

The Fighting Worker

Workers of
The World
Unite!

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Michigan's Labor Party

Three hundred and fifty enthusiastic trade union delegates and individuals gathered in Detroit on March 4th and 5th to establish a "Labor Party".

Instead of the genuine 18 carat "Independent" Labor Party promised, or expected, the new Michigan Commonwealth Federation stated, through its Chairman Matthew Hammond, that "next fall we'll probably have to vote with the Democratic Party. . . . Our Party will help to get out the vote for President Roosevelt by those who are inclined to vote for him anyway, no matter who the Republicans nominate."

Instead of using the term "Labor" Party, the Conference adopted the weasel words "Commonwealth Federation" in order not to offend middle class and farm elements. The one programmatic point taken up calls for "democratic control over those industries and monopolies where private ownership is threatening democracy, is injuring the common welfare and is blocking the achievement of the highest possible living standards." Thousands of bourgeois liberals and anti-Socialists will gladly support such a program. It is nothing but the usual reformist catchall.

SAME PROGRAM

Despite the fact that the Michigan Commonwealth Federation was organized in opposition to the wishes of the CIO top leadership and of the Auto Workers leadership in particular, its line of march does not run counter to, but rather parallel to the line of the CIO Political Action Committee of Sidney Hillman and the Stalinists. Both groups will support Roosevelt and the Democrats in the next election. Both will help establish joint ward and precinct committees.

POLITICAL STRAITJACKET

Today the workers are horrified by the sell-out perpetrated upon them by the CIO and AFL officialdom, who gave up the right to strike. They look around and see prices rising, taxes rising, no solution to thousands of grievances, militants fired, unions being busted, take-home pay being lowered, etc. They are asking for a solution. They are beginning to question the top reformist leadership.

The Labor Party is being organized precisely to take the steam out of this flareup. It doesn't matter that here and there, there are some genuine militants and some left-reformists and even centrists in the Michigan set-up. There were such people in the first set-up of the CIO; Lewis used them until he either broke them down or they were no longer necessary for a left-cover. He then threw them out. The same is and will be true of the present mid-western move for a

Labor Party. But after the next election, when the movement for a Labor Party will become much more widespread, it will be not "lefts" but the Sidney Hillmans and the Phil Murrays who will play the tune. They will use its machinery to tie the worker even more thoroughly to the bourgeois state. Since the economic instruments for class-peace are bogging under these labor skates are now resorting to political strait-jackets.

That is the whole significance of a Labor Party. It is a trap and a snare to take the steam out of the growing spirit amongst the masses and the growing schism between the workers and their leadership.

ILLUSION OR ACTION

Political action consists of more than just voting at the ballot box. The workers can't win there. They are excluded, first of all, from even getting on the ballot in 23 of the 48 states. Millions of them are disfranchised — Negroes, poor whites in the South, migratory workers (of whom there are millions in this war), residents of Washington, D.C., etc. Even if they win they may not be allowed to serve (witness the removal of the "democratically elected" Socialist Congressmen from New York and Wisconsin in the last war period, who were not permitted to serve). And even if they serve, they can solve nothing. There are thousands of laws that are "friendly" to labor. But only independent working class action at the factory gates and in the streets will force enforcement of such laws. And conversely, despite the harsh laws on the statutes, independent workers' action will stop their enforcement.

A.L.P. IN NEW YORK

Following the primary election of the Sidney Hillman-Stalinist wing on March 28th, the American Labor Party in New York split wide open. The so-called right wing, around Alex Rose, David Dubinsky and George Counts, seceded from the Party.

With the aid of the big Stalinist machine, the so-called "lefts" were able to gain about four-fifths of the 750 delegates to the state committee. But the struggle between both sides was an unprincipled sham.

On what do the two cliques differ? Practically nothing — except who shall control the machinery of the A.L.P. Both are for the war. Both for another term for Roosevelt. Both for the present war-time restrictions and the no-strike pledge. And so on, right down the line.

The working class does not need such a Party — a third capitalist Party. The working class needs a new Revolutionary Marxian Party that will attempt to guide the masses to the overthrow — not reform — of the vicious capitalist system.

Terms of Allied "Unity" Factors of The Second Front

March 20, 1944 — No bloc of "United" Nations has ever been so DIS-united on the eve of a major military push. The "second" front season is about to begin, and instead of the pretty pictures of "unity" promised at Moscow, Cairo, Teheran, discord amongst the "Allies" is so rampant it is recognized throughout the world.

All is not serene in the Allied camp. Rumor has it that Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin are about to meet again, in an attempt to iron out their differences.

BADOLGIO

Stalin has just recognized the Badoglio government of Italy. Mr. Hull, speaking for the United States, says that Uncle Sam does not intend

to recognize Badoglio and was not consulted on the Soviet action.

What has happened to the "united" Mediterranean Commission, that was set up at Teheran and was supposed to pass on all these things?

UNITED STATES VS. BRITAIN

Britain is openly organizing a bloc of nations within the Western Hemisphere, against its "ally" the United States. Argentina is the base of that bloc, with Bolivia, Chile, Uruguay and one or two others included. Differences — sharp and incisive differences — between the U. S. and Britain include such questions as oil, the pipeline that Roosevelt intends to build for the use of Standard Oil in the Middle East, the

question of airlines after the war, airbases, the campaign in Asia. Both countries have exactly opposite positions on what to do with both Germany and Japan. Both nations differ on what to do with DeGaulle, with Churchill quite friendly and Roosevelt hostile. Both nations differ on the post-war set-up, on money questions, on whether to have a British Federation of states, etc., etc., etc.

What has happened to the "unity of purpose" that was to come out of Teheran?

THE SECOND FRONT

The Russian paper, "War and the Working Class", on March 16 demands a "second front" once again. And it demands a front "not on the Italian pattern but invasion on a broad front." The same journal makes light of the big claims of the western allies that Allied bombings are hurting German military production to any large degree.

Why is Stalin prompting the western powers again? Obviously there is some friction as to when the "second" front is to begin and how extensive it may be.

The masses of the world are being treated to the most tragic farce in all history. They are being primed for a "second front" attack on the western shores of Europe, and they are being told of the noble ideals that prompt that attack against the German fortress. They are told of the "great struggle for democracy" and of the "war to end wars".

THE NEW WAR

But although the major battles of this carnage have not yet been joined the new third World War is being planned and organized openly before the whole wide universe. The most blinded of the blind can see the conflicts and behind-the-scenes struggles in the camp of the "United" Nations.

It is now well established that Great Britain is the power behind the Ramirez palace putch in Argentina. Can nations be "united" which cause such political revolutions in Argentina and Bolivia against their "ally"?

Can nations be "united" which support the "enemy" of their "ally", as the U. S. supports the prisoner of British imperialism in India, Nehru?

Can nations live in peace which use force against their "ally" (through intermediaries) in the midst of a common war against a "common" enemy?

The possibility of extensive military action is considerably affected by the doubts and suspicions of each "ally" against each other. It is also being affected by the threat of a general proletarian uprising in all Europe. America and Britain want

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STRAWS IN THE WIND

THE FORD STATEMENT

Henry Ford predicted recently that the war will end in two months.

Ford is no crackpot. Although he wouldn't give the reasons for his predictions he undoubtedly bases it on information that the rest of us do not have.

What is that information? Simple logic will tell you that it couldn't be based on military facts, because no man in his sane mind could predict that the powerful German and Japanese Armies could be annihilated in that short time. But if the information Ford has is not military it can only be diplomatic.

It can only mean that Ford knows of some negotiations going on behind the scenes for a separate peace, whether directly by the governments involved, or indirectly by powerful "unofficial" capitalist groups through such instruments as the Bank for International Settlements in Switzerland.

And if you put two and two together — if you remember Ford's isolationism and his hostility to the Soviet Union, his friendliness to Germany, and other such positions — you begin to see that what we Marxists have been predicting for some time is not just a mirage. Isn't Ford really telling the world that negotiations are now going on for a separate peace between the "democracies" and Germany? That plans are being readied to attack the Soviet Union? And that the matter has reached serious enough stages so that he thinks they will be successful?

KRAVCHENKO STATEMENT

The resignation of the Soviet Purchasing Agent Kravchenko and his denunciation of Stalin's foreign

policy as a "double cross of his allies" has more significance than appears on the surface. In fact it is the American counterpart of the Russian "Pravda Incident", where Stalin published a "rumor" about separate peace talks in Spain, between Britain and Germany's Von Ribbentrop.

It is highly doubtful that Kravchenko would make his statement unless he had previously taken it up with the State Department and been promised asylum. It is certainly a fact that American capitalism is building up a network of "friends" amongst bourgeois elements like Kravchenko in Russia. Germany did it between 1939 and 1941. The "allies" are also not blind to the opportunities.

The Kravchenko statement is an oblique preparation of American "public opinion" for the inevitable attack on the degenerated Workers' State. Signs of increasing schism are apparent all over. The Soviet Union has verbally attacked the Chinese government for some border incidents with Outer Mongolia. The question of peace in Rumania will be a very ticklish problem, with the allies trying to get a foothold in the country to check further steps westward, or at least to put them under Anglo-American control.

Kravchenko's statement is a straw in the wind. Neither the allies nor the Stalinists can openly attack each other at this moment. The allies, because of the great Red Army victories, and Stalinism, because of the "second front" question, lend-lease, and a desire to keep the imperialists divided. But despite Stalinism, the capitalist world and the Workers State can not co-exist; the attack must come sooner or later.

I. C. C. May Day Manifesto - For A Communist Society

MAY DAY MANIFESTO, 1944, OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONTACT COMMISSION FOR A FOURTH (COMMUNIST) INTERNATIONAL—
TO THE WORKERS OF THE WORLD
TO THE OPPRESSED IN ALL COUNTRIES
TO THE SOLDIERS AND SAILORS

May Day, for decades the traditional holiday of international labor, is with us once more. Some years ago, as many of us still remember, this was a day for the celebration of the international solidarity of the workers and oppressed of all countries. The misleaders of labor in every country

have endeavored to transform it into a day for increased speed up for the war, a day of closer linking of the slaves to the war chariot of the masters.

But, despite all the efforts of the bankers and their tools the Social Democrats, the centrists, and, above all the Stalinists, the workers break more and more from the chains of social-patriotism and begin to challenge the very existence of capitalism: that foul system which daily devours thousands of human beings and millions, nay billions, of dollars in its bloody maw.

In Italy millions of workers have gone out on strike against the Nazi domination in the North. Southern Italy

boils against the equally rapacious Anglo-American domination. Against the government, against the Labour Party, against the trade union bureaucracy, the miners of Britain presented a hundred per cent solid front in their March strike. Despite the censorship, news seeps out that India seethes with revolt, and Japan vainly shuffles her military and naval leadership in an attempt to turn aside the wrath of the workers and peasants of Asia. In the very bulwark of rotten imperialism, the USA, railroad workers, steel workers, aircraft workers break daily the class truce promised by the fakers of the AFL and CIO. This May Day sees

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ITALY NEEDS MARXIAN PARTY

Despite the combined German-Mussolini repressions, despite the cloak of censorship — the Italian Revolution has stirred again. On March 1st somewhere between two million and six million Italian workers in Northern Italy went out on strike. Even the Rome radio officially had to admit that there were 208,549 strikers, after a few days of struggle.

A Swiss report, seven days after this general strike began, stated that 2,618 workers had been killed in armed struggles in Turin and Genoa alone. The combined strike and insurrection was so threatening that the German military commander, General Zimmermann was forced to meet with a committee of Milan workers who demanded:

"An end to deportation of workmen to Germany. . . . Cessation of obligatory military service, improved food supplies, freedom for arrested strikers, and return of workers deported to Poland."

What has happened to this noble struggle of the downtrodden proletariat of Italy we do not know. The bourgeois press evidently doesn't consider it "news that's fit to print."

But for the world working class, this is the highest point of the present war struggles, an early spring beginning of the impending proletarian revolution in Europe and Asia.

The fact that at the same time all this was going on, the workers in Naples, under Allied Imperialism, demanded to strike for 10 minutes as a protest against Badoglio (and Churchill's support of him) — shows that the temper of Italy is the same from North to South. Letters from Southern Italy show that poverty and starvation are rampant, that black markets are flourishing more extensively than ever before. Inflation is running riot, both in the North and South.

The Italian proletariat, in both parts of the country, are being forced to bleed because the proletariat in Germany and in the "democratic" nations does not come to its aid, does not enforce a policy of HANDS OFF THE ITALIAN REVOLUTION.

The Italian working class can not win this struggle by itself. But with a scientific Marxian policy it can

make the victory a thousand times more assured. Such a policy would include:

1—Propaganda for FRATERNIZATION of ALL troops in Italy, and of the Italian workers with ALL these troops. Only by patient and constant explanation to the German, Italian and Allied worker in uniform, that we have the same interests in common — the establishment of Socialism — can the repressions against the heroic workers of Milan, Turin, and Genoa be stopped.

2—Opposition to the Bloc of Six Parties which counsels sabotage and other action ONLY to hand the country over to the Allies, to the rapaciousness and exploitation of AMG. ONLY THE ITALIAN WORKING CLASS is fighting against Fascism today in Italy. All other forces must be made to withdraw. All agents of other forces must be weeded out.

3—The workers in the North and South must come together and unite on a policy of no support to ANY imperialist power; expel all imperialists from Italy.

4—A planned offensive must be organized. The workers can not win by defensive measures. The heritage of syndicalism in Italy undoubtedly is a cause for confusion, for refusal to partake in political action. But the masses of Italy can not win without political action. The factories, the land and the banks must be taken over and the Bourgeois state smashed.

5—The need is for Soviets, armed Red Guards and trained Workers Militia.

6—Above all a New Marxian Party, with a true internationalist orientation is necessary.

We in America must make it clear to the American working class that the Italian workers of Turin and Milan are the only ones in Italy fighting Fascism. Not AMG, which embraces Fascists and which plants the seeds for new Fascist regimes. Not the imperialist armies. Only the Italian Proletariat!

TO FIGHT FASCISM WE MUST FIGHT ALL CAPITALISM!

WORKING CLASS SUPPORT TO THE ITALIAN REVOLUTION! AGAINST BOURGEOIS INTERVENTION IN ITALY!

FOR A SOVIET ITALY!

"Good Neighbor" or "6th Dominion"

Many "liberal" newspapers, in conjunction with the U. S. State Dept. have been responsible for the myth that the trouble in Argentina has been the dirty work of native fifth columnists in the pay of Berlin. This myth has been "substantially backed up" by pointing to the anti-democratic nature of the present government which is strongly anti-Semitic, with a controlled press, no right of assembly and no religious freedom.

It is true that the reactionaries who have seized power have adopted Nazi technique and forms, but this in reality is only an improvement on the old type of South American military dictatorships that were the handmaidens of foreign capitalists and native landlords.

A DEPENDENT NATION

In order to get a true picture of the present Argentine dictatorship the economic and political facts that led to its installation must be known. Argentina is a dependent nation, that is that she is a producer of raw materials and must depend upon highly industrialized nations for finished goods and capital. When the world wide depression knocked the bottom out of the world market the country suffered immeasurably.

To stave off the ill effects of future economic crises certain sections of the ruling class adopted Alejandro Bunge's plan, which calls for a custom union among those South American Nations whose economy supplements hers. This has been called Imperialism by sensational

writers. The plan is nothing more than an attempt to form a monopoly on certain types of raw materials and thereby influence prices on the world market. This isn't imperialism in the sense of exporting capital, but later on we shall see that elements of genuine Imperialism enter into this scheme.

FOREIGN INVESTMENTS

No change within the Argentine Government can be considered without realizing the importance of foreign investments. The total foreign investments in Argentina amounts to two and one-quarter billion dollars. Of this, more than half (one billion, 375 millions) is held by Great Britain with United States investments trailing behind with only 311 million dollars. The remainder is divided among European nations, including Germany. British investments are primarily in railroads and public utilities. Because of the British economic hold on Argentina it has been commonly referred to in many quarters as the "sixth dominion". It is also a known fact that the British investors are on very friendly terms with the present military dictatorship. To illustrate the close cooperation between the military dictatorship and British capital one has only to examine the political and economic factors that led to the overthrow of the so-called democratic government of President Ortiz in 1940. The government of Ortiz was forced to

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Why We Defend The Soviet Union

Many revolutionists, sincere in all respects but not entirely clear on Marxian theory, continue to ask the question: "Why Defend the Soviet Union? Isn't its Stalinist leadership an agency for strike-bearing and even counter-revolution?"

No one with any integrity can deny the truth of this statement, but does that exhaust the subject? We support thousands of Unions which have leaderships that favor and work for capitalism. But we support them IN OUR OWN WAY. We defend the Union against the boss, but we oppose the leadership at the same time. Marx and Engels, in their life time, supported many progressive Nationalist struggles, including the American Civil War. But they supported it in their own way, the way of the proletariat. They emphasized the need of INDEPENDENT WORKERS ACTION and not subordination to the capitalist profit-seekers. They also supported the German nation in its progressive war against imperialist France in 1870, but again they refused to support Bismarck; and Marx's friends Bebel and Liebknecht refused to vote for war credits.

We support the Soviet Union because it still retains the new working class property relations established under Lenin. Those property relations should not be brushed aside with the simple remark that they are under the control of Stalinism. Like a Union with degenerate leadership, or a small oppressed nation in the 19th century fighting a progressive battle under a reactionary leadership, the Soviet Union today represents a GREAT POTENTIAL for the world working class. If its leadership can be changed, it will be an enormous military and economic bulwark for the Revolution in other countries. NOW AND IMMEDIATELY — WITHOUT ANY SOCIAL REVOLUTIONARY CHANGES IN ITS MODE OF PRODUCTION.

The question of the defense of the Soviet Union should really be posed in that light. We are for its defense (despite Stalinism and even against it, by the way) because we recognize in it a potential immediate economic and military aid to OUR REVOLUTION. That is the big point. For the workers in each country the main task ahead is to fight their own bourgeoisie, and to lay the basis for their own Social Revolution. But in that fight, the workers in America, in Britain, in Germany and elsewhere will need allies not only within their country but outside of their country. On a world scale the Soviet Union — cleansed of Stalinism — remains our greatest POTENTIAL ally, our greatest source of economic and military capital against the counter-revolution.

THAT'S WHY WE DEFEND THE SOVIET UNION AGAINST ALL IMPERIALIST POWERS AND AGAINST ITS INTERNAL ENEMIES. WE DEFEND IT AS AN AID TO OUR OWN PHASE OF THE WORLD SOCIAL REVOLUTION. We defend it because here is the only army, the only economy, that can come immediately to our defense, that will not have to be destroyed bag and baggage before its members can help us.

CORRECTION

In the March FW, the article dealing with the errors of the Paris Commune has a line omitted. The complete sentence should read ". . . because they confined themselves to one city, had faith in the 'liberals' of that day, and failed to expropriate the banks and completely crush their capitalist class they themselves were crushed."

Workers of the World

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JOHN BULL IN THE COAL FIELDS

The British coal miners went out on strike, despite the disapproval of their Union leaders, despite the threats and promises of the "Labour" government, and they achieved the widest spread coal stoppage since the 1926 general strike. More than one-fourth of England's 710,000 miners struck in full realization that they were the only ones who did not get anything out of the deal the Union leaders had made with the government — whereby the latter took the mines under its control, and started drafting the miners (who are forced to stay in the mines while being considered part of the army and treated in accordance). Their nominal pay had increased very little, and they no longer received the bonus they used to get for working under bad conditions. On the other hand they have to pay more for the coal they consume themselves. They felt that all their rights were jeopardized by the strict government control, and the strike was an act of open defiance.

These excerpts from Time magazine (March 20) show how well the British miners realize what is being put over.

"The miners are now under government control, but the miners' discontent remains unchanged. . . . The South Welsh miners revolted against their own Union leaders, got sympathetic support in other districts." This is what Arthur Homer, Stalinist Union leader in South Wales had to say: "The men are in a hell of a mood. There used to be a time when a hymn would start them back, but not now. Disappointments have made them think the Government is pulling their leg." And another quotation from Time: "For him (Fuel Minister Gwilym Lloyd George) the miners had the same disbelieving disdain they accorded their own Union leaders."

The class struggle in Great Britain is intensifying, and the workers are realizing that every one of their struggles, even those starting out as pure economic struggles, necessarily become fights against the government, representative of the British capitalist class as a whole.

IRELAND IN CHAINS

In the jail of Londonderry (Northern Ireland) 100 prisoners went on a hungerstrike to better the prison work conditions. In London, Wil-

liam Lowry, Ulster minister of home affairs, declined in the House of Commons to allow immediate relatives to see any of the hunger strikers or permit their examination by personal physicians. "Their own relatives at an appropriate time — say when death is imminent — will be duly notified," he declared.

Any place is good enough for the capitalists to make profits through oppression, and their representative — Lowry — will see to it that their interests are safeguarded even in the jails.

Even though neutral, Ireland has part of the problems which are presented in this war. As a matter of fact, the oppression to which Great Britain and the rest of the Allies is subjecting it is aggravated. The closing of the border hits the working class more directly than other parts of the population. Several thousand workers who live on one side of the boarder and work on the other side have difficulty getting to their jobs.

On the other hand, Ireland now faces the post-war problems the warring nations face, unemployment and economic ruin. Nearly one-tenth of Ireland's population is in the British army or working in British war plants, — more than 100,000 in the army and more than 130,000 in the factories. Besides that, Irish industry is now partly producing war materials. Ireland is being oppressed by the Allies and in addition has to carry the full burden of the imperialist war.

THREAT OF CIVIL WAR IN CHINA

Mrs. Agnes Smedley, author of "Battle Hymn of China", made a speech in Chicago, the essence of which was that China is facing civil war, and that so far only U. S. intervention has prevented it. She said that one of the reasons the Chiang Kai Shek government has sent half a million nationalist soldiers to the rear of the 8th ("Communist") army is because the "Communists" have made 50% of the men literate.

This shows by which methods the Kuo-min-tang, party of the Chinese bourgeoisie, keeps the power it won from the defeated revolution of 1927. It attempts to keep people in complete ignorance. Its methods are not only those of Fascism, as Mme. Sun Yat-Sen recently charged, but the older methods of feudal rulers.

WLB No Panacea For Ward Workers

The 4,500 overworked underpaid workers of Montgomery Wards, Local 20 URW DSEA in Chicago know what they are striking for. Their picket signs proclaim they want better pay, shorter hours, better conditions, Union recognition, Contract renewal. They say: "Sewell Avery may be striking against the WLB but WE are striking against Ward's." The workers on the line are way ahead of their international officers in the cloister. The hierarchy ONLY want the check-offs established and to force Avery to recognize the power of the War Labor Board. On this basis they have received ardent support from otherwise nonmilitant labor officialdom all over the country. To them, an order from Roosevelt directing Avery to observe the WLB ruling is a "victory". However the workers on the picket line have reason to know that the WLB is no friend of Labor. To the thousands of enthusiastic strikers victory can be spelled out only in terms of conditions and cash, and a strong fighting union. As this becomes clearer the rank and file will see the need of a strong progressive group inside the Union itself.

As we go to press the President

has kept his hands off this hot potato bouncing in his lap so close to electioneering time, but workers who have no political politeness, are not so afraid to show where their solidarity lies. The Kansas City warehouse and retail store have gone out in sympathy, 100%, including the AFL departments. The Detroit local has voted a strike meeting tract renewal. They say; "Sewell for this coming Sunday."

Workers in Chicago from various Union shops, food workers, auto workers, teamsters, salespeople, office girls, and factory workers and their families have all taken their turn on the mass picket line, helping in the commissary with contributions or labor power, and expressing their solidarity in the only way a worker understands — by getting out and working to help win the demands of the strikers.

It is daily becoming clearer to all that the WLB is an impotent instrument of the ruling class — that the only way workers can gain their economic demands is by STRIKE ACTION, independent of the WLB or the Unions trucking officialdom.

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I. C. C. MANIFESTO

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the worker and oppressed throughout the world on a much higher level of struggle than any previous May Day in the period of the war.

STATE POWER NEEDED

But unless this struggle reaches the level of political struggle on the plane of a fight for power, it can disappear without leaving significant traces.

What are our class enemies planning? They are making preparations for the inevitable transformation of the predominantly imperialist war to a counter-revolutionary war against the Proletarian Revolution. Throughout January Roosevelt and Churchill callously spoke of the vast loss of life that was going to take place as a result of the threatened assault on Western Europe and the Nazi janissaries of Krupp and IG Farben replied with threats of still greater slaughter. But both gangs realize that the danger to them of Proletarian Revolution is now the greatest immediate menace, determining their whole military strategy. In this situation the creation in the shortest possible time of a world party of revolution becomes the foremost task.

CIVIL WAR TO END WAR

Passing of power from the hands of the masters to the slaves in the form of workers' councils led by Marxist parties is the only way in which millions of soldiers and civilians can save their lives. We are many, the capitalist apostles of death are few. They have given us guns, planes, tanks, with which to tear each other's guts out and grind down our bodies. Do not let us be fooled any longer! Let us use these weapons to put an end to death and unemployment. Let us use these weapons for the benefit of the working class!

Have no confidence in the honeyed words of the bosses about the better world after the war? Hurl at them the question: Why wasn't there a better world before the war? If capitalism, before the loss and destruction of the war,

was only able to give bread lines and speed up horror and misery, it is certain that this will be worse, far worse, if the bosses should be able to maintain their rule through and after the present war.

Have no confidence in the promises of the Stalinists. In the USA Earl Browder, secretary of the CPUSA, and front man for the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union, proclaims the end of the class struggle and announces the post-war prosperity of the workers under a non-existent "free enterprise". Even workers, who have been dupes of this infamous party for years, now see its role as labor lieutenant of the capitalist class, and have turned against it with loathing and contempt.

Have no confidence in the waverers, the centrists, the Trotskyites. In England and the USA they attempt to lead the workers into the snare of a Labour Party, a third capitalist party, more dangerous than the open instruments of the bosses. In France they are a tail to the royalist De Gaulle. In India they support the Indian National Congress, the safety valve of imperialism against revolutionary explosion. They are unable to distinguish between the progressive role of the economic base of the Soviet Union and the reactionary, imperialist-agent nature of the Stalinist bureaucracy. From the leadership of these people of revolutionary phrases and reformist deeds, nothing but defeat and demoralization for the working class can result.

FOR A WORKER'S WORLD

Workers of the world! Soldiers on both sides of the imperialist lines! Fraternize! Talk to each other! Create joint committees to cooperate with the workers in overthrowing the power of your bosses, who can only give either unemployment or war or both!

The Right of Self-Determination

March 22, 1944 — The Nazis have overrun Hungary and Roumania. The British and Americans have begun a stiffening policy of "sanctions" against Ireland. Turkey is threatened.

What country will be overrun next? What smaller nation will be forced to knuckle to the big imperialists? In its greatest historical crisis, imperialism no longer can afford the luxury of diplomatic amenities. All things are settled by brute force, military and economic strength. All powers, small or large, are forced to pay homage to one or another Bigger Power.

This is not only a war policy, but particularly will it be true AFTER the war, when the benevolent "policing" of the small countries and conquered countries begins.

The German and Japanese imperialists are far ahead of their "democratic" brethren in the forceful domination of "neutral" powers. They overrun Norway, Denmark, Luxembourg, Hungary, Korea, Siam, etc. But the Allies have a few

Workers in the factories! Break the class truce imposed upon you by the fake leaders who never even consulted you! Build your shop committees! Build your workers guards! Prepare for power!

Colonial slaves! Put an end to such foul conditions as caused the artificial capitalist-made famine in India! Seize power! Form Workers Councils! Take over the land, the factories, the mines! Drive out the imperialists! Avoid the bourgeois and petty bourgeois agents of world imperialism as you would the plague!

Workers of the Soviet Union! Soldiers of the Red Army! How much further are you going to let Stalinism surrender to international imperialism! Restore your Soviets! Wipe out the usurpers of working class power! That is the way to defend the Soviet Union, that is the way of the world October, the way of Lenin! Any other way is the way back to capitalism and the loss of everything for which you fought from 1917 to 1922.

Workers everywhere! Soldiers on all fronts! Colonial slaves! Backbroken women with your double burden! Oppressed minority groups! Tear stained, bombed, hungry children! Poor peasants! Members of the ever more crushed middle class! Unite under the banner of revolutionary Marxism and once and for all establish PEACE AND FREEDOM!

THROUGHOUT THE WORLD ALL POWER TO WORKERS' COUNCILS!

HANDS OFF ITALY! FOR A SOVIET ITALY! FOR A FOURTH (COMMUNIST) INTERNATIONAL! DEFEND THE SOVIET UNION FROM INTERVENTION OR ATTACK, DESPITE AND AGAINST STALINISM!

INTERNATIONAL CONTACT COMMITTEE FOR A FOURTH (COMMUNIST) INTERNATIONAL

marks to their credit on this score, too: Algeria, Tunisia, the Azores, Madagascar, etc. There is some possibility that Spain and Portugal may be next. From the military point of view the occupation of Portugal and Spain, since they face a relatively unfortified sector of German arms, might be a great advantage. Similarly, if it were possible, the occupation of Turkey (like that of Iran) would offer enormous possibilities. If the war continues much longer, these "neutrals" will either be forced into the war, one way or the other, or occupied.

The dreams of self-determination, shared by some naive nationalists, is thus being crushed before our eyes. The capitalists may use the term for holiday occasions like the Atlantic Charter. But translated into pure reality it merely means policing, occupation, or other form of direct domination by a Big Power. It will be impossible to get the Germans out of Hungary, after the war, if the Axis wins; or the Allies out of there if the Germans are forced out by defeat.

The right of self-determination, like all other bourgeois-nationalist demands of our times, can be gained only through victory of the only class that can eventually dispense with force, with wars, with large standing armies—the proletariat.

Forward Red Army, To Socialism

March 30, 1944 — The Red Army is steadily plowing into new territory. At the moment the Soviet forces are poised for a push into Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Rumania. Although the German imperialists still hold territory taken since the invasion in June 1941, there is every indication that before another month or two the German armies will be completely expelled from the Soviet Union.

Since Stalingrad the Red Army has marched back about 950 miles, approximately the distance from New York to Milwaukee. Mr. Churchill, in his recent speech, spoke glowingly about this feat and stated it was the greatest achievement in the Allied military spectrum.

But the military victories of the Red Army must be put into a correct perspective. For any sympathizer of the Soviet Union to be drugged by these victories into a sense of security would be extremely foolhardy.

It is quite evident, in the first place, that the German armies are not being annihilated. To a large extent the retreat is an orderly one. Secondly, the cost in men and munitions is not a small one for the Red Army. German militarism is now operating on the military theories of General Von Seeckt, the brilliant exponent of the theory of "defense". Von Seeckt is a proponent of the theory that when the forces of the two sides are equal or nearly equal the correct strategy is to deplete the enemy forces by absorbing its blows in a well-organized defense. The defense loses only about 1/3 the men that the offensive loses. Offensive should not be started, says Von Seeckt until the losses of the enemy have been so great that the relation of forces has been changed.

But these two military considerations are not the whole story of what is going on in Russia today. Germany is playing a shrewd political game as well. She knows that the Russian victories are as much — if not more — of a danger to Britain and the United States as they are to Germany itself. They are a danger, first of all, because of the Proletarian Revolution; when that comes the Red Army will be the biggest organized threat to ALL imperialism.

But they are a danger too because they threaten the lifelines and spheres of influence of the other two major powers. A few more hundred miles of Red victories will bring the Soviet Union's sphere of influence into Greece, Turkey and probably into other parts of the Near East. Britain's life-line would thus be threatened. For hundreds of years Britain has fought against any such consolidation of power — by Germany or France, or any combination of powers. Can she — will she — permit a powerful Russia (particularly a degenerated Workers' State) to gain such an advantage. It is highly unlikely.

America too is fearful of such an outcome. Not necessarily because of Britain. In fact the U. S. would be very happy to see the British life-line destroyed. But a powerful Soviet Union is a danger to all capitalist "civilization", and the Colossus of the North is the self-appointed crusader against Communism.

Germany is playing on this antagonism to work out some compromise with the Allies. German propaganda emphasizes the "danger of Communism". The possibility of a separate peace or an understanding amongst the powers to fight "Communism", and particularly the Soviet Union, is not too remote. Too many capitalists in all countries are thinking along those lines.

Looked at in this light the military victories of the Red Army are

UNITY BASED ON FEAR OF REVOLUTION

(Continued from page 1)

to keep their MAIN forces for the two above purposes.

BOURGEOIS UNITY

Both powers are hoping to gain an easy entry into Berlin; they are living in expectations that the German bourgeoisie will INVITE the allied armies into Germany to squelch the working class. The "invitation" need not be in the form of an "armistice" or a "peace". It can very well be in the form of rapid "strategical" withdrawals by the German army from the French shores into Germany. It can very well be a military campaign whereby the German chiefs of staff, in order to place a lid on the European Revolution, opens the front without a formal armistice. Britain and the United States are hoping for such a relatively bloodless victory so that they can keep their military power intact. They need it.

They need it to fight the Soviet Union. They need it to fight the Red Army, which despite Stalin, will give military aid to the working class of Europe. And they need it to eventually fight each other for such markets as Argentina, China, India, Australia, Canada.

THE COMMON ENEMY

On what are the "United" Nations united? Neither on military strategy, nor on political strategy.

valuable only in a secondary sense, as a temporary defense measure. They can gain lasting meaning, they can really help put an end to wars if they are co-ordinated with the growing unrest and uprisings of the masses in Europe and Asia. Otherwise the victories will be short-lived; a realignment will take place and new struggles with a more powerful and more united capitalist enemy will occur.

The victories of the Red Army are encouraging for all those forces who still believe that despite Stalinism the Soviet Union is a Workers State. But the danger to the Soviet Union is becoming greater with each victory, precisely because it may help consolidate all the imperialists for a continuation of the counter-revolution of 1918-21. The only defense of the Soviet Union still remains the extension of the October Revolution to other countries.

Stalin accuses the others of stalling on a "second" front. Sections of the American press note the differences between Britain and America on Asiatic strategy. Each nation has its own satellites-in-exile. And the Stalinist bureaucracy is trying to build its own set of buffer states.

The only unity that exists in the Allied camp (and, if you please, in and with the Axis camp) is their common opposition to the Proletarian Revolution.

The "second" front may come before these words reach print. But it will be a "second" front conditioned by the elements of disunity existing in the camp of the Allies. Its tempo and depth will depend on two things:

1—The ability of the Allied imperialist powers to subordinate their distrust, suspicion and antagonisms to each other, and to iron out some of them; and

2—The development of the Proletarian Revolution. Only the imminence of this Revolution can really unite the imperialist powers in a common counter-revolutionary front. (The role of the Soviet Union has been discussed in previous issues of the FIGHTING WORKER and is partly discussed elsewhere in this issue.)

No matter what happens, however, the seeds of the new world war, the

third bigger and better blood-bath, are already planted and sprouting. There can be no "end" to imperialist war under capitalism — only new line-ups. The only answer, the only permanent escape from war lies in . . . Revolution, and the establishment of a socialist society.

INTERNATIONAL NEWS
 Bulletin of the Provisional International Contact Commission
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"Land of the Free"

★ ★ ★

The Federal Trade Commission revealed some figures on the food monopoly growth: they show that 4 companies control 67% of the meat packing industry; 5 companies 77% of beet sugar; 1 company has 46% of the packaged cereal business; 4 companies 65% of the wholesale baking; 4 companies 77% of the biscuit and cracker products etc., etc., etc. and what do you eat!

E. I. duPont de Nemours & Co. has its fingers in every pocket of the imperialist pie, and sometimes has to steal two plums from the same pocket. . . . With the National Lead Co. and Titan Co., Inc. they are the American section of the world monopoly on titanium (which is essential to making paints, rubber products, glass, paper, enamel and various other materials).

These "American" firms do business on the terms dictated by the Nazi giant chemical trust — I. G. Farbenindustrie, and in March 1941 helped the Japanese evade a British blockade by shipping them 700 tons of titanium ore, even though the duPont Imperial Chemical Industries is a British participant in the same monopoly scheme. Files from the Department of Justice show "a flagrant misuse" of patents, division of world markets, and "unjustifiable price-fixing" to the detriment of the consumer. These companies and their officers were indicted last June and are still awaiting trial . . . meanwhile business goes on as usual, for such are the blessings of "free enterprise".

Statement recently made by Dr. George F. Donovan, president of Webster College:

While the steel industry alone made profits of one billion 593 million dollars (including a phoney depreciation fund) in the last three years, thirty million American people are still undernourished. The much touted American "high standard of living" is not exactly true. Citizens of half a dozen foreign countries are better fed, if you take the figures for tuberculosis death rate, infant death rate and life expectancy.

OIL AND AMMUNITION

Another way to keep your wallet

well greased is to take a tip from the big oil companies. . . . Standard Oil Co. of California, Royal Dutch Shell and the Atlantic Refining Co., together own what is called the Universal Oil Products Company, which in turn licenses its patents on processes for refining and treatment of petroleum to whom it chooses. Of course, Universal owns ALL patents of this nature, collects big royalties on them, and successfully prevented a court test on the validity of these patents for over 20 years!

When it did come up in court Universal's claims were upheld; but later on the presiding Judge, Judge Davis of Philadelphia had to resign when it was proved that he accepted a good part of a \$50,000.00 bribe, and William Fox, the go-between, landed in prison; but no jury has yet convicted the Judge or reversed the paid-for decision he handed down.

According to the Justice Department the whole refining-patent process is a fraud to milk consumers of extra millions of their hard earned dollars . . . but free enterprise is free enterprise and a hard war is being fought to "preserve the American way of life"!

From the Society Column we get this item: Last November a party was given at the Waldorf for the royal visitor from Arabia, the Emir Feisal of Saudi. The party was sponsored by the U. S. State Department and Standard Oil. Among the guests was Mrs. Cornelius Vanderbilt Sr., who has entertained Winston Churchill and other visiting governmental heads . . .

On March 8th we notice that (AP report) a plane load of rifles, ammunition and helmets has been delivered to King Ibn Saud at a Saudi Arabian oasis as a token of larger lend-lease war materials. It was preceded by a shipment of \$1,250,000 in Saudi Arabian coins, minted in the U. S. under lend-lease. Discussions are under way on a contemplated U. S. sponsored oil pipe line from Saudi Arabia to the Mediterranean. The Commander of the U. S. forces in the middle East made the delivery.

Some war! We pay the taxes, and spill the blood and the Army sees to it that Standard gets the oil!

"Workers Control of Relief Funds"

In 1936 or 1937 the R. W. L. put forth a slogan of "Workers Control of Relief Funds for the Unemployed". From a practical point of view the slogan today has little meaning, but from a theoretical point of view it can lead to very serious errors. The Political Committee of the League is therefore initiating a discussion to clarify and correct this mistake.

The criterion in judging all such slogans is this: Will it help the working class break its ties with the bourgeoisie and its state, and go further along the road of independent working class action; or will it hinder that development, will it tie the working class more firmly to the enemy tail? The latter is obviously true in the proposal for workers control of the relief funds. **NO MATTER WHAT THE REVOLUTIONARIES AND MILITANTS DO ONLY THE CAPITALISTS CAN GAIN AS A RESULT OF WORKERS CONTROL OF RELIEF FUNDS.** In fact, from their point of view, it would be a wise move.

The important thing is, who decides **HOW MUCH MONEY SHALL BE DISTRIBUTED?** Obviously, under capitalism, they, the capitalists, do — through their state. If we are given the right to administer the funds, we are given the same rights as Bevin or Morrison are given in Britain. We decide merely how to divide a paucity of funds. And since we are part of the working class, we merely act as a left cover for putting across the program of scarcity and starvation. Possibly we will administer the program with more stability and equity than the bourgeois administrators, but in the last analysis — having accepted the premise that their state determines the amount (even though we pressure them) we are only helping weld the workers to the bourgeois state. See, the average unemployed worker will say, the Revolutionary Marxists are administering the funds, obviously there is nothing radically wrong with the unemployed program of the bourgeois state. The proposal of workers control of relief funds is just as reformist and wrong as the proposal for Marxists to enter the bourgeois ministry or cabinet, just as wrong as for Andres Nin to have accepted the post of Minister of Justice in the Company's government.

That the League did not draw such conclusions, nor rationalize this error further, is evident by the fact that last year when the Trotskyists put forth the slogan of "Workers and consumers control of rationing", or

PROTEST MAIL GAG!

FW & IN BANNED AGAIN.

Notice has just been received from Postmaster Kreutgen that the MARCH Fighting Worker and International News have been declared non-mailable. As usual, **NO REASON HAS BEEN STATED!** This makes the 6th time in one year that issues are declared non-mailable by the advocates of "yours not to question why, yours but to do and die". This action — plus pressure by the F.B.I. — force us to combine the April-May numbers of the paper.

Your help is needed, financial, moral, and organizational! Protest to the Postmaster! Help build our Defense Fund! Write! Contribute! Distribute!

Argentina, Pawn of Imperialism

(Continued from page 2)

resign its office when the Minister of Finance advocated the taking over of all British investments beginning with loans floated for the purpose in the U. S.

The forces within the ruling class that forced the Ortiz government out of office were richly rewarded by Britain when it contracted to buy up all the available surplus of Argentine meat until September 1944 — at a price that was the highest in 18 years.

THE MAIN RIVALS

This friendly relation has been extended to the military dictatorship of Ramirez and was duly registered on the London Stock Exchange when British investments and railroad stock and utilities went up in view of the improved outlook for the companies involved.

Much of the unkindness toward American capitalists that was attributed to the military dictatorship was really the efforts of the British capitalists to keep U. S. investments out of the Argentine. When American congressmen denounced the Argentine cartel that controlled and limited shipment of Tannin to the U. S. they were actually denouncing British interests in Argentina because Britain has a virtual monopoly on the production and shipment of all tannin in Argentina and Paraguay.

When the U. S. State department decided to punish Argentina for her "unfriendly attitude," by refusing to extend lend-lease in the form of arms and manufactured goods, these items were shortly acquired from Britain.

In simple terms the military dictatorship of Argentina is a manifestation of U. S.—British rivalry for

"workers, consumers and small businessmen's control of rationing", we immediately denounced this as a reformist program. Rationing is unnecessary. There is enough to feed the whole world many times over. Only capitalism and its wars make it necessary today. To administer this "organized starvation" for the bourgeois state is to tie one's self to the war chariot. We administer the scarcity and fool the workers into believing that it is necessary to have such scarcity. We blunt the knife of independent working class action, we tie the worker more firmly to the enemy state, we confuse and demoralize him. The League, without hesitation, came out unalterably against this slogan. There can be no effective control of consumption unless the working class controls production as well. In opposition to the slogan of "workers and consumers control of rationing (consumption)" we proposed the general program of Workers Control of Production for Use under a Workers Council Government.

In opposition to the reformist slogan of Workers Control of Relief Funds, the Political Committee proposes such slogans as "free rent and free light", "trade union wages for workers on relief", "open the warehouses and feed the hungry", "for independent workers action to gain our demands" and the over-all slogan, as indicated above, of "workers control of production for use under a workers council government".

Comrades who wish to may participate in the discussion on this point. The FIGHTING WORKER will publish articles of 400 words or less on the subject, and the answer of the P.C. when it feels such an answer is warranted.

Kelly Defense Committee Active

Richmond, Va. — New legal action for the release of Samuel Kelly, has been started before the Virginia courts, following the refusal of the United States Supreme Court to hear argument on the case. Kelly, a worker militant and a Negro who openly denounced the imperialist war, is in jail on a rank frame-up that staggers the imagination. He was charged with stealing some suits from a former employer and the only evidence adduced was that Kelly had left the employ of this august gentleman and had started a small store of his own.

The petition before the Supreme Court showed conclusively that there was literally no evidence against Samuel Kelly and that he had been deprived of "due process of law" and "equal protection of the laws", under the provisions of the 14th amendment to the U. S. constitution. But the Supreme Court, which met in special session to hear

argument on the case of the 8 Nazi saboteurs, refused to even discuss the case of this working class martyr, who is now serving a three years sentence and who is even denied bail while his appeal goes on.

RICHMOND MASS MEETING

Not one whit daunted, the Samuel Kelly Defense Committee is going ahead with the fight for Brother Kelly's release. On March 7 at the Fifth St. Baptist Church six hundred people attended a mass meeting and brides' contest, where Dr. C. C. Scott, chairman of the Richmond Samuel Kelly Defense Committee, presided. Scores of people had worked for several weeks on the program.

Thomas H. Stone, one of Kelly's attorneys, spoke, pointing out that the fight for Kelly's release was a significant part of the general struggle against segregation and oppression of the Negro people and that the vicious treatment of Kelly was motivated by his opposition to the war. Mr. Stone's remarks were greeted with stormy applause. More than \$750.00 was contributed at this meeting through various organizations, and the audience and many present volunteered to participate in the work of the SKDC and to get their organizations to help.

NEXT LEGAL STEP

Kelly's attorneys plan to file a petition for writ of habeas corpus at the April term of the Federal District Court. Legally Kelly's case will be in a stronger position than ever before, inasmuch as now all the facts can be brought out. At his first trial the attorneys then representing Kelly, were so sure that the court could not convict him on the facts that the constitutional issues were only raised by implication. Now the whole thing will be out in the open.

ONLY THE MASSES CAN FREE KELLY

But Samuel Kelly can never be freed solely or mainly by legalistic tactics. Kelly has lawyers of the very first rank but all workers should realize that our imprisoned brother is where he is because of the fact that he fought for the interests of the workers and the Negro people, because he boldly spoke for the international solidarity of the workers in time of war.

No amount of logic no reasoning is going to free him. The fight for his release is part of the class struggle. Only when there is such a roar of protest from the working class as to make the Southern (and U.S.A.) ruling class tremble will he come out of the penitentiary.

In essence the fight for the release of Kelly is the same as the fight for the release of the eighteen SWP prisoners. It is true that the form is different, but the content is essentially the same. Kelly is framed for a non-political "crime" our SWP comrades are framed on political charges. But Kelly's opposition to the imperialist war, although known only locally was on a much clearer and sounder basis than that of the Trotskyites. This should not cause a single worker to slacken in his efforts to secure the release of Cannon, Goldman, etc., but it should cause every worker to understand that the fight for Kelly's release is a fight against the mass slaughter of the workers.

Take this up in your union, your club, whatever organization you are connected with. Send letters and telegrams declaring your belief in the innocence of Kelly to Honorable Robert N. Pollard, Federal District Judge, Post Office Building, Richmond, Va. and demanding his release. Please send copies to the Samuel Kelly Defense Committee, 705 N. 5th St., Richmond, Va., Miss Dorothy Thomason, secretary. This same address can also send speakers and literature to you.