

# The Fighting Worker

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

Workers of  
The World  
Unite!

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## RED ARMY NEARS BERLIN

February 1, 1945—As we go to press the Red Army, in one of the most spectacular military campaigns in history, is at the gates of Berlin. This advance poses a number of important political questions for the capitalist world:

1—When the Red Army overruns Germany it will be the first time it has come into contact with a major industrial proletariat. What will be the effect of that be on both the German working class, and the workers in the Red Army itself?

2—When the Soviet forces eventually meet up with the Anglo-American armies, what will be the effect on the relationships between the Allies and Russia?

3—What will be the effect of all this on the internal relations in

The United States is preparing its structure to fight the Soviet Union, IF NECESSARY. The "right" order, plans for slave battalions, and all the other capitalist measures have as one of their major aims: preparedness for an eventual struggle with the Soviet Union (and of course the increased counter-revolutionary role of the Allies in Europe and Asia).

What happens when the Red Army meets the Berlin working class as well. IT WILL SPEED-UP THE DEVELOPMENTS OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE. It will pose enormous problems for Stalinism. Possibly for a short time the Stalinist bureaucrats may be able to keep the German masses quiet with a few reforms and other minor concessions. Experience in Central Europe shows that Stalinism is able, through demagoguery and patch-work reforms, to still the storm of the masses for a short period. But so far they have been operating in countries that were primarily peasant. What will happen, however, when they meet up with industrial Germany and its proletariat?

### RED ARMY AND GERMAN WORKERS

Undoubtedly the present military victory of the Soviet forces poses equally difficult questions for the Allied imperialists. That explains the present "race" between the various armies as to who gets to Berlin first. They fear the explosive power that would be contained in a unity of the Red Army and the German working class on a program of Proletarian Revolution. While such is the least likely variant so long as Stalinism has not been overthrown, the contact of the Soviet Army with the Berlin proletariat may be the beginning of the end of Stalinism's use to the world bourgeoisie. It may have a decisive effect in converting the present imperialist war into a civil war.

The next issue of the FIGHTING WORKER will have a more rounded commentary on the present situation.

## POPULAR FRONT UNDERMINED REVOLUTION IN GREECE

Popular Frontism has again delivered a shattering blow to the Proletarian Revolution in Europe. The forces of the Greek ELAS have been forced back by British counter-revolutionary armies and wholesale demoralization is setting in, in the ranks of the proletariat. This demoralization reflects itself in such things as the withdrawal of the Union of Popular Democracy and the Salonika branch of the Socialist Party, as well as other forces from the EAM — which was the leading machine of the revolutionary crisis in Greece. The masses today are dissatisfied, confused, bewildered, lacking in perspective, as a result of this joint treachery by Stalinism, Social-Democracy and the "liberal" bourgeoisie.

Again and again and still again: **COMPROMISE WITH BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY IN ANY SHAPE OR FORM MEANS DEFEAT FOR THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION!**

Lenin and the Bolsheviks pointed this out in the 2nd Congress of the Communist International way back in 1920. Three dozen revolutions since 1917 have all proven that any compromise with capitalist "democracy" is death to progress.

The present "truce" in Greece does not mean an end to the class struggle. On the contrary it means that General Plastiras, new head of the Greek capitalist regime, will reorganize the Fascist forces of that nation for a final assault on the Greek working class. It means persecution of the masses and hundreds of "legal" lynchings by the new government, which is really another dictatorship. The same thing has happened before.

In Germany, Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, Spain, China and countless other places. **COMPROMISE WITH BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY LEADS ONLY TO PHYSICAL ANNIHILATION OF THE BEST MILITANTS OF THE PROLETARIAT AND GIVES A BREATHING SPELL TO THE FASCIST FORCES FOR REORGANIZATION.**

### DISUNITY DUE TO NARROW PERSPECTIVES

The ELAS and the EAM were organized on an absolutely false structure. It was a People's Front of liberal and working class parties whose only goal was the establishment of a "democratic" (i.e. capitalist) Greece. This perspective was too narrow to involve the proletariat in a fight to the finish. The masses were desperate. They needed food, jobs, decent wages, land, peace. Instead they got British intervention, the same old tyrannical Greek government, starvation.

But what did the Popular Front coalition — under Stalinist leadership — offer them? Even the most backward worker could realize that negotiations with Britain or with a regency could not bring peace, bread and land. It was the same old tar in new barrels. Elections, constituent assemblies, minor reforms can not and do not solve the problems of the masses, particularly during revolutionary situations.

The Greek proletariat fought on heroically. But without a revolutionary leadership they began to fall away. Instead of UNITING the masses behind the program for "bread, peace and land," the Popular Frontist EAM served only to DIS-

## U. S. Speeds Toward Fascism With "Work, Fight or Jail"

A few months ago the FIGHTING WORKER predicted that despite the large labor support Roosevelt received in the recent elections, the next administration would move rapidly to the right. We based ourselves on the sound Marxian principle that bourgeois democracy can no longer afford to make major concessions to the working class and that American Bonapartism — the transition to Fascism — must therefore shed its hypocritical mask in favor of a more open dictatorship.

Events since the election have confirmed our prediction beyond any doubt. We list only the major ones:

### SLAVE BATTALIONS

1—The attempt to pass labor draft legislation which will place hundreds of thousands of American workers in slave battalions at slave "wages," under military discipline. This is nothing different from the German system. As a matter of fact the Japanese imperialists instituted such slave battalions only a few weeks ago. Mr. Roosevelt shows that capitalist decay is world wide: the so-called democracies can sustain themselves only by falling back on fascist methods and tactics.

### SHUTTING UP WORKERS

2—The outlawing of conventions of more than 50 people by James F. Byrnes, on the flimsy excuse that that will save railroad and hotel spaces. Actually all conventions put together take up less than 2% of such space. The outlawing of conventions has a POLITICAL motive. It is an attempt by the New Deal to stifle opposition within the trade union movement, particularly in the auto workers. Roosevelt hopes to maintain the no-strike pledge by the simple expedient of not permitting the rank and file to vote on it at conventions. The outlawing of conventions will work no hardship on the capitalist class since they can afford to consult by phone and they meet on innumerable occasions as

unite the forces of the proletariat and oppressed peasantry.

### UNTIMELY TRUCE AIDS REACTION

Bourgeois democracy can not solve a single problem of the working class. It is a capitalist instrument which has long ago outlived its usefulness. If the British or American imperialists permit it to exist in any of the conquered areas it is only in order to GAIN TIME to organize the open fascist forces for a final showdown with the masses.

The TALK about democracy by Winston Churchill, General Plastiras and General Scobie was used precisely for that purpose. The proof of the thing lies in the giant demonstration in Athens of 50,000 RIGHTS AND OPEN FASCISTS only a day after the military truce with ELAS. General Plastiras is OPENLY strengthening the fascist mountain brigades, the Xists, and even former German collaborationists. In the face of a threatened proletarian revolution ALL OF REACTION IS UNITING FOR A DEATH BLOW.

Meanwhile both sides are holding on to hostages. This is a lull before a new storm. British censorship controls the news and so nothing is known of what is going on in ELAS, of factional fights in its ranks, of

(Continued on Page 2)

government consulting bodies. Furthermore they can always trim down their membership to "conference" proportions. The whole measure is obviously aimed at the working class.

### MILLIONAIRES MAKE POLICY

3—The appointment of an openly imperialist State department: Stettinius, representing the House of Morgan, Nelson Rockefeller, representing the Standard Oil, Chase National Bank, Rockefeller oligarchy, Clayton representing the large cotton interests, etc.

### SINKING ATLANTIC CHARTER

4—The tossing out the window of the "Atlantic Charter." This was more than the imperialists bargained for. Rather than keep the promises, they repudiated their existence. The working class and oppressed of Europe, Asia (and in the U. S.) were taking the promise of the "4 freedoms" literally. They were even ready to fight to achieve them. With military victory over Germany close at hand these demagogic sentiments, uttered early in the war to whip up support, have become a halter around the neck of imperialism. F. D. Roosevelt has therefore belatedly "discovered" that no one signed the Atlantic Charter and that in fact there is no original document.

### WORK OR FIGHT

5—The increase in the draft quota and the "work or fight" order of the Selective Service and War Manpower Commission — directed, of course, at the working class. Capitalists don't have to work — or fight.

### COAL — TO SMASH U.M.W.

6—The moves to get a large hoard of coal. Byrnes' restriction of the use of coal has only one motive: to lay plans for the impending negotiations between the United Mine Workers and the coal operators. The government is preparing for its strike-breaking role long in advance

of these negotiations.

### HOLDING DOWN OF WAGES

7—The continued upholding of the "Little Steel" formula despite the increased taxation and rise in the cost of living.

There is today no need for the labor draft. There are more unemployed today than at any time since the war began. In the very near future, should Germany be defeated, there will be large cutbacks in production. But the Roosevelt regime wants the labor draft as a LONG TERM MEASURE FOR ENSLAVING THE WORKING CLASS AFTER THE WAR. That's all the labor draft means.

### PAVING THE ROAD FOR FASCISM

Roosevelt's moves are part of a long term pattern. In 1933-38, when he was fashioning his "New Deal," we pointed out that the various schemes like AAA, WPA, the Wagner Act, etc. were only a broad plan for preparing the nation for war and establishing the national "unity" necessary for that war. At the time we were laughed at as cynics. But events have confirmed this contention.

Today people are excusing Roosevelt's dictatorial moves as matters of "war necessity." That too is absolutely false. The plan of the Fourth Team is to forge the steel chains that will ultimately destroy the American labor movement and make the country a prey to Fascism. And there is nothing inconsistent about all that. The Roosevelt "reforms" and the Roosevelt Bonapartism are part and parcel of one thing: the needs of American decay capitalism. In the first two administrations it was necessary to grant reforms in order to consolidate the nation behind the impending imperialist war. Now it is necessary to use the war excuse to build the slave chains to keep labor (Continued on Page 4)

## RWL Greets Freed Trotskyites

The twelve remaining Minneapolis prisoners have now been released from the federal penitentiary. These victims of capitalist injustice have spent a little over a year in jail for the simple reason that they opposed the imperialist war. While the RWL feels now, as it has in the past, that these comrades have an opportunist and false method of "fighting" the imperialist carnage, we nevertheless feel that the cause of these 18 Unionists and heads of the Trotskyist Party is one that should be embraced by the whole labor movement.

The struggle against this frame-up should continue even though the 18 are now "free." The RWL again offers its support and aid to any genuine united front to fight this and other capitalist injustices.

Unfortunately the Trotskyites have taken a sectarian (and incidentally opportunist) attitude on this case. A request by the Revolutionary Workers League in Chicago to deliver a three minute greeting speech at the meeting for Albert Goldman was turned down. Instead the meeting heard speeches by a number of unionists, some of them shoddy characters. The RWL has consistently supported the case and spoke at the protest meeting before Goldman went to jail, as well as to other affairs.

The axis of the Trotskyist campaign of protest is likewise false. The only issue raised is against the "Smith gag act." The capitalist state has used this phoney law as the EXCUSE for railroadng eighteen working class fighters. But the real reason for the frame-up was the opposition of the 18 to imperialist war. The attempt by the Trotskyists to water down the fight in order to scoop up some support from right wing union officials, is dangerous opportunism which helps the Roosevelt regime cover its crimes.

The 18 Minneapolis victims of Wall Street frame-up are the property of no organization. They are the symbols of a crime which the WHOLE working class must erase. And the struggle against that crime must be conducted on the broadest base possible and with the utmost militancy and exposure of the bourgeois state and its imperialist war.

# UAW BANK AND FILE FIGHTS NO-STRIKE FRAUD

One of the most heartening signs in many years is the growth of the Rank and File Steering Committee of the United Auto Workers, CIO. This group is now in the forefront in the struggle to rescind the no-strike pledge. It has the support of the militant Trade Union Educational League, composed of left-wing groups in a number of other unions as well.

We quote below an excerpt from the recent leaflet of the Rank and File group:

## WHAT ABOUT THE BOYS IN THE FOXHOLES?

The dirtiest, most hypocritical and stupidest argument in favor of the Pledge revolves around the spread-eagle talk about "the boys in the foxholes." We hear it said: "Don't betray the boys in the foxholes."

Who shouts the loudest about this? The corporation chiefs, their spokesmen and their tools, their paid editors and scribblers.

Their nerve is almost as colossal as the profits they are making. They want to teach US patriotism! They are the same people who would not convert to war production, who would not produce a single airplane, tank, cannon, rifle or bullet for the "boys in the foxholes" until the government guaranteed them their heavy blood-profits. Remember this, too!

Who are the "boys in the foxholes?" They are OUR sons, OUR brothers, OUR sweethearts or husbands, OUR fathers. We are a million times more concerned with them than the ice-hearted corporations who squeeze a brutal profit out of everything these boys wear and everything they use.

We are so concerned with them that:

We do not want them to come back to "open shop" conditions.

We do not want them to come back to low-paid jobs and back-breaking hours.

We do not want them to come back to smashed or paralyzed unions.

When we fight to make our union strong and effective, we are also fighting for THEM.

Wherever Fascism triumphs, labor's standard of living and working conditions catapult downward.

Wherever Fascism triumphs, labor loses the right to higher wages, the right to move from job to job, AND THE RIGHT TO STRIKE.

Haven't the "boys in the foxholes" been told they are fighting to destroy Fascism and to restore these rights to labor everywhere? Isn't that what we have all been told?

Are we helping to fight to restore these rights — if we begin by giving them up ourselves?

We are not betraying our sons and brothers and sweethearts and husbands and fathers when we fight to restore our right to strike — we are keeping faith with them!

We are keeping faith with the great principles of labor when we take back our right to strike.

We are keeping faith with the heroic and self-sacrificing fighters who founded and built the UAW-CIO in fearless combat for our rights and standards as human beings. We are NOT keeping faith if we allow our union and ourselves to slip back into Big Corporation serfdom.

Brothers and Sisters:

The decision is up to you! You have the vote on this key question!

Cast it solemnly and firmly. Vote solidly to —

Repeat the No-Strike Pledge!

Put an end to crawling on our bellies!

Restore the fighting strength of our great Union!

# REVOLUTION IN GREECE

(Continued from Page 1)

growth of Marxian forces, etc. Nothing is being told about the brutality of the British and Plastiras. Nothing, of course, is being told about mutinies in the imperialist armies. But the fact that the British were forced to use large numbers of backward Indian troops shows that the home country troops of Britain — with a large percentage of workers — were, to say the least, "unenthusiastic" about the job of counter-revolution.

The Greek Revolution has been betrayed. Once again Popular Frontism has done its dirty work for the capitalist system. The Plastiras regime is acting coy. It demands the release of all ELAS hostages. Meanwhile, however, it will hold on to its own hostages (when a government holds hostages it calls them "prisoners") and will soon begin the inevitable process of rounding up the "criminals." Hundreds, if not thousands, of revolutionary militants face death in Greece. The hostage issue will be used as one of the excuses to kill off the left-wingers.

## MORE REVOLUTIONS TO FOLLOW

The lesson of Greece must not be lost upon the Revolutionary Marxists. Three things were wrong:

1 — There was no Revolutionary Marxian Party to give leadership to the toiling masses;

2 — The perspectives of the workers were kept within the bounds of bourgeois democracy, on the one hand; and

3 — On the other hand there was a putschist armed uprising.

The working class must rise up in armed revolt ONLY IN ORDER TO SEIZE STATE POWER. To rise up in an insurrection for any other purpose is criminal. The lightminded action of Stalinism in getting at the head of this insurrection and then

holding it to bourgeois aims must be protested by the working class throughout the world.

But the Greek Revolution is not over. Not over, because it is PART of the European Revolution; and the European Revolution far from having ended is only BEGINNING.

Workers of America: heed the Lessons of Greece:

Bourgeois Democracy can not solve a single problem of the working masses; it can no longer grant a single important reform; it can only pave the way for Fascism.

Compromise with or capitulation to Bourgeois Democracy can only mean DEFEAT.

Popular Frontism, in all its forms (Labor Party, coalition government of "left" parties, etc. etc.) must be mercilessly combated.

Only the DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT — Workers Council Government — Production for Use — can bring peace, bread and security to the masses of the world.

Only a new Revolutionary Marxian Party, a New Fourth Communist International, can give leadership to this growing revolutionary tidal wave.

## READ THESE RWL PAMPHLETS

- Workers Get Free Graves
- John Dewey—A Marxian Critique
- From Revolution to Reaction
- Why Communism?

## RENEW YOUR SUB TO THE FIGHTING WORKER

# Doubly Exploited—Doubly Oppressed

Dan Tobin head of the Teamsters Union is a great friend of President Roosevelt — he was the Union's guest and main speaker at the recent convention . . . there are rumors that Roosevelt wants Tobin as next Secretary of Labor. Tobin helped put the Trotskyites in jail, smashed their militant Teamster Locals in Minneapolis. In Detroit the Tobin controlled locals continue to expose their reactionary role. They refuse to admit Negroes into the Union, or to work on the truck driving jobs altho the Army Ordnance issued a public plea for more drivers.

## NEGRO WOMEN HELD DOWN

The Major General Kirk, Surgeon General of the Army released an indictment which stated "The North Atlantic and Pacific areas have attained only about 50% of their quotas (of nurses for the Army and Navy)." 800 qualified registered nurses have been waiting anxiously for an opportunity to be accepted for this work. They are ignored. They are Negro. The Army accepted a very few for duty in the south (presumably with Negro troops), the Navy will not even consider them. The usual "excuses" of inability of racial groups to work together have been exploded by the N. Y. State-Nursing Council survey which attests to the contrary.

The workers have no discriminatory desires, but the rulers of this nation will try with all their power to foster such an attitude — to divide and rule — to exploit and profit — to pit one group of workers against the other. It must be fought at its source — whether it stems from the bosses in the Army, the White House, the factory or the press.

## ON THE "HOME" FRONT

The government is actively assisting to "jim-crow" Negro workers into intolerably small living areas in the big cities. The National Housing Agency last month announced that warehouses and garages have been converted into four hundred apartments on Chicago's jammed South Side. At one warehouse, converted into two and three room apartments, rents are from \$35 to \$42 per month . . . prices in careful parallel to the sky-high rents (from 15 to 50% higher than "unrestricted" neighborhoods) charged to these workers who can't move elsewhere. Another building, characterized as a "fire-proof" lodge building, must be a better bargain. Its 105 one, two and three room apartments will go from \$32 to \$52 per month ("with the tenants themselves furnishing gas, light and heat").

## ON THE BATTLEFIELD

Some Negro soldiers volunteered for paratrooper openings which had been announced in an army newspaper. They were flatly told, "no openings for colored paratroopers."

Why is the Negro worker even denied the right to "die gloriously for his country?" Why does he find himself detailed to the crudest and dirtiest service and labor battalions in the army? For the same reason that Montgomery Ward keeps Negroes working only as porters. What a tragedy it would be for the capitalist bosses if the Negroes whom they have tried to keep so subservient came back from the war self-respecting and united with white soldier-workers as comrades-at-arms!

Dying as paratroopers or by any other participation in the imperialist war can not bring deliverance from servitude. Winning this war will only make your bosses stronger. Unite and fight your first enemy, the boss-class at home!

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# Revolt Is the Right of the Slave

## THE ARMY BUILDS MEN

Editor of the Fighting Worker; Dear Friends:

Recently I changed trains at a midwestern city. Finding I had some time between trains I walked about the streets near the station. Crossing an intersection, a soldier came up to me, put his hand out and said, "Shake." We shook. He'd had a few drinks and he was lost, couldn't find his way back to the station. I suggested he walk along with me. He hooked his arm thru mine and off we went.

He was beribboned plenty. Had the purple heart, too. "Well," he said, "What would you have done?" "About what?" I asked.

"If a fellow pointed a gun at you, what would you do?" He stopped walking and looked at me. "What would you do?" he persisted. I said, "If it was my life or his, I would do what you did." He looked at me hard. "But you wouldn't like it, would you?"

"No," I said, "I wouldn't like it." "Shake," he said. We shook.

We walked on. "I shot them," he said, and the sound of his voice was terrible. "I didn't like it, but I had to and I did it." "Yes, I was a good soldier." He laughed grimly. "Now I'm all thru with it. I've got a medical discharge." His voice rose to a hysterical pitch. "I'm all thru with it, do you understand, all thru with it! I've got a plastic shoulder and I've been pretty shot up but I don't care about that, I'm all thru with it." I said, "Take it easy, soldier."

He went on, but now in a toneless voice. "I'm going home. See this?" He pulled a picture out of his wallet. "These are my kids, the girl's five and the boy is three."

"Bet you'll be glad to get home to your wife," I said.

"Wife," he snorted, "she's gone, took up with another guy. My folks have the kids."

"I'm thirty-four, was married eight years ago. Thought I had a swell marriage. Now everything's busted. I'm going home — going home to my folks and my kids."

We reached some stairs leading to the entrance to the station. He leaned wearily on my arm as we went up. "Wait a minute," he said as we reached the top. He stood there, with his shoulders bent forward and one hand pressed under his heart, gasping for breath. His face was ghastly. It was five minutes before we could go on. "Yeh," he said, "I'm all thru with it."

I stood there looking at him and despair gripped me, for here was one of the countless thousands that had been put thru the imperialist war machine. This was the "finished product" under the slogan, "The Army Builds Men."

Fraternally,  
K. S.  
Cincinnati, Ohio.

## MEDITATION IN THE GUARDHOUSE

To the RWL:

Dear Sirs:

I have been in the U. S. Army about a month now and realize too late that, holding Socialist ideas, I cannot possibly accept this training to kill an "enemy" or be killed. I know this war is an imperialist war and the only hope of humanity is socialism.

I know you are a most revolutionary organization altho I belonged to no party having always searched for the "perfect Party." The capitalist system must be abolished and the conditions will be there for it after the war — but what of now? What can be done to combat this war? What is needed is a real Bolshevik Party it seems to me — the rich have a state now that gets more and more oppressive and an army big and powerful — probably in a near day the only way to exist will be through an underground.

It is painful to be alone and have

to do something you fervently hate with all your heart and soul and which you know to be monstrous and criminal. But to dream of what could be makes me almost cry. Many radicals have suffered and risked their lives daily. Lenin was a shining example. I wish I could be "free" to fight for Socialism and regret not having done more before. I am in the guardhouse now for expressing my views.

Please answer immediately and send me some of your newspapers and magazines. Yours for a great cause.

R.—In an Army Camp.

(Ed. note — Certain portions of this letter have been deleted for the protection of the soldier who sent it in.)

## CO TRIBUNALS

Copy to the Workers League, U. S. A. . . to the London Tribunal at . . . Town Hall in support of an application to be put on the register of Conscientious Objectors, on 16th November 1944.

"As a Communist I cannot submit to the military discipline of the Capitalist Class engaged in war.

As such I am opposed to all war and in direct obedience to my conscience can only stand for the total abolition of all war. War brings misery, degradation, famine, disease and adds all around to the sum of human suffering. Prolongation of war does not solve but only accentuates these problems.

War, especially since the days of 1914-18, holds no illusions for the masses, and the ruling capitalist class of this country seeking ways and means of enslaving the population to its war machine has among other institutions set tribunals to seemingly test the conscience of war-objectors. These tribunals, despite their occasional exempting of harmless and religious individuals, are only part of the capitalist democratic fraud, for their real purpose, camouflaged by a pretense of justice, is to hound fighters against war into prisons or into the armed forces where voices can be silenced by the undemocratic military discipline.

The Trotskyite Communists believe that the C. O. tribunals because of their fraudulent set-up should be boycotted. In 1940, as a disciplined member of a Trotskyite organization I carried out this policy and registered for the services. Later I came to learn that boycott was not enough. No capitalist sham should be left unexposed to deceive any portion of the masses. As a known Communist it is my duty to stand before the tribunal that it may publicly show itself for what it is. My record as a Communist can be studied from the dossiers of the C.I.D., New Scotland Yard, to which, in due course, a copy of this statement will be added, and it is primarily on the basis of that record that I make my application for complete exemption from any military service."

Comradely,  
D. L.—England.

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**Churchill and "Trotskyism"**

Never a stickler for truth or consistency, Mr. Churchill has suddenly discovered that the "brigands" and "mountain ruffians" of the ELAS are now "Trotskyists". Reading his latest speech before Parliament on the Greek question one would think it was Willie Gallacher or Earl Browder spouting forth the usual rubbish about "Trotskyism."

At first reading it may be hard to understand why Churchill has made such a ludicrous charge. Anyone with any knowledge of the revolutionary movement knows that the Communist movement in Greece. The closest thing to a Marxist, who split from Trotsky-

When is the significance of Churchill's remarks "Trotskyism?" In the same speech he stressed a growing amity between Britain and Stalinist Russia. Is it possible that Uncle Joe and Winnie have made a deal on Greece and Stalin is now throwing even his own Stalinist movement there to the wolves? Such treachery is not unknown to Stalinism.

Another possibility, however, is that within the ELAS a Marxian left wing, sick of Stalinist revisionism and oriented on Proletarian Revolution, is now forming. The betrayal of the Revolution by Stalinism and Popular Frontism undoubtedly has had a demoralizing effect on the masses in general, but it is most likely that it has had an opposite effect on thousands of left-wing radicals who now realize that only a Marxian program and a Revolutionary Marxian Party can give leadership to the Greek Proletarian Revolution.

It is these thousands to whom Churchill is giving warning. It is these thousands to whom Stalin will soon address a verbal or military warning.

It is these thousands upon whom the workers of the world place their hopes for a successful Social Revolution in Greece.

**United Protest Against Intervention in Greece**

Over three hundred people jammed the Garrick Hall in Chicago on January 7th to protest the imperialist intervention in Greece. The meeting was the first important United Front in many years. Represented were the Revolutionary Workers League, the Workers Party (Shachtmanites), and the Socialists and their youth organization, the Young Peoples Socialist League. Comrade C. B. Cowan presented the line for the Revolutionary Workers League, Max Shachtman spoke for his Party, Guy W. Meyer substituted for Maynard Krueger, chairman of the Socialist Party, and Virgil Vogel spoke for the YPSL. The official Trotskyists (Socialist Workers Party) refused to participate, but a number of their members present expressed regret that their party had taken such sectarian action.

At the conclusion of the meeting the body passed the following resolution:

"This meeting of 300 workers held in Chicago on January 7th, under the auspices of the United Protest Committee, denounces without reservation, and protests against the crimes committed in Greece by British imperialism in massacring the people who made such heroic sacrifices in their own war against fascist tyranny and who are now fighting for the elementary right of national independence and self-government. At the same time we denounce the imperialist hypocrisy of the United States government which likewise seeks to deny these democratic rights to other people under its domination or to people it seeks to dominate, be it in Puerto Rico, Latin America, Europe or Asia.

"We also condemn the policy of the Russian Soviet government which in partnership with American and British imperialism seeks to carve up Europe and deprive the people of Poland, the Baltic and Balkan countries of their elementary right of freedom and self determination.

"We proclaim our solidarity and warmest sympathy with the Greek people and with all other peoples who are genuinely fighting for their liberation from the imperialist oppression of either Allies or Axis."

**WEAKNESSES OF MEETING**

Nevertheless the United Front had a number of important political and organizational weaknesses. Trade unions and trade union leaders were not involved. The scope of the protest was limited to one mass meeting.

The official leaflet of the committee spoke of "Hands Off Greece" and the struggle for a "free Greece," rather than the struggle for Proletarian Revolution in Greece. No clear-cut perspectives were laid down for the Greek Revolution except: "Demand self determination for the people of Greece." That slogan, of course, is not correct. It should read: "The RIGHT of self-determination."

The resolution, too, had some shortcomings. It did not label the war as an imperialist war. The sentence on the Soviet Union is a poor, garbled compromise sentence, which is abstract and can cover a multitude of positions. And above all the Greek Revolution is not tied in as part and parcel of the developing European Revolution.

Despite all these shortcomings, however, the League participated in the United Front as a progressive step, a method of mobilizing forces and a forum for three distinct working class views.

The RWL distributed thousands of copies of its own leaflet: "Hands off the Greek Revolution." The slogans contained in this leaflet — "Not one man, not one gun, not one penny for the Allied Counter Revolution in Greece. Demand that British and American imperialism stop aiding the Fascists and reactionaries in Europe. No faith in Bourgeois Democracy, regencies, constituent assemblies, or any other form of compromise with Allied imperialism. Settle the dispute now by establishing a Socialist order in Greece. For strikes and demonstrations in support of our Greek brothers. For a Workers Council Government in Greece and throughout the world. For a new Revolutionary Marxian Party to give guidance to the developing Proletarian Revolution."

The RWL feels that the United Front could have been materially strengthened both politically and organizationally if other left wing organizations had participated. Other opportunities, however, will soon present themselves.

The United Front in Chicago and elsewhere should be kept alive to protest against the growing counter-revolution in Europe. After Greece will come some other country: the Allied armies will use force all through the world against the growing working class opposition to imperialism. We must redouble our efforts for united action against this move, not only for protest meetings, but for organized strikes, demonstrations, picket lines and a large educational program.

**THE ARMY AT WARDS**

The seizure of sixteen units of the great Montgomery Ward empire by the U. S. Army has been hailed by the United Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Employees, CIO—the largest union involved — as a great victory. The Army seized three warehouses and thirteen stores in order to enforce some War Labor Board directives which have been kicked around for two years.

What do the Ward workers gain? In the large mail order house in Chicago, with 6,800 employees, only 200 get a wage increase. The Army, it is true, is settling a number of old grievances that have been pending for many months and it has begun to check off dues for a few thousand employees. Arrangements have been made to start negotiations under the supervision of the War Labor Board in Washington.

But the Government here is setting a major precedent, and above all WITH CIO APPROVAL (i.e. sell-out). The Government is establishing the precedent of stepping into all important labor disputes and forcing the workers to work at the point of a government bayonet. Momentarily this weapon has been used against one of the recalcitrant members of the boss class, Sewell Avery. But Mr. Avery's investment is well protected and his profits are guaranteed by the government.

What of the workers, however? They have received no raise since December 1942, and then only 5c an hour. What if the WLB now denies them additional increases? Will it be easier to fight the U. S. Army — with its "work or fight," "work or jail" orders — than to fight the Company? Obviously not. Having accepted the PRINCIPLE that it is OK for the military forces to step in and keep Avery in check, the CIO will soon confront, not one, but hundreds of cases where the Army steps in

**AGAINST THE WORKERS.**

**PLANT SEIZURE A TOOL**

The seizure of plants is a powerful weapon in Mr. Roosevelt's hands. He uses it to keep wages down; to maintain the Little Steel formula; to fight the threatening coal strike; to deny the Steel workers their full 17c wage increase.

Labor has again been betrayed. The Murrays, Greens, Wolchoks have given up labor's long term interests in favor of minor and petty temporary concessions, which will evaporate in the months to come. The CIO has been so anxious to collect the "check-off" dues at this plant (where probably only about one out of 10 or 15 workers was previously paying dues), that it has betrayed the basic interests of the working class.

The Ward workers in Detroit and throughout the country were on the verge of a real victory, when the present sell-out occurred. A general strike was being threatened in Detroit, in support of the strikers at the 4 retail stores of Ward's. Such a strike would not only have aided the Ward employees but would have been an enormous boon to the whole American working class, now shackled by the infamous no-strike treachery.

But Murray, Roosevelt and Wolchok saved the day for their capitalist masters.

The Ward workers must put no trust in these gentlemen. What is needed is independent working class action, militancy and a program of class struggle. What is needed is a progressive group amongst Ward employees to coordinate their efforts and to give effective leadership to the present struggle.

**RENEW YOUR SUB!**

**Doubly Exploited**

(Continued from Page 2)

**ON THE SOUTHERN FARM**

A poor farm worker can own a piece of land, but when it becomes valuable — when oil is found on it, for instance — the state can take it away from him and sell it "for taxes." And when he refuses to move his family off the land, the new land-owners can beat the sixty-five year old worker and finally shoot him to death, while his unarmed son helplessly looks on. In the face of this eye-witness evidence the murderer can go free from the courts of "justice." All this can happen to a worker in Mississippi, especially if his skin is black — so learned the Negro workers who throughout the country watched the trial involving the murder of an old farmer and local preacher, Isaac Simmons, at Liberty, Mississippi.

And such will be the treatment of all workers — white, brown or yellow, as well as black — until they resolutely unite.

**ON THE NORTHERN JOB**

The Negro workers of the North face the same bitter struggle. In an interview on Nov. 11, J. E. Wilcox, personnel manager of Montgomery Ward, told a Negro newspaper reporter that the only positions open (out of 70,000 jobs) for colored men are porters' jobs.

Naming a couple of Negro porters as model employees, Wilcox harangued against Negro leaders who "incite" others to assert themselves. Asked what hopes there were for his company to change its policy, he replied:

"I don't think there's much chance."

The company which has set the pace in viciousness against workers' organization well knows the value of keeping the Negro in menial labor: of dividing the Negro and white; the skilled and unskilled and under-paying both.

**PROPAGANDA AND PROFITS**

The officer-clique in the army and navy, together with the business tycoons of the country, are using every trick and device at their command to create a bitter hatred of the labor movement. The various agencies of the government such as the OWI, FCC, WLB, NLRB, etc., stand idly by while this propaganda campaign of slander and lies goes on.

The Army and Navy Journal and other military publications never miss an opportunity to play up every fight of the workers against their profit hungry and power mad bosses as sabotage of the war effort and treason. The boss-controlled press in the U. S. is alive with editorials and "slanted" news stories against the workers using their organized strength.

But behind this smoke screen of slander and high pressure propaganda there is a situation which does not at all excite the generals and millionaire bankers and business men. In fact these gentlemen are directly responsible for the creation of the situation. And yet the various governmental agencies, including the department of justice, stand by idly.

**PATRIOTIC WHITEWASH**

Added to the stench surrounding the Standard Oil of New Jersey dealings over processing patents; the Sterling Products scandals; the rubber barons' strike for a lion's share of the spoils in synthetic rubber; the rotten scandal of the flimsy Liberty ships; the scandals partially whitewashed that smoulder in the offices of the government's surplus property office and reach clear into the White House through the Defense Plant Corporation, etc., there is now the criminal conspiracy of

the Norden manufacturing interests to hold up the manufacture of bomb sights for the government and the open warfare of reactionary bankers and big business men behind Sewell Avery and the Montgomery Ward Co. against the workers as well as against the Roosevelt administration.

Now come the Generals (some of whom allegedly are making good money out of the Norden situation) using their controlled military press to demand that no action be taken AT THIS TIME against the Norden crooks even if they are guilty. The Army and Navy Journal demands that no indictments be returned against the clever gentlemen who conspired to sabotage production of very vital war materials (for a handsome profit of course), until after the war.

**EXPOSE THE FRAUD**

The rank and file of the various unions should insist that every effort be made to expose these frauds and to expose the role of the agencies of the Roosevelt government in lending "aid and comfort" to these crooks and reactionaries.

To these very men who own and run the country "patriotism" has another definition from the one they insist on applying to GI Joe and the working class. For themselves they recognize no national boundary lines but only CLASS lines — the right to make bigger and better profits. For the workingclass they have experienced demagogues who quote "My country, right or wrong," and then, woe unto the worker who questions the validity of such a statement, either in words or action, if he acts alone. But concerted, planned action of a large section of the working class will be the only way they can successfully defend themselves from the planned propaganda and exploitation by the bosses.

## "Work, Fight or Jail"

(Continued from Page 1)

quiet during the coming unemployment and depression.

### LABOR ALLY OF SOVIET UNION

The Roosevelt moves also have another meaning. In Europe today the Red Armies are rapidly pushing toward Berlin. At the same time the Allied armies in the west have the same objective. Sooner or later they will be face to face.

The problems and needs of American capitalism will then alter radically, just as the problems and needs of German imperialism altered after the defeat of France. There can be no doubt at all that the present increase in the draft, the attempts to make organized labor an impotent force, the attempts to assure full manpower have as one of their objectives Imperialist PREPARATION FOR WAR AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION.

### BURY THE DECADENT PROFIT SYSTEM

American workers must pay heed to the experiences of the German, Italian and other sections of the working class. There too bourgeois "democracy" used "expediency" as an excuse for introducing decree government, for abolishing all vestiges of workers' rights. And the result was Fascism. In America we are going through the same process. Unless we fight back, and fight with a goal of establishing a Workers Council Government in the U. S., we too will face such an alternative.

The bourgeois elections have proven again that they are nothing but a farce. No matter who is elected the result depends only on the tempo of the class struggle outside of Congress and outside the "rules" of the bourgeois State. We, the working class, get concessions only on the basis of our struggles at the factories and in the streets. All else is sheer eyewash.

Let's have no more illusions on bourgeois democracy, no more faith in the dying capitalist order, no more belief in the lies of the labor lieutenants of capital who ask us to support the War Government. Communism or fascism, there is no middle road, there is no other choice.

**RESCIND THE NO-STRIKE PLEDGE. FOR STRIKE ACTION, ESPECIALLY THE SHUTDOWN TACTIC, NOW TO GAIN OUR DEMANDS!**

**FIGHT AGAINST THE IMPERIALIST WAR!**

**FOR WORKING CLASS UNITY AGAINST THE CAPITALIST CLASS!**

**FOR WORKERS CONTROL OF PRODUCTION FOR USE UNDER A WORKERS COUNCIL GOVERNMENT!**

**WE DEPEND  
ON  
CONTRIBUTIONS  
FROM WORKERS  
FOR  
PUBLICATION  
AND  
DISTRIBUTION  
OF  
THIS PAPER**

# The 2nd Imperialist War FROM BOSS WAR TO WORKERS WAR

ANALYSIS OF 5 YEARS OF THE IMPERIALIST WAR  
(Continued from January Issue of The Fighting Worker)

## PART III

### WAR AND REVOLUTION

"War," said the old military theoretician, Von Clausewitz, "is the continuation of politics by other means."

The statement is true not only of IMPERIALIST war, but of CIVIL war as well. The imperialists go to war to gain new markets, to solve their INTERNAL crisis, to circumvent the Proletarian Revolution. But in the very midst of the imperialist war the molecular processes leading to CIVIL war keep mounting. In the first phases of the imperialist war the masses are dumbfounded; their ancient nationalistic prejudices are brought to the fore. With the aid of the social-patriots (Socialists, Stalinists, etc.)

Capitalism is able in many cases to imbue in the working class the lie that the danger is from across the sea (Hitler), that the reason for their ills lies not with their own capitalist masters at home but with the Kaiser of Czar or dictator or President abroad. But this ruse, this BASIC lie of all imperialist wars, soon becomes dispelled. First by partial actions, then by total revolutionary actions (Civil war) the masses show that they are disillusioned, that they have discovered the lie.

The First World War was ended not on the battlefields of the Somme, Marne, etc., but on the homefronts. Not a single foot of German territory had yet been invaded. The German military leader, Ludendorf, who understood very clearly the interrelationship of War and Revolution, had asked the Kaiser to propose an armistice 11 months earlier — during the General Strike in Berlin. The war was finally ended by the action of the Russian proletariat in 1917 which established a Workers State, and the revolt of the sailors at Kiel in October-November 1918, which started the German Revolution — as well as the tempestuous condition of the class struggle in every country on earth, including the United States.

THE WAR WHICH BEGAN AS A RESULT OF ECONOMIC CRISIS AND IN AN ATTEMPT TO AVERT PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION WAS THUS ENDED BY THAT REVOLUTION ITSELF. The imperialist war merely postponed the Revolution which was already on the order of the day in 1912-13. (Any casual student of this period knows that 1912-13 was a period of economic crisis and imminent Revolution, particularly in Russia). But the Revolution eventually broke forth in far greater fury than the imperialists anticipated.

### CLASS COMPETITORS UNITE AGAINST CLASS ENEMY

The whole history of our generation is the history of the relationship of War and Revolution. This relationship can be summed up in a dual dynamic process which goes on constantly:

1—On the one hand the productive forces of capitalism which are constantly outstripping national boundaries and which therefore lead to an internecine struggle both politically and militarily BETWEEN the imperialist powers, and

2—On the other hand, as a result of the general crisis of capitalism and its periodic depressions, a lowering of the standards of living and the growth of the struggle internally between the working class and the capitalist class, leading eventually to Proletarian Revolution.

The latter is the fundamental antagonism of capitalism; from 1914 to 1918 the imperialists fought a gigantic battle for more markets and colonies. But from 1917 onward the dangers to their WHOLE SYSTEM EVERYWHERE forced them to conclude a "Peace" (really a truce) to fight their MAIN enemy, the world proletariat. On 17 fronts, all the big powers on earth and their satellites, attempted to shoot and starve out the Russian Revolution. The workers and peasants of Russia, under the guidance of the Bolshevik Party and aided by workers elsewhere, were able to fight off this danger.

Workers in England went on strike, mutinies occurred in the various armies, Revolutions began in Germany, Hungary, etc. From 1917 to 1924 capitalism all over the world fought the menace of Proletarian Revolution. From a historic point of view the period of 1917-24 was far more important, far more threatening to world capitalism, than the period of 1914-18.

### A QUARTER CENTURY OF STRUGGLE

Unfortunately, we the proletariat lost much of that first big world-wide battle against the profit system. We were able to maintain only an island in the big capitalist ocean, the Soviet Republic in Russia. Our Revolutions in Hungary, Germany, Finland, the Baltics, Austria, Bulgaria, had failed. Aided by the treachery of the Second International, aided by the armies and big loans of the richer powers, these sections of the capitalist class were able to get out from under, to smash the Revolution.

The first world war led to the first big wave of Revolutions. By 1924 that wave was defeated. The Revolutions in Germany of 1918-19, 1920, 1921, and particularly 1923 were smashed. The short-lived Hungarian Workers State was demolished with the help of French Imperialism and its Rumanian puppets. The whole wave of Revolutions was arrested. Another wave of revolutions and militant working class actions broke out from 1925 to 1936. The Chinese Revolution of 1925-27, the English general strike of 1926, the German crisis of 1930-32 which gave rise, thanks to the impotence of the workers under the treacherous Socialist and Stalinist leadership, to Hitler, the Austrian Revolution of 1934, the first Spanish Revolution of 1931, the second Spanish Revolution of 1936-38.

But throughout this whole period there were wars between the capitalist powers as well, (although they were not as decisive as the civil wars between the classes). There were the wars between Turkey and Greece, the various wars and raids in Central Europe, the occupations in Latin America by American marines, the Gran-Chaco war, the war in Ethiopia, the invasion of Manchuria and China, the occupation of Sudetenland, Austria, etc. etc.

The general crisis of capitalism brings on BOTH WARS AND REVOLUTION. For 20 years after the first war, humanity evolved through

"little" wars and sporadic unsuccessful Proletarian Revolutions to a great big new blow off, to a new Second World Imperialist War and NOW, toward a new world-wide wave of Proletarian Revolutions.

### IS "DEMOCRACY" ENEMY OF FASCISM?

It is a tragic farce to hear people today talk about Churchill, Roosevelt, Wall Street, and The City fighting for democracy, fighting FOR the working class AGAINST Fascism. Who in the first place, helped the reactionaries and Fascists come to power throughout Europe? Who but Thomas Lamont, of the House of Morgan, subsidized the rise of Mussolini in Italy, after the workers had taken over the factories? Who subsidized German capitalism with the Young plan and the Dawes plan and permitted German finance capital to continue its rule over the emaciated and starving German proletariat? Who if not that stalwart pillar of British "democracy," Churchill, helped the reactionary Admiral Horthy and a dozen other reactionary dictators to power in Europe? Who financed Hitler, it not the banks of London and Wall Street?

In each separate section of the international capitalist class, the WAR AGAINST THEIR OWN WORKING CLASS IS THE PARAMOUNT ISSUE OF THE DAY! In that struggle the powers of the earth are united. They lend and give money to each other to avert Revolution. They armies to help quash Revolution, and through their agencies (Red Cross, U.N.R.R.A. etc.) they distribute (starving some, feeding others) that they undermine the Revolution.

### CAPITALIST GROUPS UNITE AGAINST WORKING CLASS

The imperialist masters are taking advantage of the war to build up the biggest profits and reserves in history. They are also building up solid dictatorships and repressive laws, to keep the masses ground underfoot. Their whole orientation is against the Proletarian Revolution.

They fear the proletariat aroused a thousand times more than they fear any Hitler. Thus the British Navy suppressed by the power of its guns a mutiny of Greek sailors (who had been fighting WITH the Allies AGAINST the Axis). Thus the British army fired upon the workers mass demonstration in the streets of Athens, and subsequently forced the disarming of the Greek anti-fascist forces who were bidding for social reforms on the home front. (What happens to the promised "self-determination"? It isn't permitted to exist when the working class acts to determine its own fate). Thus, the Allies imposed the Fascist Badoglio and the Dictator Darlan upon the French and Italian people: to suppress the wrath of the masses. Thus, they recognize the reactionary "governments-in-exile," who will continue the vicious exploitation of the European masses and will — as they did in the past — attempt to suppress the proletariat with an iron fist. Thus, the whole "second" front was timed, not as a military front, but as a political offensive against the masses of Europe. The Allies have imposed martial law upon the suffering masses of Europe and have united with the unholiest of "war criminals" and Fascist butchers to suppress the revolts which are on the order of the day.

The capitalists consider the working class at home their MAIN enemy, we the workers must also recognize that this is the main conflict: OUR MAIN ENEMY IS NOT THE WORKERS OF GERMANY AND JAPAN BUT THE CAPITALIST CLASS AT HOME, THE AMERICAN BOURGEOISIE. There can be no peace so long as that bourgeoisie is permitted to exploit us, is permitted to maintain the profit system and the anarchy of production. The first war led to the second; the second will lead to the third; UNLESS the proletarian Revolution ends the system that breeds Imperialist War.

## PART IV

### INTER-ALLIED CONFLICTS

On the Eastern and Western fronts the Allies are drawing closer to the heart of German Imperialism. But if the Allies should militarily defeat Germany they must still confront the Revolution in Europe and they must confront the Soviet Red Army, which despite the policies of Stalinism is a potential aid to the struggles of the working class and proletarian Revolution.

The continually more desperate struggle between the Allies and Japan for domination of East Asia and the Pacific goes on with increasing intensity and may require more years before it is finally resolved, even assuming the worst variant — the continuing passivity of the masses of the East and of the Island territories.

With all this ahead, even if the Imperialists could get over these titanic hurdles (we doubt that they can) they still must settle the antagonisms which exist in their own ranks — the differences between Britain and the United States; between France and her "allies" and so on to the smallest participating imperialist power.

The antagonisms among the "allied" powers continue even in wartime. Argentina changes governments; immediately the British market for Argentine stocks goes up, the U. S. market goes down. Britain is maneuvering for a bloc of American states opposed to the United States. Argentina is the spearhead of that bloc, with Bolivia, Chile and one or two others close to it. In the midst of the war, Britain and America engage in serious behind-the-scenes disputes. One of them is over India. America wants entree into that enormous market. Wall Street is willing to support Nehru to gain "independence" (open up the market, in other words), but the British keep Nehru in jail. In the midst of the war there are serious disputes as to how to control the world money market after the war, with Britain favoring one system (the Keynes plan) and America favoring another (the White plan). The question of oil, airbases, air control, etc. plagues the rival "allied" powers. When Mr. Ickes decided to build (mostly for the benefit of Standard Oil) a large pipe-line in the Near East, Britain showed hostility to the idea. Who shall control the world air-trade after this war, is another painful thorn in the side of both powers.

(Continued in next issue)

**ONLY PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION CAN DEFEAT FASCISM!**