

The Fighting Worker

Workers of
The World
Unite!

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Billions for War ? for Unemployed

The American war workers built the greatest war machine the world has ever seen for their bosses, and now to show their appreciation for the billions upon billions of dollars of profits that these war mongers made throughout the war, they are paying the worker back in the coin that they usually pay them back with — greater reductions in the standards of living of the worker. This week the Senate turned down the proposed 25 dollars a week unemployment compensation. It is simple to figure this one out. If they can compel the standard of living down far enough, they can force greater wage cuts down the throats of the employed workers.

In the meantime what is happening for the bosses? Millions upon millions of taxes collected during the war from large corporations are to be paid back to them for post-war profits if their factories don't operate at sufficient profit. In addition to this, the large capitalists have been promised a cut in corporation taxes. Oh, yes, the pot-bellied capitalists can rest assured in their smugness, they will be well taken care of, but the workers employed and unemployed will be clawing at bones, unless they take some immediate steps to defeat the hunger tactics of the bosses, by organizing their trade union unemployment units to fight against these starva-

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Bosses Attack Begins With Stalinists

The boss class used the Stalinist misleadership during the war for their own ends and are now giving them a kick in the teeth as a reward. The Stalinists told the workers that support of the war would protect the world against Fascism. The Revolutionary Workers League pointed out sharply at the time and throughout the whole war that only a fight against our capitalist masters at home is a real guarantee against fascism. The truth of the R. W. L. position and the lies of the Stalinists bear their fruit today when it is noted that Mr. Browder and Mr. Foster and Co. are being hauled in front of the committee to investigate un-American activities. The Communist Party threatened to move to the left in words, but in reality they didn't go very far. Already the wolves of capitalism are on their necks with threats and coercion. This is generally the reward for working class renegades. When the bourgeoisie cannot use them any longer they have their little "subtle" method of getting rid of them.

Although the Stalinists have certainly played a despicable role of betrayal of the workers in the trade unions, in their press and in the army, for which they should pay a price, the working class should be the judges of these class criminals. In the present turn to the left of the American workers, the boss class is trying to get at the militant working class leadership and although they make their initial beginning with the Stalinists, they will attempt to reach down and lop off the real militants. The working class has to protect itself against such treachery, they have to organize their own workers defense committees against the attacks of the bosses.

America Cracks Whip in London

September 13, 1945 — Clothed in secrecy the foreign ministers of the big five powers are meeting in London. On the agenda is the redivision of the world. America, with its key role does not even go through the open proceedings of the Versailles negotiations. The "peace" that is to be built is so treacherous and so imperialist that these negotiations could not possibly endure the light of day. And the maneuverings for the next imperialist war, the maneuverings for an eventual attack against the Soviet Union — those things too could not be aired in public. First upon the agenda in London is the question of peace with Italy. We are being told that America is anxious for Italy to maintain its domination over the colonial peoples of Northern Africa that it had before the war. What happened to the glowing promises of Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill of self-determination for the oppressed peoples that no one hears today in London? That Italy is being granted concessions as large as she is, is merely the result of the fact that — fortunately or unfortunately — Italy is at the border line of the Soviet sphere of influence; and the wily Allies are anxious to keep Italy as strong as possible — naturally not strong enough to challenge their own world trade and conquest rights — to be used as a jumping off place for an eventual struggle with the Soviet world.

Allies Plot Against Russia

The fissures in the ranks of the five powers are quite apparent. On the eve of the meeting the Soviet Union's Izvestia viciously berated the attempts by America and Britain to "interfere in the international affairs" of Czechoslovakia, Roumania, Bulgaria, and Hungary. On the eve of the conference it became quite evident too, that the Allies are pushing into the Soviet sphere of influence. Czechoslovakia made a treaty with Britain providing for a great amount of trade with John Bull rather than with the Soviet Union. Other such loans and trade agreements will undoubtedly be negotiated primarily with the United States in the very near future. The attempt by Britain and France to establish a block of powers in western Europe is being roundly condemned by Stalinism. It correctly understands that this is a danger aimed at the heart of the Moscow regime.

The big five powers sitting in London will continue the patchup process of Teheran, Cairo, Potsdam and other patchup meetings. They will trade territory back and forth. Here and there they will come to some compromise agreement on such questions as the administration of Germany. But it must be emphasized — what is going on in London today is merely preliminary fencing

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Nightmares?

A London AP dispatch quoted Prime Minister Attlee as saying, "While the nightmare of totalitarianism has been lifted from Europe, unless something is put in its place, we may get seven other devils worse than the one before." Why, Mr. Attlee, you wouldn't let little RED devils scare you, now would you?

Revolt Ends Jim Crowism at Sheppard Field

Until a month ago Sheppard Field, Texas, training camp for the Army Air Forces was just another Jim-Crow camp in a Jim-Crow state. Segregation was the official army policy and was enforced rigorously. In one of the chapels were little printed leaflets pointing out that racism was without any scientific basis, that anyone holding such opinions were aiders of nazism, yet official policy was one of Jim-Crow to the nth degree. Out of this policy sprang an incident which followed a grim logical course.

A Negro soldier, sent on an assignment to the white section of the field was jumped upon by six white GI's and beaten to the point of hospitalization. For what reason? None; the Army had declared Negroes outside of the pale of humanity, and for these boys it was no worse than tying a string of tin cans to the tail of a helpless pup. But, unlike puppies, men can act collectively and the colored troops responded immediately with a spontaneous mutiny. No colored soldier would accept an order. White officers were laughed at or spat upon but none were obeyed.

Deeply conscious that they had nothing to gain from this war, keenly aware of the position they were forced into by the draft and of the power of the acts of war, these troops stuck to their barracks and refused to continue in the role of sub-humans assigned to them by the mightiest instrument of the capitalist state — its armed forces. Orders, pleas and lectures were booed down. It was, end the Jim-Crow set-up or no Negro troops. And this action finally forced the Colonel of the field to call a soldiers' council to work out a solution. Delegates were elected from each barracks and this delegation discussed and voted for the abolishment of discrimination, segregation and all forms of Jim-Crow!

Bosses Reward Shyster Burton

Harold H. Burton, former mayor of the city of Cleveland, who played political football with 28,000 starving families in the city of Cleveland in 1938, was appointed to the Supreme Court by President Truman. Senator Burton, one of the sponsors of the anti-labor Hatch Act, has proven himself such a valuable asset to the Boss Class, that they feel that he should be rewarded and used further for their fight against the workers.

Who better could interpret the capitalist laws, to render decisions in the United States Supreme Court against the interests of the working class, than a former utilities lawyer? Columns and columns have been devoted in the bourgeois press to glorifying the liberal policies of this ace-political trickster. The mere fact that the honorable Mr. Burton could not carry his own county of Cuyahoga in the senatorial election is conclusive proof that those workers who ever had any contact with this boss stooge could not stand his phony smile or phony politics.

Fraternization An Education

The lifting of all restrictions based on race proved an immediate education for the soldiers stationed there. Negro and white GI's have gotten together to find they hold much in common. Antagonism has decreased by leaps and bounds. At a round table discussion, it was unanimously agreed that it was the policy of the War Departments which created and fostered segregation and discrimination in the camps. These group discussions, interracial attended and participated in, have created tremendous interest among GI Joe and a policy of united action on the part of BOTH the colored and the white soldiers is gradually making headway.

Both groups realize now that the overcrowding, the poor food, the racketeering in prices at the only nearby town, the question of how long they must stay in uniform plus a thousand daily gripes is a problem that affects them each and everyone, and instead of venting their resentment at each other they are getting together to lay the blame where it belongs . . . right at the shiny desks of the brass hats.

There is no paradise at Sheppard Field even now. The food is exceptionally poor and there is not enough of it. Thousands of additional soldiers are dumped there as it is now a separation center along with its regular role as a training camp. There is no room for the newcomers, and those who have finished their basic training are still

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Role of Phony Union Leaders

Pick up any daily newspaper and you will find numerous examples of the treacherous role being played by the labor lieutenants of the bosses.

For example: On Sept. 14, 400 members of CIO local 182 went out on strike at the International Harvester plant in Chicago. 5000 workers walked out in support. The issue involved was the disciplinary one week layoff for three timekeepers because they wouldn't work overtime. The union and company officials got together to talk things over. Result — the strike broken — workers ordered back to their jobs and the disciplinary layoffs stand as ordered.

In Detroit some 4500 employees of Kelsey Hayes Wheel Co. have been out on strike for three weeks. The International CIO pleaded and begged them to discontinue the strike but the workers ignored the pleas. In desperation the union officials issued an ultimatum stating that disciplinary action would be taken against the strikers. It is heartening to note that the workers disregarded the orders from their union officials and remained out on strike.

It is obvious from the numerous instances we read about, hear about, and instances we actually participate in, that the top union officials can give nothing to the workers but leadership toward conciliation with the bosses (at the bosses' terms).

Reuther's New No-Strike Pledge

Sept. 15, 1945 — Walter Reuther, International vice president of the CIO United Auto Workers served an ultimatum on General Motors Corp. demanding an average 30% wage increase for all automobile workers. In the rising tide of workers' militancy the CIO is trotting out its left hand stooge, Walter Reuther. The CIO MISleadership finds it necessary to save its own face after its super-patriotic attitude during the war and is making a surface turn to the left. The 30% increase demand is all well and good but this plan of action can be interpreted by the old axiom of shutting the barn door after the horse is gone. During the war when the bosses needed the workers to produce for their murder machine, the CIO International sell-out artists called all workers who attempted to strike for their needs, saboteurs and fifth columners.

If General Motors does not agree to the increase, Reuther says a general strike will be called against the company until it agrees. Is this the same "sell-out Reuther" who tied the auto workers to the no-strike pledge during the war? Yes it is, but he hasn't changed — his policies still lead to sell-out for the workers. Already the International CIO leadership is planning to negotiate a 5% increase instead of the 30% during the negotiations. This forfeits any right of retroactive pay for the negotiating period.

Reuther's Own No-Strike

Now that Reuther no longer has the no-strike pledge to keep the workers in check, he is cooking up his own no-strike system. He says that if he is forced to call the strike against General Motors, "Then we will see that its competitors get full 100% production. We are informing our membership that the international union will not tolerate strikes of any kind during the campaign." Reuther will give all possible material aid and moral support to General Motors' competitors during the strike. He will fatten a flock of vultures while he shoots one. What will he do when the fattened flock descends upon him?

If we're to follow Reuther, we will only be aiding in the process now in development of the concentration of wealth in fewer and fewer hands. Right now big industry isn't as weak as might be expected. War time measures guaranteed a certain profit to large corporations. These government-guaranteed profits still are in existence.

The workers can never gain any of their immediate demands under this misleadership. They must fight through their rank and file committees for general strike action to include their original demands. Only through such independent class action will the fight against the war profit-swollen capitalists be won.

If the strike against General Motors breaks out, we will support the workers' struggle but we will also agitate to spread the strike throughout the country. Isolated struggles cannot end successfully for the working class — there must be complete unity in their fight.

WE must work for rank and file control of the unions so that the unions may be used as a weapon for the workers, as they should be, instead as a weapon against the workers, as the bureaucrats would like to make them today.

LETTER TO EDITOR

When the news broke that negotiations for surrender of Japan to the Allies was broke, the sailors and soldiers released in San Francisco, for what the brass hats thought would be just another of the usual sprees, surprised the masters by organizing and perpetrating a direct blow at the institutions of capitalist "Law and Order."

Flooding the streets in thousands, these conscripted boys of the working class showed their unmistakable class consciousness by attacking precisely the class institutions most directly representing their social enemy.

Laughing and rolicking in natural relief at once again being home and among their own people, they seized with vengeful hands the flag-draped booths which house the smug bond salesmen, ripped them to kindling-wood and burned them in the streets. They threw the signs exhorting the workers to buy bonds into the fire with unbounded glee.

Flowing down Market street — the main thoroughfare — like a wild river on a rampage, they smashed plate glass on either side, as they went, but the news reporters assure us that there was no looting. Only where the fine liquors of the elite rested behind protecting glass did they seize what they wanted and openly drank to their own health and the discomfiture of the private property owners, now entirely unprotected by the police. There are times when the police find it expedient to stay out of sight. This was one such time.

Came a truck bearing the name and ads of a powerful representative of the bourgeois press, loaded with papers. Down upon this emblem of class rule and the lies of the ruling class, poured the mass of uniformed men and women. Over went the big truck, over and over and over, down the middle of the street until it fell apart, spilling a flood of newspapers in all directions, but to prove that it was not just a mad mob, the crowd carefully gathered up the papers and built new fires of them in the street. The dance around these fires was wild, and overflowing with enthusiasm. Wheels came off and rolled away. Even the ignition was ripped out of the engine. The press had its answer!

Where expensive flag clusters rested over the entrances of the big stores where the smug bourgeoisie had carefully placed, to more than anything, express the fact of their own security under the law, the men in uniform demonstrated their skill at group climbing, took the flags away, as their own, and so showed the world, at one and the same time, their utter contempt for the super-patriotism of the bourgeois, and their consciousness of their own social importance. Still, the police made no gesture.

Garbage cans became the particular object of the men. GARBAGE CANS! They were hurled into the streets. They were drummed upon with a rhythm fit to shake the bosses in their shoes. It was an unmistakable pronouncement of the con-

scripts that no garbage will be tolerated after this war. The reporters cite a particular instance in which one sailor, one soldier, and one civilian worker marched down the middle of the street, the uniformed men carrying the can, while the working man beat out the unpleasant notes of "NO MORE GARBAGE!" for the pained ears of the promisers of "Sixty million jobs." Governor Warren said over the radio, in reply to a question from a G.I., that the job problem is not exactly a veteran's problem, but is a social problem. The message thrown out by the soldiers and sailors at San Francisco, indicates that they intend to make the job problem theirs.

And that they know all too well that it is theirs.

All this happened on the fourteenth of August. The people did not accommodate themselves to the red-tape program of the national politicians who hoped to tell them when to celebrate, and, incidentally, when to go back to work.

Class warfare is the only visible evidence in this war's-end demonstration. Class warfare will become more obvious as the irreparable contradictions between Labor's productive powers, and the capitalists' demands for profits become ever more aggravated. The sailors, soldiers and civilian workers demonstrated against those who remained in security enriching themselves against the pending financial crash. They will demonstrate more, and more determinedly, as the promised sixty million jobs prove to be only hot air.

ALL POWER TO THE SOLDIERS, THE SAILORS, AND THE CIVILIAN WORKERS. —A.C.

America Cracks Whip in London

(Continued from Page 1) in preparation for the new imperialist wars.

American Money Bags Rule

Secretary Byrnes is in London with a whole vault full of American dollars which he will use with great discretion in buying off the allegiance of all the harrassed and bleeding small powers — including even major powers like Britain and France. As against this check book Stalinism will attempt to utilize its vast hold over the hundreds of millions of people throughout the world. It can be confidently stated, however, that in this tussle Stalinism is bound to lose, for its influence upon the masses of the world must steadily deteriorate. With a prospective of maintaining the status quo throughout the world it can only hope to go from bad to worse, it can only hope to visit one disillusionment after another upon the masses.

The Soviet Union and the United States are the two major powers in London today, but America cracks the greater whip by far. We can confidently expect that as time goes on Stalinism will capitulate more and more to Uncle Sam. America will utilize these concessions to undermine the Soviet strength, first in the border countries of central Europe and then inside the Soviet Union itself. The London meeting with

G I Comes Home To "Peace"

G I Joe is coming home. Does he come home to his happy family in a vine-covered cottage and live on milk and honey without a care in the world? That's the equivalent of what he's been dreaming of these past years as he slept out on water-soaked fields and jungles and ditches at night. Yet, when he comes home now, after the war, G I Joe finds that the same people who made him a cog in their gigantic murder wheel have no use for him now and cast him off.

One service man in the navy spent several years in China as a spy for the American intelligence department. In order to keep his mission a secret, the navy reported him dead to his wife and the world. Now he comes home and finds he is unable to collect any of his back pay for that period. It seems that he hadn't signed certain papers in order to collect his pay. Of course, the fact that he wasn't in a position to sign any papers, doesn't seem to affect the navy.

Another discharged G I and his wife came to Chicago and had to sleep in an automobile for five nights because they couldn't find rooms. Yet how many of the "higher-ups" in Chicago live in ten or twenty room mansions?

Pvt. George Mark of Cleveland found himself "railroaded" because he went to Washington as a one man "G I lobbyist." He couldn't understand why the men at his camp at Fort Belvoir, Va. were ordered to cut the grass with bayonets just to give them something to do. Pvt. Mark found that as a result of his speaking before the Senate military affairs committee, he was shipped out to a camp in Mississippi. Senator Johnson of Colorado said, "This soldier is being sent to Siberia, not Mississippi. It is a warning to other soldiers of what they may expect if they get in touch with us."

And so the G I enters the period of so-called "Peace."

? for Unemployed

(Continued from Page 1) tion policies, on an independent class basis.

The unemployment compensation board has ordered that any man who refuses to take a job below his classification, should be cut off unemployment compensation. You don't want to work for 40c an hour? Why that's just too bad says the bosses' agents at the unemployment compensation bureau. The bosses are going to see to it that the working class pays for the cost of the war through lower wages and at the same time are going to have their profits guaranteed in the post-war period, through cheap labor.

all its secrecy is a meeting for the stabilization of capitalism, and for the continued oppression of the colonial and other peoples of the world. Its secrecy must be composed as a cloak for its treacherous imperialist policies. It will lead not to peace, but to more war.

PEACE IS POSSIBLE ONLY THROUGH THE REVOLUTIONARY OVERTHROW OF WORLD CAPITALISM. FASCISM CAN BE DEFEATED PERMANENTLY ONLY BY THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION.

WORKERS OF THE WORLD

ALLIES IN GERMANY

There seems to be no limit to Allied atrocities with regard to the German people and as always the working class carries the brunt of them.

Henry Wales (Chicago Tribune) quote a high ranking American officer as saying, "This winter we face starving Germans, freezing Germans, rioting Germans. I don't know what will happen if American soldiers are ordered to shoot famishing, frost bitten civilians for breaking into food depots."

The present death rate is 61 per thousand, five times the pre-war toll.

While imports of civilian goods, including relief bundles, into Germany are forbidden, the Allies make the running of German factories, such as food processing plants, practically impossible by the constant threat to sieze them.

Berliners are cutting down the trees in their parks for firewood and even for that work they don't have sufficient tools. There will be no coal to heat homes, offices or factories. The Allied armies totaling a quarter of a million, are expected to consume more coal in the heating of barracks and headquarter buildings, than the entire German population of Berlin.

American soldiers are being used to bring former German miners back to the mines by force of arms. We print the following quotation without comment:

Berlin—Sept. 17 (A.P.)—"Shovel squads already are preparing the graves of Berliners expected to die from starvation or suicide during this winter's depressing months. Told the British controlled zone that the fuel wood shortage would not permit cremations or burial in coffins, the grave diggers are excavating before the ground freezes."

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The German workers are organizing again or rather are being organized. The new union movement is doomed to betrayal from the start unless it rids itself of its present leadership and its Allied domination. This self-appointed leadership is entirely reformist, with the Stalinists playing the biggest role, since it was at the instigation of Marshal Zhukov that these unions were organized. Knowing the needs and unrest of the workers, the Stalinists play their traditional role of getting at the head of a workers' movement in order to lead it into safe (for the Stalinist bureaucracy, or capitalism as the case may be) reformist channels. Under these conditions trade unions are granted freedom to organize in the Russian occupied zone.

At the same time British military government is making a bitter joke of the recently granted right to organize trade unions in their zone. Permission for organizational meetings may be gotten only from the military authorities, and the agenda for such meetings must also be submitted. Even if the workers get over all these hurdles, their unions will not be allowed to negotiate wages and hours. Such unions are a farce.

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BRITISH LABOR PARTY

A good illustration of the fact that the British "Labor" government is just another form of the same old imperialist rule, is its policy on India. Before the victory in the elections the Labor party leaders frequently attacked the British policy in India, all the while enjoying the advantages that the super-exploitation of the Indian masses afforded them in the Mother country.

Now it's their turn and what are they doing? Attlee has gotten the old moth eaten Cripps plan out of the closet and with a new sales tactic is trying to pawn it off to the Indian masses. That plan was a very transparent cover for ruthless imperialist exploitation, divide and rule tactics. It is still that even when "Labor" is trying to peddle it.

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"LIBERATED" FRENCH

While expensive French perfumes are being sold to American soldiers at exorbitant prices, the French people are starving. Famine threatens all those who do not make their living out of the black market, all those who depend on their work to live. After more than a year of "liberation," "four freedoms" and the like, the resentment is still growing. It expresses itself in its most primitive form, hunger, riots, demonstrations. On September 16, 100,000 people, the entire population at Montpellier demonstrated against the government's failure to provide food. On September 15, 15,000 housewives raided a poultry market. During the rest of the day women and children cleaned out all the large grocery stores. On the same day police dispersed 300 women in Paris who, as a protest against the high price of fowls had stormed a shop.

While French people have nothing but rags to wear 80,000 five hundred pound bales of cotton are rotting on the docks at Le Harve.

Another phase of French capitalist oppression was revealed in the French newspaper Figaro, telling that German war prisoners in France were systematically starved and savagely beaten. Some camps are full of living skeletons.

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NEW RED ARMY POLICIES

The growing right trend of the Soviet government in its internal policies is evidenced by the granting to the officers of the Red Army such grants as free food, orderlies, and the waiving of taxes. The lame and weak excuse given is that the officers have to be relieved of these burdens of self-support in order that they can give more attention to the work of building and strengthening the Red Army. The denial of admission of a rank and file soldier to officers' clubs is a firm indication of the bourgeoisie trends now establishing itself in the Red Army. To give these concessions to the officers of the Red Army is a negation of the heroism of the millions upon millions of Russian workers and soldiers who died to protect what they thought would be the preservation of a Workers State. The rank and file soldier of the Red Army has to get rid of its Stalinist dominated policies in the Red Army and renew their worker-soldier committees.

Revolutionary Workers League speaker at Social Science Forum, 708 N. Clark st., Chicago, Ill., on following Saturday nites — 8:30 —
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Programmatic Highlights

- 1—Against the imperialist war — a war for plunder, profit, markets and spheres of influence.
- 2—For the Proletarian Revolution which alone will end imperialist war and defeat fascism.
- 3—For a new Fourth (Communist) International. For a new Revolutionary Marxian Party in the United States.
- 4—Against a Labor Party and all other forms of Popular Frontism.
- 5—For independent working class action on the political and economic fields. For strike action now — including the sitdown strike — to gain better wages and working conditions. No faith in reformists and Labor fakery.
- 6—For full equality for the Negroes, Mexicans, Chinese, Japanese and all other oppressed minorities in the United States. Against Jim Crowism and Anti-Semitism.
- 7—For Workers Defense Squads in the Unions and elsewhere to defend the working class from the Fascist inroads of capitalism.
- 8—For full and unconditional independence for the Philippines, Virgin Islands, Porto Rico and all other territories of the United States, including those islands and areas now occupied by American military forces. For the right of self-determination for all colonies.
- 9—For the defense of the Soviet Union against World Imperialism and Stalinism. Extend the October Revolution. For a political revolution in Russia to reestablish Workers Democracy and continue toward Socialism.
- 10—For a Workers Council Government in the United States and all over the world.

The "War" Is Over — The Fighting Goes On

Those who argued against the Revolutionary Workers League's position that this war was one between two rival gangs of imperialist gangsters and thieves, and not at all an altruistic fight for the liberation of oppressed peoples, will now have a difficult task explaining the liberations and freedoms being granted to the so-called "liberated" people in Indo-China, Borneo, Java, Philippines, Greece, the Balkans, etc.

Press dispatches from the peoples who were presumably "freed" from the oppression of aggressive and murderous imperialists reveal that French, British and United States military forces are killing people throughout the old Dutch Colonial Empire for daring to rise in demand for their freedom from their traditional Netherlands oppressors. In Indo-China the United States and British forces are shooting down the people of Saigon and other Indo-China cities for daring to demand freedom from their brutal French imperialist oppressors. The colonial interests of our ally, Holland's "benevolent" queen and her "democratic" Dutch colleagues are being well protected by the blazing guns, dripping bayonets and chemical gases tearing the lives out of the "freed" masses of Borneo and Java.

The workers of Hong-Kong are dreading the return of their hated British oppressors. The oppressed masses of toilers in India have now realized the falsity of Allied promises of freedom after the war and are now engaged in fighting the agents of British imperialism and preparing a struggle for their national independence.

The tortured and starved masses of "liberated" Greece are approaching a supposedly "democratic election" with all suspected militant workers, liberal and democratic forces being terrorized by the army and police which has been purged of all officers and men even suspected of being sympathetic with the wishes and hopes of the masses. As election day approaches it is discovered that fifty thousand warrants are ready for the arrest of every militant worker known and feared by the reactionary British puppet government. An Associated Press dispatch from Athens, Greece, dated September 26, reveals that the military governor there fears that in spite of all his terrorism and purging that there are still forces in the present Greek army sympathetic to the militant Greek workers and has ordered the army confined to barracks during the celebrations of the liberation forces of the EAM. The dispatch indicates that the bosses feel that the hand-picked Monarchist police can club the

The Best Agents of Capitalism

Behind the cloud of censorship highly tense melodrama is being enacted. Millions of acres of land and hundreds of thousands of factories belonging to "traitors of the people" are being expropriated. The land for the most part is being divided amongst poor tenant farmers and peasants. The factories and financial institutions are being taken over by the state directly. This vast area covering approximately 120 million people, under the Aegis of Stalinism, is going through an economic reformation. Stalinism which differs from other social reformists in that its roots lie in the bureaucracy in the Soviet Union rather than in the capitalist class of each country — Stalinism is attempting to take the steam out of the hostility and anger of the masses of this vast area by such reforms. In a sense one might say Stalinism is attempting to complete in these areas the bourgeois revolution. The methods and tactics used differ from country to country. The number of capitalists permitted to remain and their share in both the government and foreign trade differs from country to country. In highly industrialized Czechoslovakia, for instance, the capitalists continue to play a very important role. In backward Poland the role is much smaller.

The machinations of Stalinism in Central and Eastern Europe throws into complete confusion both the ideas of those people who claim a workers state no longer exists in the Soviet Union and those people who follow Stalinism as the vanguard of world socialism. What is actually happening in this section of the world is that the Red Army came into contact with millions of workers and peasants on the verge of revolution. In order to check that revolutionary wave, Stalinism grants major reforms, reforms which in capitalist countries are impossible. For instance, to divide land in countries like Peru or to further divide the land in countries like France would bring immediate bankruptcy or threat of bankruptcy to large financial institutions, mortgage companies, and insurance companies. The Socialist and other such reformist having their roots in their own particular capitalist countries and being pledged to maintain capitalism can not even entertain such reforms. But Stalinism with its entirely different social reformist structure, with its international dependency not on the individual capitalists powers, but on world capitalism as a whole and on Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union as an agency for such capitalism, Stalinism can and does institute such reforms.

Temporarily reforms have had the effect desired but already the long term effects are casting their shadows in advance. In Bulgaria, the government has been forced to legalize a number of openly pro-American parties rather than pro-Soviet parties and the much heralded elections promulgated by the Stalinists have been postponed under Allied pressure. In Roumania King Carol has requested that the pro-Stalinist Broza Government be changed to a government more suitable to the Allies. America has recognized Finland which means that Finland is not the complete puppet that Stalinism would like it to be.

What is the basis for this fissure? What makes it possible for the Allies to penetrate into the very citadel of Stalinist power? The answer is quite obvious — HUNGER. The Soviet Union has come out of this war badly hurt. At least ten or fifteen million of its finest youth are dead. Millions of civilians have been dispersed to the far corners of the

workers into submission without the danger of the army interfering.

As for the "liberated" Jews in Germany — the pitifully small handful remaining alive, a United States Government official report shows them to be still in the Hitler-constructed concentration camps and "treated no differently than by the Nazis."

The question arises also as to the RWL's position that the Stalinist Soviet victory would constitute a reformist role in this case and an open reactionary role in that and a counter-revolutionary role in another. Let us examine one or two cases in point. The post war treaties established between the Soviet Government of Stalin and the Soviet puppet governments of Roumania and Hungary provide that all profits distilled from the toil of the masses in these two countries shall be divided equally between the, Red Army protected, capitalists of these states and the Stalinist government of Russia. In China the Stalinist puppets Chu Teh and Mao Tse Tung have reached an agreement with the counter revolutionary butcher Chiang Kai Shek for a united China — united by the pledge of Stalinist suppression of the growing revolutionary struggles of the terribly oppressed and starving masses of China.

Nor does the labor government in England under Messrs. Attlee and Bevin and Co, offer any hope to the oppressed masses of the Empire or in the United Kingdom itself. From India comes a protest sent by V. K. Krishna Menon, Secretary for the India League, addressed to the British Labor Government, as follows: "The forced use of Indian troops against the people of Indo-China, Malaya and other liberated Asiatic countries must be terminated. . . . This . . . use of Indians against peaceful peoples is not only inflicting a further humiliation upon us, but makes a mockery of the proclaimed purposes, both of the war in the Far East and of the United Nations.

"The Indian people have no quarrel with the peoples of Malaya, Indo-China or Indonesia, but on the other hand have every sympathy and a feeling of solidarity with these peoples, striving to liberate themselves from imperialism as we ourselves desire and strive to do."

Certainly the oppressed people of Greece can see no difference to themselves in the rule of British forces over them under a labor government or the previous government

earth, or are also dead. The whole Ukraine which housed about one half of Russia's major industries has been made into a shamble and will take at least five to eight years to reconstruct. According to the most conservative estimates it will be at least 1955 before the Russian people have rebuilt their destroyed homes. It will be at least 1951 before the devastated factories are rebuilt. And even for that billions of dollars in American capital will be needed. To the extent that capital is not forthcoming, the tasks of Russian reconversion will be that much greater.

Stalinism in Russia, true to the treacherous theory of Socialism in One Country, tries to again lay plans for the reconstruction of Russia which fail to take into account the sufferings and needs of the people. A five year plan has been put forth which again completely emphasizes heavy industry and postpones for a long period the manufacture of consumers goods. Stalinism, of course, can take no other course because it has long ago given up faith in the proletarian revolution and it must of necessity depend merely upon its military might as a counterweight to the capitalist world. In terms of human suffering the Stalinists international program means hunger and starvation for millions of Russians and the taking in of quite a few notches in Ivan's belt.

Obviously under such circumstances the Stalinist bureaucracy will be unable to give any great measure of help to the peoples of Hungary, Bulgaria, Roumania, Finland, Poland, etc. The present bourgeois reforms can not possibly solve the problems of these masses. The time will rapidly approach when, driven by hunger, the oppressed peasantry and working class of Central and Eastern Europe will rise up and revolt. This time the revolt will be directed not against their own native capitalist primarily, but against the Red Army and Stalinism.

American capitalism is banking upon this hunger. It is utilizing this pressure of the masses as a counterweight against Stalinism. With its UNRRRA and with its money it will attempt to grant further reforms and buy the allegiance of these countries as a spearhead for an eventual attack against the Soviet Union. In terms of economic might world capitalism can still far out do the Soviet Union. It is counting on utilizing that might to undermine the workers state and prepare for its eventual destruction.

The treacherous role of Stalinism in fighting to maintain the world status-quo, at a time when millions of workers are eagerly waiting for the leadership that will take them into the realm of proletarian revolution — such treachery by Stalinism not only leads to setbacks for the Soviet Union but the undoing of Stalinism as well.

It is simple to become enthusiastic about the bourgeois reforms Stalinism is making in Central Europe. But one must look at the long term perspective and one must recognize that in the last analysis the staving off of revolution today merely leads to a greater revolutionary tidal wave tomorrow. Hunger will impel the masses away from Stalinism in Central Europe but hunger will not impel them away from the Allied dollar bills — UNLESS a revolutionary Marxian Party is built which can expose and explain the counter-revolutionary role of the American dollar and the American military forces. We in America must give all aid to the building of such a party.

of the open imperialist Churchill. The same is true throughout the British empire.

Here at home the workers are confronted with the rewards of sacrifices in winning another war for the bosses. The returned veterans are fast learning the true meaning of their sufferings. These rewards are summed up in the present wave of union busting, wage cutting and mass unemployment. The profligacy in spending the sacred taxpayers money, that marked the era of danger to the American bosses empire, and the empire of their international brothers in crime, has passed, and again the voice of the infamous economy league is heard denouncing all proposals for expenditures that would aid the returned GIs and the unemployed and part time war working "heroes."

The Negro masses especially can reflect on the claim of the Revolutionary Workers League that this was no war of theirs; no war for freedom and emancipation. Today they are faced with bigger and better Hitler-like ghettos (segregated districts), increasing discrimination in employment, and growing threats of wholesale lynchings and pogroms.

Yes, the "official" imperialist war of the bosses has come to a close. The defeated Nazis and Japanese are now being used as police and militia in various part of the world to maintain order by aiding the victorious Allied imperialists in suppressing the oppressed and exploited peoples who are beginning to fight against their growing misery and starvation in both the defeated and victorious nations. (The British Labor Government's Major General Douglas Lacey, on September 26th, called the "defeated" Japanese General Numata, in charge of the free and operating Japanese army in Saigon, Indo-China, that the peaceful and safe return of himself and his soldiers would be jeopardized if he didn't use his troops to effectively shoot down the rebellion of the peoples of Indo-China against the re-occupation of their country by the hated French imperialists.)

Though the imperialist phase of the war is over the fighting goes on. The character of the war changes to civil war. The events of the short post war period should prove to any worker or member of an oppressed minority that this war was just another war of the bosses for their own interests. Coming events will further confirm this. It should be apparent that the program of the RWL appearing elsewhere on this page is the only solution to the problems of the masses oppressed.

Confusing, Isn't It?

"An Inspiring Victory," the lead editorial of your August 4 issue — on the British elections — takes the cake.

What is this "Victory" and what is so "inspiring" about it? Let the Militant tell the story. "The British workers have demonstrated the mighty force of political action . . . the professional Tory Capitalist politicians (have been) swept out of office like so much chaff. We now learn that at long last British labor now has the opportunity of completely reshaping the life of Great Britain in accordance with the needs of the working class and all the poor people."

But wait — isn't something left out here? It is buried in the middle of the articles. "The leaders of the labor party in coalition with the Tories did their utmost to safeguard the interests of the Capitalists." Nevertheless the "British workers drew the correct lesson" from this sell-out by elevating the labor lieutenants of Churchill and the Tories to the status of captains. Truly a victory — but for the British bosses who are forced to lean more heavily on their "labor" stooges.

In the same issue is the leading news article by Ralph Graham in which Graham goes to some length to expose the strike-breaking role of Attlee-Bevin-Morrison and Co. He then quotes the pious wish of the sanctimonious Times that the "great majority of the victors will not persuade them to extremist courses." To which Graham with true Stalinist rationalization replies: "But it was precisely in order to insure the carrying out of an 'Extremist' program that the workers voted the (strike-breaking B.P.) Labor Party into office."

Labor Party Powerful Betrayal

Yet in this same issue of the Militant the editors without even blushing can quote the following from the documents of the Fourth International of 1935 — "Should the electoral successes of the labor party raise it once again to power the consequences would not be a peaceful transformation of Great Britain, but the consolidation of imperialist reaction that is to say an epoch of civil war in the face of which the leadership of the Labor Party will inevitably reveal its complete bankruptcy." Which is it Messers Tweedee-Tweedee, "inspiring Victory" or "Consolidation of imperialist reaction"?

Vincent Dunne continues the adventures of Alice in Blunderland where one has to run like hell to stay in the same place. On page 6 he shows that he is no less adept than Browder on learning the "correct" line. He is quoted as follows: "We are not checking in on any of our ideas or any part of our program. We have no illusion about Frankenstein or any of the other supposed labor candidates. That is, when we criticize their program while campaigning for their election" (!!!) He adds belligerently: "We stand on our own political program." But expects New Deal (?) Democrats and labor fakers to carry it out.

Revolutionary Marxists point out what the Daily Worker and the Militant pointed out in the gone and forgotten days of 1928. That the Labor Party is only the left mask of British (or American) imperialism. Just as it was precisely Leon Blum the "socialist" who first used the French military against French strikers, so it was that Ramsey MacDonald the "Labor" minister of Great Britain was the first to use

Why the Revolutionary Workers League

PART 2

To put things in a nut shell: THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS LEAGUE AND THE OPPORTUNIST TENDENCIES OF TROTSKYISM, STALINISM, AND SOCIAL DEMOCRACY, IS THAT WITHOUT EXCEPTION THESE OTHER TENDENCIES SUPPORT ONE FORM OF CAPITALISM AGAINST ANOTHER. That may sound a little bit conceited and to the uninitiated as a little bit off the deep end. After all do not the Trotskyists at least proclaim their everlasting devotion to the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism?

Well the subject isn't really that simple. Remember what we said before about the vast complexity of the capitalist system? Capitalism has a number of faces. It utilizes each one as the occasion warrants. For instance, in periods when the working masses are relatively docile and when the profit of the capitalists, are still large enough to grant some minor concessions to those masses, capitalism can parade as "democratic." In periods or places, however, where the stress is much greater, where people are starving, where there is danger of revolt, where there is tension and unrest, there capitalism can maintain itself only by trotting out its most brutal police hooligans and extra legal fascist squads. In other words, capitalism exists by alternating its gloved hand and its mailed fist. So long as you do not threaten to overthrow it, so long as it is not in deep crisis, so long as it is able to bribe the masses at home on the basis of its robberies from the colonial and other oppressed peoples, so long will capitalism be content to utilize its cheapest form of rule, bourgeois democracy. But when times change — as it has been changing in this whole period of imperialism — then capitalism trots out its military dictatorship, its fascist hooligans.

There is no Chinese wall between bourgeois democracy, the left arm of capitalism, and fascism the right arm of capitalism. As a matter of fact one dovetails neatly into the other. Look around you at every country in the world today and you will find even in the "nobles" of democracies all kinds of decree rule, all kinds of one-man actions, all kinds of regimentation and the limitation of all rights of the individual. A period will finally come in the U.S., Britain, and other such countries similar to the period of 1930-32 in Germany, where decree rule will go through a rapid transition to open fascism.

SOCIAL DEMOCRACY LEADS TO FASCISM

To support bourgeois democracy in any form merely leads inevitably to the victory of fascism. If that has been proven once in the last 30 years, it has been proven at least three dozen times. Millions of workers are buried underground, and the imperialist war itself was only possible because we, the workers of the world, failed to understand this lesson. By supporting the Social Democrats in Germany until 1932, the German workers permitted confusion, demoralization and inaction to creep into their ranks and permitted Hitler to ascend to power. By supporting popular frontism in Spain, the original victories of the workers in the first three months of the civil war 1936 were dissipated and fascism was able to conquer. By supporting popular frontism in Greece towards the end of the second imperialist war, the Stalinists made possible the victory of the

Revolt Ends Jim Crowism

(Continued from Page 1)
not sent to the schools or stations to which they are assigned. Each meal in the mess hall is secured after a minor skirmish. It requires four officers, several non-coms and a dozen pushers to keep order at each meal.
It took a mutiny to eliminate the major aspects of Jim-Crow in one camp. It will take similar action by all the soldiers united with their worker brothers to eliminate the other evils of the militarism that the richest country in the world must now use to hold on to the power and wealth it has wrested from its competitors.

machine guns against the Indian masses.

And the Trotskyists are leading the American workers to similar betrayals.

—B. P.

The Truth Slips Out

After a press conference about the situation in Bavaria, Slap-em Patton found himself "on the carpet."

The general reaction to Patton's slip-of-the-tongue statement was, according to Chicago Daily News reporter Edward F. Morgan, "Georgie's gone and talked too much again." It should be especially interesting to the "mud-sloggers" who fought those bitter months in Europe "to wipe out Nazism" to learn that one of their top commanders doesn't see much difference between a "Nazi and a non-Nazi" or a "Republican and a Democrat."

Patton's policies are actually the same as those of Eisenhower's. The only difference is that Patton's remark revealed too frankly the policies that Eisenhower himself is exercising. Patton must learn to conform to the more "subtle" methods of the high command.

military dictatorship of the British puppets.

There is no lesson more fundamental than this one in our epoch. Support of bourgeois democracy in any manner, shape, or form can lead only to total defeat of the proletariat.

In the light of all this let us examine the positions of these various political tendencies. The Socialists openly proclaim the need for an "evolutionary" change. They propose to establish Socialism at the ballot box. You see, if only we elect Norman Thomas as President we will have a new social order. Such childish blindness! As if a system which will spend a trillion dollars for murder and plunder will permit the mere election of a couple of former preachers to stand in their way. History is full of depositions of people who were against the powers that be, by the use of force and violence. During its first world war our capitalist congress ejected from its halls those socialist who continued to make Socialist speeches during the war. In our epoch all things are settled in terms of force and violence, either the force of the exploiters against us or our own united strength, our own force against the system of exploitation. The Socialists (both wings, the Thomas and O'Neill wings) are a pretty decadent clique. Since 1935 they have been constantly losing face and power here in the U.S. None the less one fine day capitalism will attempt to utilize this potential left arm just as the counter-parts of Thomas and O'Neill (Bevan and Attlee) are being utilized today in Britain.

STALINIST MISLEADERSHIP BETRAYS WORKERS

The Stalinist form of reformism differs considerably from that of the Social Democrats. In the first place Uncle Joe Stalin is usurping both the material resources and the political prestige of the great October Revolution in Russia. Hundreds of millions of people are today under the ideological or military domination of Stalinism. This complex political phenomena is like a muck rainbow stretching across the earth. In one place it plays the role of an out and out reformist. In China today it grants agricultural reforms to the peasantry but confines those reforms to the framework of capitalism and stifles every effort of the working class and peasants to move toward the dictatorship of the proletariat. In central Europe, on the other hand, Stalinism is playing in a number of places an open counter-revolutionary role (such as all reformists play in times of acute class strife). Stalinism has been the main prop for world capitalism these last ten years at least. Without it this imperialist war could not have been waged. It utilized the prestige of the October revolution to gain the allegiance of the masses of the world to the left arm of the capitalists bourgeois democracy. It supported the wars of bourgeois democracy. It supported the outstanding leaders of bourgeois democracy, Churchill and Roosevelt. It supported the civil peace of bourgeois democracy, the no strike pledge, the bond drives, the patriotic fervor. Even though at the end of the war it is making a slight modification in its line, it is nevertheless still within the framework of bourgeois democracy, for Stalinism is today, as before the war, proclaiming the program of popular frontism, a bloc with the left wing capitalists, Daladier, Reynaud, New Dealism, and their ilk. And also with the social democrats and other people who believe not in the overthrow of capitalism, but in its slow (impossible) reformation.

Well, you might say that everything the Revolutionary Workers League says about Social Democracy and Stalinism is true. They do not stand for a revolutionary program. Yes, that is so. But what about Trotskyism? Every time there is a militant force in Europe the American newspapers never lose an opportunity to howl that the Trotskyites are loose again. Doesn't that show that the Trotskyites are real revolutionaries? Doesn't it show that they do believe in the forceful overthrow of the capitalists?

History is full of examples of people and organizations that use left wing phrases to cover up right wing actions. Yes, we admit the Trotskyites (both the Cannon and Schachtman wings) call for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism in WORDS. But what of the deeds they propose? Do those deeds differ from those of the Stalinists for instance? Just look. Both Trotsky parties stand on the platform of left popular frontism, of left support to the reformists and the left capitalists. Since 1934 the Trotskyists program of action has been one of support to the left arm of capitalism. During the days of popular frontism in France, the Trotskyites demanded not a working class dictatorship, a Soviet rule but . . . a Blum-Cachin government. In other words, the same popular front government that then existed with the exception that the open liberal capitalist should be ousted. During the Spanish Revolution of 1936-37 Trotskyism spoke abstractly of the need for a working class order. Concretely, however, it proposed material aid to the loyalist capitalists and it demanded a Cabellero-CNT Government, another popular front regime. Everywhere and at all times Trotskyism proposed a program of action to prop up bourgeois democracy. During the recent British election campaign the slogan was "Labor to Power." It called upon the workers to support the left arm of capitalism, Bevin and Attlee and company. In America Cannon and Co. are also for a labor party, a third capitalist party similar in content to all popular frontism.

ONLY PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION CAN DEFEAT FASCISM!