

F. W. & I. N. Banned! Prelude To Palmer Raids

It seems it doesn't matter whether you tell the truth or not; so long as the post office authorities don't like you they can ban your publications from the mail. And they need give no reason for it whatsoever.

The RWL has had 5 issues of its paper and magazine banned from the mails by the very arbitrary postal authorities: the May and November, 1943, issues of the Fighting Workers and two August and one November issue of the International News.

The attorney for the Labor Defense Congress, Thomas H. Stone of Richmond, inquired from the Washington bureaucrats why the material has been banned. On December 15, Vincent M. Miles, Solicitor in the Post Office Department in Washington answered in language which seems incredible.

ANSWER FROM MILES

Here is part of the letter: "I wish to advise you that the ruling in question is based on the conclusion arrived at jointly by this department and the Department of Justice, that, considered as a whole, the contents of the publications mentioned are such that their distribution in time of war creates a clear and present danger of causing the substantive evils prescribed by the Espionage Act... and Section 334 of Title 18, United States Code.

"Included among these evils are insurrection, forcible resistance to the laws of the United States; obstruction of recruiting; insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny and refusal of duty in the armed forces and arson, murder and assassination." "While much of the contents of the publications involved are palpably mendacious (obviously false: Ed's translation), you will note that the prohibition contained in the statutes against matter of the character hereinabove described is not predicated upon falsity."

In other words, the fact that the material published by the RWL happens to be truthful is no bar under the law from suppressing the publications. This is certainly a wonderful commentary on bourgeois "democracy."

NO REASONS FOR BAN

More than that the postal authorities not only can suppress your material even if it is truthful—which every reader of the Fighting Workers knows is a fact—but they don't even have to give you a reason for it. Mr. Miles refuses categorically after many months to give a "bill of particulars." He states categorically that the papers are being banned for "their contents as a whole."

The RWL, of course, is not surprised by the callous behavior of the American ruling class and their stooges. We know and have pointed out constantly that "democracy" is only a figment of the imagination under capitalism and that when necessary it will trot out authoritarian

methods. In the midst of a war supposedly being fought to preserve the world for "democracy," it is hypocritical indeed to suppress a revolutionary paper by these underhanded methods.

ONLY PAPERS BANNED

So far as we know, the Fighting Workers and International News are the only revolutionary papers that have been banned from the mails. The Trotskyites and other organizations have been harried by FBI investigators and have had their second class mailing privileges revoked, but, to the best of our knowledge, all of their material can still be mailed. This action against the RWL is a very serious precedent, because whole issues of our publication are denied access to the mails.

It certainly is a very strange phenomena when an official of the U.S. government can charge that our publications may incite to such horrible crimes as "arson, murder and assassination," and yet he refuses to show a single instance, or to give a single quotation which might lead to such a conclusion. Mr. Miles' remarks are, to quote him, "palpably mendacious." Anyone with a month's schooling in our movement knows that revolutionary Marxists are opposed to such individualistic actions as arson, murder and assassination.

SAME LINE FOR 8 YEARS

Furthermore it is a complete mystery to us why the Post Office Department has "suddenly" discovered that our program is Marxist. In the 8 years of our existence the political line of the RWL has been amended and enlarged, but it has not changed one iota as to principle. It still stands on the fundamental principles of Marxism as developed by Marx and Lenin.

When in 1938 we published our program, upon which all of our present popular and theoretical material is based, postal authorities permitted it to go through the mail. When we published quotations from Lenin on the war in the September 1940 issue of International News, giving a full and complete revolutionary Marxist position on such questions as revolutionary defeatism, "the main enemy is at home," the nature of the war, "turn the imperialist war into a civil war," "practical actions leading toward defeat"—when we published this it was all legal, perfectly O.K. But what has changed since 1940? The program of the RWL certainly has not changed. We still stand on these fundamental principles and we will defend them no matter where the road leads.

IMPERIALISM SHAKY

Obviously the only thing that has changed is the needs of American imperialism. Obviously the gentlemen in the post office department and in the FBI are preparing

for bigger and better Palmer raids. The frame-up against the 18 Trotskyites, is part of this gigantic plot. The banning of issues of our publications is another step in the same direction.

It is interesting to note the FBI has been unduly active in the last year or so in its "subtle" intimidations of individuals associated with the RWL. The FBI has been around to visit a number of subscribers to our publication as well as many other people.

FBI TACTICS

At least on one occasion they so intimidated an elderly gentleman who did some work for us that he discontinued his business relations with us. Individuals have been requested to lay traps for members of the RWL.

Comrade Oehler, our national secretary, was down to see the FBI at least twice. He informed them that as national secretary he was responsible for the conduct of the organization and would give them whatever information the organization felt could be made public. He requested that instead of secretly harassing sympathizers and friends, that when and if the FBI wants any additional information it call upon him.

Needless to say, however, the FBI did not and does not and, of course, will not stop its campaign of quiet intimidation. They hope that the weak-hearted and weak-kneed will get so scared they will stop reading the truth or fighting for working class principles.

Of course, such intimidation only strengthens the average revolutionist, and it serves as proof to all and sundry of the correctness of our predictions.

NEW REPRESSIONS COMING

Now that the Supreme Court has upheld the frame-up of the Trotskyites, we anticipate further repressions. This is especially true because the working class as a whole is up in arms against the civil peace imposed upon it by the war government. The threats of strikes and the hostility of hundred of thousands of workers to the bourgeois state and its war boards is causing the capitalist regime some uneasy moments. The postal authorities and FBI are therefore preparing the way for a quick thrust to behead the working class of revolutionary and militant leadership. The steps against the RWL are one phase of this whole conspiracy by the capitalists against workers' rights.

Repressions, however, never have served the purpose for which the oppressors have intended them. The RWL and the working class generally, including many militant Unions, will come out of this repressive era stronger than ever. History and truth are on our side.

The Fighting Worker

Workers of
The World
Unite!

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

Vol. 9—No. 2—Whole No. 117

FEBRUARY, 1944

Price 5c

Imperialists want Poland as Counter-revolutionary center

JANUARY 12—1944

Now that the Soviet Union has formally annexed Eastern Poland, we can anticipate the usual cries from the ultra-lefts, syndicalists, and others of "Red Imperialism."

For the Marxists the matter is only an incident in the whole war. The Soviet Union today, as yesterday, must prepare buffer states to defend itself from invasion by its supposed Allies. The strategy of taking parts of Finland, Poland, Rumania and the Baltic States, proved itself most wise when Hitler turned on his erstwhile "ally." The same will be true of the present annexations, when the "Allies" turn upon Russia.

We condemn wholeheartedly the methods of Stalinism, it's refusal to arouse the masses in Poland and elsewhere to proletarian revolution, it's espousal of the cause of bourgeois "democracy" in the rest of Poland, and it's warping of the revolutionary steps within the territory it conquers. We condemn also the fact that the Soviet Union under Stalinism has shamefully agreed to GIVE BACK territory liberated from the reactionary meshes of European capitalism, and to maintain the STATUS-QUO.

USE OF RED ARMY

Under Lenin, the Red Army was used to further world revolution.

Today, under Stalinism, the purpose of the Red Army has been considerably emasculated. In its wake there are usually the expropriation of the large capitalists and landowners, and sometimes even the establishment of Soviets as in Poland in 1939. But the system is quickly warped by GPU units and by the other elements of the Stalinist dictatorship.

ALTERNATIVES

Despite all the victories of the Red Army, the Soviet Union is today in a precarious position. A "Second" Front by the Allies is on the order of the day. It is very likely that the Anglo-American imperialists will lash out at Germany not only from the west, but in the Balkan states as well. There can be no doubt that the Allies have gained a superiority in materiel and manpower that—at least on paper—threatens to overwhelm the Axis.

Under the circumstances a number of alternatives are open to the German-Japanese alliance:

1—A diverting attack on Allied flanks. If Germany has the manpower and materiel, a smash through Turkey and Persia would create havoc in Allied and Russian ranks because it would at one and the same time threaten

to engulf India and to attack the Soviet Union from the rear. Whether or not Germany takes such a step depends on her strength—which, of course, we are in no position to estimate.

2—Another serious diversion would be an immediate attack on Siberia by Japan. There can be little doubt that Germany is pressing her "ally" for such an alternative. And in the long run there can be little doubt either that a war between Japan and the Soviet Union is inevitable.

3—A combination of the above two alternatives, plus a determined defense on the coast of France, in order to force a negotiated "peace." The Germans—not Hitler as an individual, necessarily—but German capitalism, may be banking on a stalemate of this sort, plus the threat of Revolution in Europe and Asia, to force the Allies into a truce.

ALL of the alternatives would be extremely harmful to the Soviet Union. A "truce" of the contending powers, to give them time to (Continued on page 4)

Browder Sells Capitalism

Franklin Roosevelt certainly got a bargain when he gave lend-lease to Uncle Joe in Moscow.

Stalinism has helped snuff out strikes, lower wages (through "incentive"—speed-up-pay), and keep prices rising (through its support of the "commander-in-chief.")

Now comes Earl Browder, secretary of the American Stalinists, with some promises that ought to gladden Wall Street's heart—and are certainly worth ten times the value of lend-lease.

"Capitalism and socialism have begun to find the way," says the great Earl, "to peaceful co-existence and collaboration in the

same world."

The Stalinists, promises Browder, are going to help make "capitalism work effectively in the postwar period." That is certainly kind of Browder. Only the system just CAN'T WORK. All it can do is breed hunger, unemployment and more wars. And nobody knows that better than the Stalinist prostitute, Earl Browder.

For the sake of a few planes and tanks, Stalinism acts as hatchetman for the Wall Street barons, and helps push the system of starvation and misery down the throats of the working class.

Fakery of Soldier's Vote Plan

Controversy over allowing soldiers to vote waxed hard and furious last year.

Constitutionally the federal government grants citizenship; the states grant voting rights.

Elements in the Republican Party and many in the Democratic Party were out to prevent soldiers from voting because they feared the 10 million soldiers would vote overwhelmingly for FDR for a fourth term. The Roosevelt Administration thinks it can corral the 10 million soldier votes.

The crucial character of the servicemen's vote struggle is further intensified by the determination of the Southern states to continue the poll tax laws on voting which prevent Negroes and poor whites from voting.

VOTE LIMITED

The present proposals for servicemen's vote are limited to voting in National elections only. About half the states allow absentee voting. Many states, however, have not yet provided absentee voting rights and thus servicemen are barred from voting in STATE elections and city and county elections.

Furthermore any method which is adopted will have to place the actual administration of the Servicemen's vote under the control of the officers of the Army, Navy and Marines.

This vital fact brings up the most important problem of Servicemen's voting, the right of sailors, soldiers and marines to vote not only for national, state, county and city officials but also the right to vote for their own officers.

OFFICERS APPOINTED

At present officers are appointed by the President. They are drawn almost exclusively from the

middle and upper classes and are bitterly opposed on a class basis to the masses of servicemen who come from the working class and farm population.

In every important part of his living and dying, the servicemen has no right to vote on how he is to live, for what he is to die, and what officers are to lead or mislead him.

Another part of Servicemen's voting which has been ignored, although not quite so completely, is the right of men below the age of twenty-one to vote. The Armed Forces draft such men to fight. These 18 to 21 year old men are old enough to train and march, old enough to fight and old enough to die. Why aren't they old enough to vote?

DEMOCRATIC ELECTION NOT PERMITTED

The U.S. government will never voluntarily allow soldiers to vote for officers. Neither will the German nor the Japanese imperialists, nor the British. At best the U.S. imperialist government will permit only an emasculated form of vote to be set up; and even then it will only be used as a political football.

It is time for the masses in the armed forces and the masses in civil life, in Unions and in political organizations, to force the government to grant a FULL franchise to all the masses, in and out of the army.

Not only the right to vote is necessary, but also the right to vote for officers to vote on war policy, plans, campaigns, discipline, the right of young men of 18 to 21 to vote.

the right of soldiers and op-

(Continued on page 4)

Internal Struggle and Imperialist Rivalry Rock Bolivian Masses

The words "political revolution" are a misnomer when applied to the recent shift in the Bolivian government. The ousting of the U.S. stooge dictator Enrique Penaranda by the self styled liberal military clique of Major Gualberto Villaroel and Dr. Victor Paz Estenssoro is more in the nature of a palace coup.

Commenting on the revolt "News Week" had the following to say: "Bolivia's new revolutionary government under president Villaroel is expected to support U.S.'s war program. This is the opinion of Washington officials on the basis of Bolivia's national needs. The view is that no Bolivian government can afford to risk U.S. displeasure."

"President Villaroel aims at a more equal distribution of mining income by the means of higher taxes on mining profits, better wages and working conditions for labor, and diversification of the national economy. THIS PROGRAM HOWEVER IS SUBORDINATE TO THE IMMEDIATE NEED FOR A MAXIMUM OUTPUT OF MINERALS, RUBBER, QUININE AND OTHER CRITICAL MATERIAL NEEDED FOR U.S. WAR EFFORT."

REFORMS PROMISED

If this quote from the "News Week" is correct the change in the government has brought no fundamental change in the internal or external policies of Bolivia insofar as the Bolivian masses are concerned. Under the dictatorship of Penaranda U.S. imperialism succeeded in getting political and economic support for its war, the present "revolutionary government" has guaranteed a continuation of this policy.

However, the present government has made certain allusions to social reforms. It is to be noted that these social reforms must not conflict with the interests of U.S. imperialism's war effort. Also, the new "revolutionary government" is not obligated to carry out these "reforms" because the masses did not put this particular government into power.

These social "reforms" are evidently an attempt to raise the coup to a higher level and ally the support of the Bolivian miners and peasants. Very cleverly the Villaroel—Estenssoro government permitted the masses to let off

steam against the American imperialists by stoning the U.S. Embassy and looting the offices of the Aramayo mining company.

FACTS NOT ALL KNOWN

The real facts behind the Bolivian coup are not yet all known. It may be the manifestation of any number of rapidly developing social and economic forces on the one hand, and the rivalry between the United States and British imperialism for the South American market.

Prior to 1940 the British empire had the inside track on the world monopoly of tin production, altho the U.S. consumed 80% of the world supply. This compelled the U.S. to purchase tin on the world market at the British price. Also, until 1940, virtually all of Bolivian tin was smelted in England. But, with the outbreak of the war the smelting has been shifted to the United States. This accounts for the permanent residency in the United States of Simon I. Patino the tin king of Bolivia. Thru the State department, and the Nelson Rockefeller "good Neighbor" committee the U.S. has been able to break the British tin monopoly and force the empire to take second place in the international tin cartel.

U.S.-G.B. RIVALRY IN S. AMERICA

This rivalry between the U.S. and Britain is manifested by the cool attitude that the Argentines display toward the United States. The liberal newspaper commentators have dubbed both the Argentine and Bolivian governments as quasi-fascist governments. This is equally true however of at least half a dozen other governments in South America - Brazil, Venezuela, etc.

What is the difference? The difference is that those quasi-fascist governments that support the U.S. war effort and are dependent economically upon the United States are "good" while those where British or other interests predominate, as in Argentina, are "bad" (the only serious competitor in S. America, to the U.S. is Britain, all German and other competitors have been eliminated by the war and their property long ago confiscated. No government in semi-colonial South America can exist without the support of either British or United

States imperialism). The cry against "bad" fascist Argentina and Bolivia in essence represents a political struggle against British imperialism more than German imperialism.

Now that Argentina has yielded to the Allied pressure and formally severed diplomatic relations with the Axis the struggle for domination, between Britain and the U.S., will become clearer.

MASSACRE OF MINERS

On the other hand Bolivia has gone thru a period of social unrest and violent class struggle, that culminated in the bloody tin miners strike at the Simon Patino mines last year. The soldiers of the American stooge, Penaranda, killed some 400 miners. This massacre, in which the U.S. ambassador, socialite Pierre de Lagarde Boal played a prominent role, is still vivid in the minds of the Bolivian masses.

When a U.S. labor committee investigated the Massacre they discovered that the 'good' pro U.S. Pres. Penaranda, had abrogated all civil rights in Bolivia and a state of siege existed. Two-thirds of the population was illiterate and voting is restricted to those who can read and write. In the last election only 7,500 voted.

They also discovered that the condition among the miners, the best paid workers in the country, was exceptionally low for maintaining health and a decent living standard. Mine owners lived abroad, extracted huge profit from the mines and reinvested little of their funds in the improvement of the living conditions of the miners.

All shifts in South American governments must be considered from the above points of view: the tempo of the class struggle in the country and the rivalry between British, U.S. and other imperialisms for the control of these countries. We, the American workers must express our solidarity with the oppressed South American workers.

Hands off South America!

For complete and unconditional independence!

No faith in either the old or new puppet governments of Bolivia!

For a Social Revolution in South America!

Workers of the World

ALGERIA

The French National Committee is having difficulties with its colonies. After having tried to smash the Lebanese revolt by force, it was forced to retreat and to promise to give up French control over Lebanon and Syria.

In order to avoid a crisis in Algeria they have decided to collaborate with the native bourgeoisie. Educated Arabs who can read and write French will be made citizens. This 'elite' will have a larger representation in the Algerian deliberative assemblies and a broader suffrage.

What will the working population of Algeria, whom the French rulers took care not to educate, win in the deal? Nothing, except illusions. The Arab bourgeoisie does not represent them, its vote will be against the interests of the Algerian workers and peasants.

INDIA

You don't have to worry any longer about the 'luxury' in which the American soldiers live in India; you are not paying for it with your taxes. It certainly is a great relief to the American worker to know that the maintenance of the American forces in India, sent there in part at least to check the Indian revolution, is being paid for by the Indians, themselves. (Lend-lease in reverse.) The workers of India have the privilege of paying taxes and starving, so that Allied imperialist interests can be safeguarded!

WAR AGAINST FASCISM

Col. Edgar Hume, military governor of the Naples area, is one of those who are leading the 'war against Fascism.' He contends that the task of AMG is not to squash Fascism but to defeat Germany. He stated "Many people think we are there to put down Fascism. That's not our business."

And in case anybody should not have understood what he meant, he gave a practical example. Naples police were ordered by AMG, which is headed by Hume, to break up a meeting of students at the University of Naples and announced that they would break up another meeting announced for the week after "in an even more vigorous manner." At the end of the resulting uproar, AMG forbade all political activity in the University.

No, AMG is not fighting Fascism. On the contrary, it issued, among other decrees of the same nature, the fascist-like order that all political meetings must be announced to it 48 hours in advance, subject to AMG authorization.

ITALIAN LABOR UNIONS

The Fascist syndicate system in Allied occupied Italy has finally been abolished. But by what has it been replaced? Have the workers been permitted to take into their own hands the forging of their primordial weapon in the struggle for their interests—their own Unions? Oh no, AMG has taken over. The fakers do not have to steal their way into those unions through the back door, they are imposed upon the unions from the start. The officials are not elected by the membership, they are appointed by AMG.

The Italian (and American) workers must militantly oppose this action of AMG. The unions are the instrument of their fight against the bourgeoisie, Italian and Allied; they must not let them be controlled by this same bourgeoisie.

STRIKES IN ARGENTINA

Despite the strict censorship, reports have come through from Argentina about strikes against the Ramirez dictatorship spreading all over the country. These Argentine workers are fighting for the right of trade unions to function freely, the reopening of all local headquarters closed by the police and the freedom of imprisoned trade union leaders.

Through their militant struggle the workers of Santa Fe have forced the Police to release their national union officers imprisoned without trial and to allow the reopening of their union halls.

ECUADOR

The government of Ecuador is using repression against the trade unions because they 'plead' with it to revise its wage decrees from the beginning of November. Prices of necessities have risen enormously during the last years, while the government is holding down the wages. Ecuadorian workers earn about 75 cents a day in American currency, they have the lowest living standard in the Western Hemisphere. The prices of meat, milk, bread and butter have doubled since 1939.

Unless the Ecuadorian workers put up a militant struggle at the point of production, all their 'pleas' to the government for wage adjustment and better living conditions will not bring them one step further.

on \$1468.49. And what family, whose income was that in 1939, has increased to \$1809.17 today? Not in Washington! Individual case of promotion, yes. But not the same type and amount of work; no, not even with the overtime pay bill that was finally forced through Congress, that gave some little relief, inadequate though it was.

EDUCATION AND HEALTH

And what of the white collar worker? He who can't wear overalls to work, but must appear well dressed on an inadequate budget? All too often it is "she" struggling to hold the family together on the condition of a meager salary and a meager "allotment" while her husband is at war; or contributing to the support of parents; and then the problem of clothing becomes even more acute.

Also, what of the ambitious worker who yearns to give his children a better education than he had himself? But we trespass! Such ambitions are not for workers—especially for the one who

wears overalls to work! HIS children must leave school and become self-supporting at the age of sixteen. No, no, we must not hope to have savings for education included in a worker's budget.

We find that even those figures, inadequate and imperfect as they are, do not begin to tell the story. Because they allow an increase in food costs of only 37.2% whereas our own study (using the Bureau's figures on costs in 1939 as compared to 1943) show that on the most minimum diet that can be considered adequate for this family, the food costs have increased 54.9%. This assumes also that the family follows substantially the same diet followed four years ago; whereas it is obvious that with the man working longer and harder hours, and with the children growing, changes must be made in both quantity and kind of foods used, and these changes are never to the advantage of the budget!

(To be continue in next issue)

Survey On The Rising Cost Of Living

WASHINGTON, D.C.—With the Administration still clinging desperately to the tattered shreds of the "Little Steal" formula, and with one of its own Bureaus (Labor Statistics) blandly announcing publicly that costs of living have risen "only" 23.2% (as against the 15% admitted by the "formula") Fighting Worker decided to have its Washington correspondent look into the figures; with a view to seeing why it should cost the great majority of us, the workers, a great deal more than 23.2% more than it did before Pearl Harbor; and what figures the Bureau of Labor Statistics was using to produce this most incredible result. This article is based on those findings.

We did not attempt to prove that the figures themselves are erroneous. It seems quite probable, from personal observations, that this could be easily shown, had we the necessary machinery for making an extensive survey. But such a survey is not necessary in order to prove the fallacies of the percentage arrived at. Using the BUREAU'S OWN FIGURES, even the most casual student of statistics and economics—and especially a worker who has had practical experience with the juggling needed to keep a balanced budget and a balanced diet for a family at one and the same time, can discern the statistical "bugs"

in the report with ease.

SAVING IMPOSSIBLE

The survey takes a "hypothetical family... made up of the moderately active man who wears overalls at work, his wife, a boy age 13 and a girl age 8. No household help is employed. The family lives in a four or five-room house or apartment with indoor bath and toilet; has gas, electricity and a small radio; uses ice for refrigeration; and has no automobile. They read a daily newspaper and go to the movies once a week. Their food is an 'adequate diet at minimum cost.' They pay for their own medical care. No savings other than life insurance are provided." (Emphasis ours.) Then, taking Washington as the base (100%, with only one city in the country, New York, higher, with 100.4%) is given a budget for Washington of \$1809.17. This is broken down into food, \$668.25; clothing \$226.88; housing, \$351.75; fuel and light \$122.25; furniture, furnishings, household equipment, \$45.11; miscellaneous, \$394.93. The last item presumably is supposed to cover the life insurance, the medical care the family pays for itself, the daily paper and weekly movie; will it also take care of income and "victory" taxes, the war bonds whose purchase is practically compulsory? \$227 a year may clothe a family of four, but judging from the way we've

watched boys of eight and girls of thirteen go through shoes and outgrow clothes, we venture to predict that this particular family will have to have some help from relatives on that budget; and even if the wife wears house dresses most of the day, surely she must be permitted one street dress (for the weekly movie!) and what about church—or doesn't this family go to church? And while \$12.85 per week for food is certainly "minimum cost," what about the "adequate diet" side of the picture—with two active adults (we note the mother does all the housework and laundry) and two active growing children? If they adhere to that too closely at Washington grocery prices (even using the prices admitted by the Bureau, which your correspondent could not find duplicated even in the chain stores) they are likely to find themselves needing some medical care which they cannot pay for! And again we ask, (with deep feeling, born of months of Washington house-hunting) where, oh where, is the house in Washington answering that description, at the less than \$30.00 per month allowed in the budget?

Another "bug" that pokes its head up insistently: If \$1809.17 is the budget allowed at present, then, at the admitted rise, the same family should have been able to live, at the same rate in 1939

THE FIGHTING WORKER
REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS LEAGUE, U. S.
 (Affiliated to the Provisional International Contact
 Commission for a New Communist (4th) International)

Subscription \$1.00 per year

Published monthly by
DEMOS PRESS
 708 N. Clark Street, Chicago, Ill.

PLEASE NOTE. There is no connection between Demos Press and the Social Science Institute located at the same address.

Bourgeois "Democracy" In Decay

In his message to Congress on January 11th, Roosevelt called for a "national service law—which for the duration of the war, will prevent strikes, and... will make available for war production or for any other essential service every able bodied adult in this nation."

Many liberals and reformists found it hard to believe that the "great friend of labor" was sponsoring what some Congressman called "a Hitlerite measure." Others excused the whole thing as merely a TEMPORARY war measure. The Stalinists gave it full support. Murray, Green, R. J. Thomas, condemned it.

The Draft of Labor is one of those connecting links which tie together the "Democratic" and Fascist phases of capitalism.

We Communists have always pointed out that Bourgeois Democracy leads inexorably to Fascism. That's why we have always refused to support "Democracy" against Fascism, or the "democratic" nations against the aggressors. Both are part and parcel of the same capitalist system.

One step leads to another! In 1932 the depression caused untold hostility, unemployed demonstration, bonus marches. Roosevelt came to power to prepare the way for America's entry into the Second World War, to prepare for the conquest of the world to solve Wall Street's problems. In the first stage, Roosevelt must win over the masses to his war chariot. He must lure them with petty bribes, into silence.

So—we had WPA, NRA, and section 7, subsidies to the farmers, the Wagner Act, Unemployment Compensation, etc. But, as the R.W.L. has continually pointed out since 1935, these were only temporary measures to lull the masses to sleep. **THE REAL ESSENCE OF THE NEW DEAL WAS PREPARATION FOR THE WAR DEAL, AND CIVIL PEACE.**

Today (since World War II) that program is in full blossom. With the labor fakers, reformists and even some centrists, well lined up with the Roosevelt regime Mr. Roosevelt unfolded his REAL program, the program that coincides with the long-term interests of American capitalism:

- 1—Selective Service and the draft card.
- 2—Freezing of the farm worker and farmer to the land.
- 3—Censorship.
- 4—Freezing of the worker to his job.
- 5—Freezing of wages.
- 6—Government control of collective bargaining—which means, of course, capitalist control.
- 7—Enforcement of no-strike policy of the Roosevelt government.
- 8—Use of the army against Labor, in factory and railroad seizures.

And many others.

The Labor Draft is not out of step with these other actions. It is a part of the rounded program of enslaving the working class.

Workers are becoming uneasy today. Prices continue to rise. Wages continue to be frozen. Lay-offs are mounting and the big overtime income has sloughed off, factories are going back to the 40 and 48 hour week.

Workers are beginning to feel the pinch. More than that, they are sharply disillusioned with the war and the promises of their own "leaders" and the New Deal. They are fighting mad, and a strike wave is inevitable.

Mr. Roosevelt now steps into the breach with a few stern warnings to Labor. He takes over the railroads and threatens to throw railroad workers in jail or in the army, who oppose this strike-breaking. Next he calls for the formal recognition by Congress of such methods, the Labor Draft.

From here on in, more Nazi-like measures must be passed. The whole capitalist edifice rests on the ability of the capitalist state to keep the workers in check. To impose the war-time wage cuts that have been put over on Labor (the rise in prices two and three times as fast as the rise in wages) they had to introduce the freezing of wages. To maintain frozen wages, they had to freeze jobs. Those who don't like it, and who intend to strike—are threatened with jail.

Sooner or later the next steps must be taken—more arrest of militants and revolutionists, outlawing of revolutionary parties and opposition organizations, frame-ups and open terror, legal restrictions of the trade union movement and disciplinary measures against the unions.

It wouldn't make any difference whether Willkie was in power, or Colonel McCormick, or any other capitalist representative. The broad outlines of Roosevelt's program are a necessity for Capitalism today.

A polarization is taking place within American society, both to the left and right. Mr. Roosevelt, who represents the hey-day of American bourgeois reformism is—unfortunately for him—falling way out of step with the times. His mass base is caving in under him.

Bourgeois "Democracy" is sagging very badly. The issues are becoming pointed. America is following the course of Europe, only much more rapidly. Whether Roosevelt is re-elected or not, the next few years will see a giant struggle between the forces of Fascism and the forces of Communism in the United States. American society will either fall into the trap of Fascist demagoguery and brutality, or—with the aid and guidance of a new Revolutionary Communist Party—go forward to Communism.

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

Theoretical Organ of the Int'l Contact Commission.

FEBRUARY ISSUE

Civil War and Imperialist War:
 Coming Unemployment:
 Open Letter to Communist Party Members.

Subscription \$1.00 per year, .10 per copy.
 Order from Demos Press, 708 N. Clark St.,
 Chicago, Illinois.

"Win War In '44" Omits Question of Revolution

"We will win the European war in 1944," said General Eisenhower, new commander-in-chief of the Western Front, on December 27th. This was the General's first prediction in 13 months since he became a world figure.

But Eisenhower, a new hand at prophecy, immediately qualified his statement by saying: "the only thing needed for us to win the European war in 1944 is for every man and woman, all the way from the front line to the remotest hamlet of our two countries, to do his or her full duty."

By "full duty" the General was no doubt hitting at the increasing strikes in the U.S. and England, and the rising opposition to the war after the initial patriotic hysteria wore off.

In a surprise statement only a few hours after, Secretary of State Hull hastened to further qualify the General's remarks by stating that the General was right provided those behind the lines promote "greater unity."

This qualifying remark is important for it points sharply at the key to American victory: **subordination of the American workers to the war machine by all possible means**, that is, bolster National Unity.

Eisenhower knows that to win the war in '44 will require the defeat not only of the Hitler regime but also all the revolutions of the European workers.

It may be possible to militarily smash the Hitler rule over Europe, but it is a manifest impossibility to crush the revolution in Europe which will break out as the German military structure is weakened by military defeats and mass pressure from below.

Thus, of Eisenhower's and Hull's qualifying statements about victory in '44, the most important was not uttered. Nowhere did they mention the probable action of the European workers. Hitler may go by the end of '44. The war against the revolution in Europe, however, will only have just begun. This will be a more difficult counter-revolution than that which occurred from 1918 to 1924. If it took six years of counter-revolution then to crush the workers of Europe, how long will it take the British and American (and Axis) imperialists today?

Revolution in Europe moreover will generate revolution in the Near East and in the Far East. It will give tremendous impetus to the constantly rising strike struggles of the U.S. workers against the American rulers and against the war.

The most the American imperialists can win in 1944 is the elimination of Germany as an imperialist competitor. But that is relatively only a minor victory. Then with the "Win the War" or "Victory Deal" remaining in control of the government, the American imperialists can try to extend their police repression program to the workers uprisings all over the world.

The success of the European revolutions depend on the ability of the working masses of Britain and particularly of the U.S. to smash the base of imperialist counter-revolution and helping the masses in Europe.

We, the workers, can win in '44, if we do our full duty in promoting international solidarity of the oppressed masses of the world by revolutionary mass action at the rear and fraternization at the front.

The Army "Returns" The R.R.s

January 19, 1944—The railroads have been "turned back" to the railroad magnates! As if the railroads were ever taken away!

Fact is that the "seizure of the railroads" was only a legal formula for open and unadulterated STRIKE BREAKING. The same people ran the rails; the Company Presidents were made Colonels in the Army, given \$495.33 expenses plus "subsistence" pay, and they continued as of old.

The "seizure" order provided that there shall be no interference in dividends, financing, or the salaries of the Railroad Presidents, which continued even after they "joined the Army." To make matters even more comical, the railroad Presidents were "retired" as Colonels three weeks after the "seizure."

The workers in the industry have made some gains. Much more than they would have received without the threat to strike. Wage increases are 9 cents an hour for all the operating brotherhoods and from 9c to 11c per hour for the non-operating workers.

But compared to what they COULD have gotten, and compared to what they NEED for a decent livelihood, the railroad workers lost considerably. Their leaders, tied hand and foot to the war chariot, have betrayed them at a time when they could have gotten three and four times as much.

As it is the increases were pitiful, compared to the wage scales. Non-operating employees making less than 47c an hour will get an 11 cent raise, those making 47c to 57c will get a 10c raise, and those making more will get a 9c raise. These scales indicate how miserably low the wage scales of the railroad workers have been. Even since the defeat of the 1922 strike the railroad workers have been worse paid and worse treated than any other group of industrial workers in the nation. They are tied to the Railway Labor Act and its red-tape and class-collaboration machinery, to a greater extent than industrial workers. They are prohibited by law from getting a Union Shop.

Under these circumstances—with industrial workers getting \$1 or more an hour—the increases were exceptionally meager.

The rail workers, like the rest of the proletariat, needs a national progressive movement that cuts across the present federations and stands for a class struggle program, rather than the present policy of the "leaders" of labor, of capitulating to the employers and their strike-breaking government.

Propaganda and Profits

The press commentators and "a high military source" have made much capital out of the threatened railroad and steel strikes in an attempt to clash at labor. Their line of argument runs along the following track: Now that Germany has learned of the threatened railroad and steel strike they have informed their public in occupied Europe on these facts and all evidence indicates that as a result it will take about six months more to win the war.

Let us break-down this argument of the kept press and reason their position to its logical conclusion:

If the THREAT, and not action, of a railroad and steel strike can prolong the war in Europe by six months, labor better wake up and realize its real strength. If a mere threat has so much weight then the combined action of labor intelligently used can kick ALL of the exploiters out of the United States, out of Germany, out of Japan and out of England and we can really make this a paradise on earth.

The news reporters state that all that Hitler had to do was to make the announcement—that, "United States Seizes the Railroads," and that the "Steel Mills in the United States are closed due to strike," and this information given to the people of Europe has prolonged the war by six months. But these same reporters, the press and government officials have informed us on more than one occasion that no news can get into Europe (except by the underground) and that the Fascist kept press can present any lie it desires, but the European masses won't believe it. In fact this is so—and the revolutionists stated it before the yellow press.

But this line of reasoning by the capitalists becomes a boomerang. If the length of the war can be prolonged six months just on a newspaper report presented by Hitler's kept press that the railroad and steel situation has created chaos in the United States so that by summer there can be a negotiation of peace; if such a slim, ethereal "factor" of a psychological nature can do this then what can prevent Hitler each time he confronts a difficulty and the beginnings of defeat to present some pure lies, (not lies based upon a grain of truth) and accomplish even bigger miracles to prolong the war another six months?. This way, with such a psychological injection, the war can be prolonged another two years.

No, the real truth is that strikes are very contagious. Far from publicizing any strikes or threats of strikes in Allied countries Hitler is very careful not to let this news seep into Europe. Everyone remembers that the Nazi press kept the news of the miners's strike last year from the German masses.

The fact is that—far from holding back the civil war in Europe—strikes and mass actions in the Allied countries would serve as a great impetus to the oppressed of Europe to turn against their own capitalist oppressors. Strikes and mass action in Britain and America would not lengthen the war—it would SHORTEN IT. The purpose of the capitalist lies has nothing to do with the length of the War. Their purpose is to frighten the working-class into docily remaining tied to the "Little Steel" formula while their profits and prices rise to the limit.

There Was Democracy In The U. S. Army

(Little known facts of the history of the U.S. Army)

The revolutionary army of George Washington fighting for colonial independence from monarchical oppression was not only the army of democracy, but in many respects democratic in its structure.

"Company officers were generally elected by the privates, and the field officers by the company officers. However, in Maryland, all the officers were elected by popular vote." (W. A. Ganoe, History of U.S. Army, 1923, Appleton Century)

This is far different from the appointment system in the 1944 United States Army.

Ganoe heartily dislikes this early manifestation of democracy in the revolutionary army. He tells the story of how a lieutenant was ousted: "After this we chose our officers... to our 1st Lt... we said; 'you shall not command us, for he whose mind can change in an hour is not fit to command in the field where liberty is contended for.' In the evening we chose a private in his place."

WHERE LIBERTY IS CONTESTED FOR—the rank and file will have some control of officers. Ganoe shakes his head: "This... is no less... the private controlling the officer."

What's wrong with that? Shouldn't the vast majority of privates control the tiny minority of officers?

This early democracy even extended to salaries: "Where captain, lieutenant, and ensign placed their salaries in a common fund with the enlisted men, drawing at the end of the month EACH THE SAME SHARE, the official intent was doubtless generous and democratic."

EACH THE SAME SHARE gives the private as much pay as the captain. Does the captain need more? No.

In the U.S. Army 1942, the captain gets 10 times the salary of the private!

MEN AND OFFICER RELATIONS

"It can safely be said that a distinction, especially in New England regiments, between officers and men did not exist."

This was GENERALLY TRUE, "especially" true in New England.

Today the U.S. Army prohibits this. Officers are placed above the men. There is a distinction between them—a class distinction of rich and poor, of officer and soldier!

Even in those early days, generals were APPOINTED showing that democracy existed only in the lower units of the Army where the mass made it exist. There was no democracy involved in the selection of, for example, LaFayette, as Congress proclaimed:

"That in consideration of his zeal, illustrious family, and connections he have the rank of major general in the Army of the U.S."

Even Ganoe says of this: "Family, caste, friendship, favor and politics seemed to be the determining factors in awarding splendid commissions."

Family!
Caste!
Friendship!
Favor!
Politics!

were determining factors in awarding splendid commissions. This method of appointment of ALL officers from the wealthy class is the rule in the U. S. Army of 1942, having superseded democratic selection of lower officers by soldiers.

Later, in the war of 1812 General Winder was appointed a general "not on the ground of distinguished professional service or knowledge but simply on... being a native of Maryland and a relative of the governor."

That's how the officers are selected today. They are relatives of the rich and mighty.

By 1865 Lincoln's draft law, "particularly prescribed that vacancies among volunteer officers should be filled by vote. All members of companies were to elect the captain and lieutenants..." Higher officers were appointed.

The early revolutionary democracy in rank and file selection of officers still lived in part to 1865. It was the last stand of democracy in the U.S. Army.

REGIMENTS MARCHED FOR RIGHTS

The early democracy in the U.S. Army led six regiments of the Pennsylvania line, who had not been paid, to rise and demand settlement of grievances. They marched for their rights with "an astonishing regularity and discipline." Congressional representatives promised to pay them and clothe them: Force won the day. Ganoe recognizes the value of mass action in gaining demands: "That the legislators felt themselves properly on the defensive is shown by the fact that they readily agreed to bring no one to trial for the outbreak."

Mass action put the legislators "on the defensive." When the revolutionary war ended taxes were so high that Daniel Shay's rebellion broke out. Shay was an old soldier who organized other old soldiers to oppose high taxes. They "Easily dispersed the militia and forced the court to adjourn."

This is mass action. It was not wholly successfully, but taxes were lowered. In 1944, can taxes be lowered in any other manner?

DISCIPLINE BUT NO SEGREGATION

In those early days the discipline of the Army unfortunately was maintained only by unbelievable brutality.

Typical punishments were: "drumming out of camp, the wooden horse, the pillory and flogging by rawhide on the naked back... branding on the hand and pouring salt and water on the lacerated back of the victim who had... received 50 lashes... extra hours of labor, riding on a rail..."

In 1813 the first Army Regulations barred whipping—on paper: "in lieu of whipping... stoppage of pay and confinement shall be substituted."

But even in 1833 whipping by rawhide still was prevalent. By the end of the Civil war the worst forms of punishment finally disappeared.

Von Steuben, the Prussian, introduced for a time, the monarchical discipline of the Prussian in part of the U.S. Army. This Prussianism grew with the Army until today the U.S. Army is as non-democratic as the German army.

The workers army of the future could well use the democratic system of the early revolutionary army. Discipline, however, will be based not on brutal punishments but on understanding, training—on class consciousness.

NEGROES IN THE ARMY

The use of Negroes in the Army in the Civil War, was widespread. "Persons of African descent were allowed to be enlisted to any number the President saw fit."

In 1861—5 Negroes were placed in regiments with whites.

In 1944 Negroes are placed in separate regiments—segregated, Jim-Crowed. This shows the decay of "democracy" more strikingly than many books could.

We have seen how the U.S. Army began on a partially democratic basis of selection of lower officers by the rank and file. We watched the gradual elimination of any democracy in the Army, completed by the end of the Civil War. We saw how Negroes and "foreigners" (Von Steuben, Lafayette) were utilized in the army.

In a large historical sense, the Army was progressive because capitalism was progressive. The army was revolutionary because capitalism was revolutionary.

ARMY ROLE TO WORKING CLASS

Then came the change to reaction, which evolved slowly to about 1890 in the East, later in the West. The Army already a total dictatorship was used primarily against the growing main enemy of capitalism: the workers. Between 1886 and 1895 the Army helped crush 328 labor struggles throughout the country. The army waged its main war against the workers.

Kelly Record Filed In Supreme Court

On January 12, 1944, petitions for certiorari were filed in the two cases of Samuel Kelly vs. Commonwealth of Virginia. Readers of the FW will remember that the defense is appealing both from the original conviction of Kelly and from the denial by the Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals of his petition for writ of habeas corpus. Wide interest has been aroused in the case of this framed up militant. But the mere carrying out of legal steps will not free our victimized brother. Only tremendous mass pressure can effect this. Meetings should be held now. Send letters and telegrams pointing out the facts in the case and demanding the release of Samuel Kelly to Chief Justice Harlan F. Stone, U.S. Supreme Court, Washington, D.C. Get your union or other working class organization to do the same. Also, funds are still badly needed and should be sent to Samuel Kelly Defense Committee, 701 North Fifth Street, Richmond, Virginia.

Workers Anti-Segregation Committee Formed In Va.

In the January issue of the Fighting Worker we told of the editorial of Virginius Dabney with reference to segregation on street-cars and buses, and the formation of a middle class Negro organization following that editorial. We are now glad to receive the news that a workers committee against segregation has been formed on January 12.

PROGRAM OF NEGRO MIDDLE CLASS

Just prior to formation of the Workers Committee the middle class organization met on January 9, established itself as League for the Repeal of Segregation Laws, and adopted a program and plan of action. In enumerating the ills suffered by the Negro people. Their program omitted the economic results of segregation and discrimination against the vast masses of the unskilled and semi-skilled Negro workers. Another great defect of the program was that it restricts itself to segregation on street cars and buses only, instead of raising the general question of abolition of segregation.

A still more serious shortcoming is the reference in the program to inter-marriage and social equality as being only personal matters. In this connection it should be remembered that the Virginia Code makes racial inter-marriage a felony, punishable by a long term of imprisonment in the penitentiary. Finally, and most important, the plan of action essentially provides only for educational activity and lobbying.

WORKERS COMMITTEE

Faced with the inadequacy of the program and plan of action of the League for the Repeal of Segregation Laws several trade union militants, Negro and white, as well as a representative of the RWL met January 12, and decided to form a workers' anti-segregation committee. It was unanimously decided that segregation and discrimination, in other words the special oppression of the Negro people in the South, bears most heavily upon Negroes, but is also terribly burdensome to the white working class. The committee pointed out that the lower standard of living for the entire working class, white as well as Negro, in the South, is primarily due to the special oppression of the Negro people. Its first point, therefore, is that the work of abolition of the special oppression of the Negro people must be the combined task of Negro and white workers. The committee resolved to wage a struggle against all forms of segregation and discrimination. All present were agreed that lobbying before the Virginia legislature would bring no results whatever, and that the main emphasis of the WASC must be on mass action by the working class. Committees were elected to bring in a definite written program to the next meeting and also to work out a strategy of mass pressure upon the legislature meeting January 17, as well as to work out a general strategy of mass violation of the segregation laws. With reference to the middle class League for the Repeal of the Segregation Laws the committee took the opinion that we cannot merge with that organization, that we will cooperate with it on the basis of independent existence of our own committee where cooperation is possible. It was resolved that the main business of the WASC at the present time would be to contact all the unions in this city for the purpose of getting their affiliation and support.

POLITICAL LESSON

The next issue of the Fighting Workers will include the program of the WASC. Every union and other workers' organization is urged to cooperate to the fullest extent in smashing every vestige of the slave market. We point out to the WASC right now that in the course of their struggle they will inevitably discover that the real abolition of special oppression of the Negro people can only come about through the establishment of a workers' council government. This should not deter the committee in its day to day struggle, but we deem it our duty to draw the political lessons. This political lesson once learned will stimulate and deepen the fight. We assure this committee of the heartiest support of the local unit of the RWL.

F-L-A-S-H

We have just received the news that the "great liberal" Colgate W. Darden, governor of Virginia, one of those sending Odell Waller to the electric chair, in a ten thousand work message to the Virginia legislature, has not included one word on segregation.

DEMOCRACY FOR SOLDIERS . . .

(Continued from page one)

presses masses to present a list of candidates in elections, in the army and in the country, and under their own programs.

the right of WACS, WAVES, women Marines and Army and Navy nurses to vote,

the right of Civilians working in the merchant marine, Red Cross, Society of Friends, WAFS, USO who are overseas, to vote.

The question of servicemen's voting is a question of democratic rights. Do servicemen and women

have rights? The right to vote without free speech, is a hollow mockery. Without free press it is a contemptible fraud. Without the right of assembly to discuss candidates and political issues, and without the right to be elected one's self to office, it is meaningless.

A real servicemen's vote can be gained not by the passage of a law in the imperialist Congress, but only by mass action of all sections of the population.

POLAND NEEDED FOR SOVIET DEFENSE . . .

(Continued from page one)

put down the proletarian revolution, would inevitably lead to another civil war of 1918-21—with World Imperialism as a whole attempting to reduce the Soviet Union to nothing. The other two alternatives are directly pointed in a military sense against the Soviet Union:

BEWARE OF CAPITALISM

One thing is certain: on both the Allied and Axis side the suppression of the world proletariat, of which the Red Army, (despite Stalinism and its pledges) is a powerful potential ally and bulwark, occupies place number one on the agenda. The Allies, if they move into the Balkans, will be completing a giant U—an almost closed circle—against the Warped Workers' State. Once they get in there—if they do—we will witness a change in the "friendliness" of Roosevelt and Churchill for "Red Russia."

No, the occupation of Eastern Poland is not "Imperialism." Soviet economy, unlike capitalist economy elsewhere, is oriented more inward than outward. Trade and invest-

ment abroad have gone steadily down, until Soviet foreign trade at the beginning of the war was only one-fourth of what it was under Czarism; and foreign investment was probably even less. The economy of the Workers State—despite Stalinism—does not need markets for raw materials and investments ABROAD, in order to sustain itself.

All it needs is the help of the world working class in STOPPING THE IMPERIALISTS FROM INTERVENTION INTO THE WORKERS STATE. For that it needs the extension of the October Revolution to other countries—Germany, Britain, the U.S., Japan, India, etc. Unfortunately Stalinist methods retard this ONLY defense of the Soviet Union. The seizure of Eastern Poland—within this framework—is only a relatively minor affair; particularly with the false methods used to seize it. It will aid only to an infinitesimal extent in the defense of the Soviet Union from Allied and Axis intervention. What is needed most of all is the EXTENSION OF OCTOBER!

Today the Army is completely controlled by capital.

But workers are already the majority in the Army of 1944. Many are trade unionists, many politically developed.

Will they stomach the total dictatorship of Army officers over the rank and file?

Or will they reestablish the old democracy of the first American Revolution?

Yes, they will. But on a new and higher basis: rank and file control of the whole leadership, and the iron discipline of working class solidarity and responsibility to our class. This reestablishment of the best features of the first revolutionary army will require a new revolution. To transform this Army into its opposite is to transform the entire country into a workers republic, and to base the army on the factories.

This will be the next important addition to the History of the U. S. Army.

(To be continued)