago, said that several hundred barrels of olive oil were received in New York from Greece, but the shipment was re-consigned to Chile where the shipment could be sold at a greater profit. (Profits must be maintained regardless of human needs.)

★ ★ ★

The Veterans Administration in Washington reported that at least 60% of the married ex-soldiers were still looking vainly for homes or apartments. Those who had been lucky enough to find living quarters have been forced to pay more than they could afford. 42% of the soldiers need housing at \$30 per month or less. This type of building would not be "profitable" therefore the most that Washington could do was say that a national survey of housing will be taken during the next few months! Ex-soldiers ought to be happy to know that though they have no place to live, they will soon be able to read the statistics on the housing shortage.

★ ★ ★

This is how Jim-Crowism is "eliminated" in Texas. Herman M. Sweatt, a Negro of Houston, Texas, was refused admission to study law at the University of Texas because of his color. Judge Roy Archer passed a judgment compelling the university to admit Sweatt, and then suspended the action for six months to allow the state of Texas to establish a Negro law school.

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"Deposit five cents, please."

In order to pay the annual salary and other remunerations of Walter S. Gifford, president of the American Telephone and Telegraph Co., over 4 million nickels have to be dropped into phone slots. Gifford receives \$209,550 a year and can retire on a pension of \$85,593.84 a year, or over \$7,000 a month.

Remember this the next time the operator says, "Deposit five cents, please."

★ ★ ★

Some statistics from the Mobile Labor Journal:

ALABAMA:

The average income is \$470. . . . 69% of the people live on farms and receive an annual income of \$335. . . .

The average public school expenditure is \$41.97 per pupil. . . . 66% of the homes have no run-

ning water. 57% have no inside toilet and 75% have no bathtubs or showers.

Head-Fixing Industry Sacrifices Johnson

Dr. Johnson, superintendent of Chicago schools, has resigned, and there is great rejoicing by the kept press and civic groups. "Hurray, Chicago's school system is at last being cleaned up!" they are saying.

But when we cut through this cloud of joyful propaganda we see that nothing could be farther from the truth. Johnson who was sacrificed to assuage the public anger is not top officer in the school system at all. He is appointed by the Board of Education, whose president, McCahey, is the head man.

Of course, they tell us a "new school board is to be formed. How? The mayor, Mayor Kelly, is to create a new commission whose job will be to supply him with names of people eligible for board appointment. Members of the present board will be eligible for these nominations. And Mayor Kelly will then appoint the new board just as he appointed the old.

Such clumsy quackery! What worker in Chicago doesn't know that the school system will remain part of whatever political machine is in power? What, then, is the real change in the school system called for by the Chicago Sun and other organs of the rich?

They simply call for a more efficient head-fixing school system. Where "spying, intimidation of teachers, nepotism, political interference with teaching ethics, and questionable textbook practices . . ." is rampant in the schools, efficiency is bound to drop. The number of children in school has been rapidly declining but the total cost of operation has increased with an emphasis on "administration" — not teaching — costs. Graft and corruption have eaten their way in too far.

The supposed critics of our school system want no basic changes. They praised Chicago schools in their scrap and war bond drives which helped send the children's older brothers and fathers to death on the battlefield of the recent war for capitalist profit.

Teacher and teaching standards will remain at their present low ebb as long as the teacher is an under-paid tool preparing workers' children "to go out into the world" and work to enrich the 300 capitalist families who own 95% of American property.

The barons of industry need Kelly and his labor police to force the working class into line and they need the head-fixing schools to teach young workers that this set-up is right.

AFTER THE 18 1/2¢ -- THEN WHAT?

(Continued from Page 1)

dustry and to other plants in the neighborhood. Every important strike has now become a struggle against the strike-breaking government. The only way to make strikes effective, therefore, is to spread them.

2— Organize defense squads on a more thorough basis than the haphazard "flying squadrons" that exist in most basic industry unions.

3— Lay the basis for establishment of workers councils to coordinate efforts against the capitalist state. Workers Councils can be of a number of types. The Combined Stamford Labor Committee was one type. It was composed of the leaders of all the Unions in Stamford. They held a one day general strike in sympathy with Yale & Towne workers. A similar committee was recently set up in Rochester, when a general strike occurred in that city. The Committee for Maritime Unity is another such council.

Each of these forms of councils has serious weaknesses. The Stamford and Rochester councils were weak because they were committees of the "tops," instead of rank and file delegates from each factory and industrial unity. The CMU was even worse, because it not only had no real rank and file participation but it was strung across the country on an industrial rather than geographic basis.

WORKERS COUNCILS

To effectively beat the capitalist strike-breaking offensive it is necessary to work towards Workers Councils of delegates from each economic unit, democratically elected by the rank and file. It should be based on a geographical structure — a workers council for New York, another one for the Chicago area, etc.; but it should also be supplemented by councils set up in each industry. The geographical form is important because to fight the state it is necessary to meet it in a concentrated form in each area, rather than thinning out our lines across the country.

This then is the POLITICAL program of the revolutionists and militants in the coming period — prepare to spread the strikes, organize trained defense groups to fight fascist hooligans and government strike-breaking, organize workers councils to coordinate the efforts of the working class.

The labor fakers and reformists (and, incidentally the Trotsky centrists) have a political program of their own for this coming period. They too recognize that the class struggle is bound to sharpen. They are fearful of this impending strike wave. And they are preparing another safety valve for the class.

The safety valve of Murray, Hillman, Foster, James P. Cannon, Max Schachtman is the LABOR PARTY.

All of these people will be telling the working class in the coming period to withdraw their main struggles from the point of production and to concentrate on electing "good" people to Congress.

"You see," they will say and are saying, "so long as we have 'reactionaries' in the government it is inevitable that we have such strike-breaking. But if we elect 'labor' candidates we won't have to use the

strike weapon so much to gain our ends. Our MAIN job must be to elect good representatives to the government."

This argument is sheer nonsense. It is merely an attempt to wean the working class away from the only place where his efforts count — AT THE POINT OF PRODUCTION AND IN THE STREETS.

Weren't we told after the 1944 elections that labor had won a "smashing" victory at the polls? Isn't it a fact that without P.A.C. Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Truman could not have been elected? And whatever happened to the so-called friends of labor in Congress when the open fascist measure of Truman to draft strikers were brought up last month? Almost all of them voted for the bill.

LABOR PARTYISM A FRAUD

The Labor Party propaganda is a snare and a delusion. It is still another attempt by labor fakery to pull the chestnuts out of the fire, to take the heat off themselves. A Labor Party can solve nothing. Has it solved anything in Britain, in Australia, or anywhere else? So long as the capitalist state exists it doesn't much matter who runs it, the capitalist state is always an instrument AGAINST the working class. Some governmental leaders will try to be a little less harsh than others in order to gain the confidence of the masses. But in a showdown they too will place their oars openly in the camp of strike-breaking and terror. Harry Truman is an excellent example of this theme. While in Congress he had a record of voting for all the so-called labor bills. Yet today he is America's number one strike-breaker.

The working class must engage in POLITICAL ACTION — that is true. But its political action is not PARLIAMENTARY action, elections. It engages in elections merely to expose the capitalist government. Its basic political action, however, is at THE POINT OF PRODUCTION AND IN THE STREETS.

This theme divides the revolutionary Marxists from all other tendencies. Our political action is based in the factory, mine and mill. Our political action consists of organizing defense squads and training them in the use of modern weapons. It consists of organizing workers councils to fight the capitalist state.

The other side — from Phil Murray to the Stalinists and to the Trotskyists — are for reformist political action, for undermining real political action and derailing the efforts of the workers into safe election fields.

The Tasks Ahead for the American Working Class include first and foremost a struggle against reformist Political Action.

THE TASKS AHEAD DEMAND A SHARP TURN TO REVOLUTIONARY POLITICS.

NOT A LABOR PARTY, BUT A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY!

FOR PROGRESSIVE GROUPS IN EACH UNION!

FOR WORKERS DEFENSE CORPS!

FOR WORKERS COUNCILS!