

The Fighting Worker

Workers of
The World
Unite!

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

Vol. 8—No. 11—Whole No. 114

NOVEMBER, 1943

Price 5c

Friendly Enemies Whisper In Moscow

October 16, 1943—What will come of the three power conference in Moscow?

One thing is obvious. The conflict between Soviet Russia on the one hand and the Anglo-American states, on the other, is irreconcilable. On the eve of the conference Pravda, mouthpiece of Stalin, states that Russia does "not intend to discuss frontiers or the status of the Baltic states," but that they intend to "use the meeting to discuss the second front."

In the Allied newspapers, on the other hand, the main issues seems to be political. Will the Soviet Union insist on taking the Baltic states, Bessarabia, parts of Poland, a thin strip of Finland?

Obviously Stalin intends to pursue his aim of getting these buffer states, and obviously too the Allies (who have been working together, with a long-term perspective AGAINST the Soviet Union) will try to delay the "second" front long enough for their own purposes.

MEETING OF ENEMIES

The bald fact is that the powers sitting at the conference in Moscow this month will be ENEMIES. That they sit together is merely an indication of other things. The Allies are jockeying for time, waiting for Russia to be exhausted and waiting too for a crack-up of German military forces. In the interim Messrs. Eden and Hull are supposed to tame the stalking bear: keep it doing its dirty work for Allied Imperialism. Stalin, on the other hand, needs relief. He needs material aid in much greater quantities and he needs above all else to preserve enough military strength and to gain enough territory to make the INEVITABLE onslaught by the Allies against Russia as weak as possible.

Stalin needs the buffer states between himself and that inevitable Allied invasion of Russia. That means not only Finnish, Polish, Rumanian and Baltic territory, but territory in Persia and other parts of Asia. Eden and Hull—looking at their long term needs—will thus try to bulldoze Molotov into renouncing as much of this buffer territory as possible. Molotov will try to sidetrack any discussion of post-war boundaries in favor of talk about an immediate second front to draw off dozens of German divisions from the Eastern Front.

NO REAL PACT POSSIBLE

A permanent, or relatively lasting, agreement between these powers is thus unthinkable. This conference is a meeting of future enemies, each battling to gain the strongest position for the future battle.

Will an agreement be made? A temporary agreement is not impossible. After all the Allies only have to make promises. They don't have to give any territory NOW. In return for such promises they expect to have the Red Army and the Russian people continue to carry the main burden of the war, to bleed and starve and exhaust itself. After the

New Nov. 7ths On The Way!

November 7th remains a historic day for the working class of every country in the world. Out of the last war on that date came the successful Russian Revolution and the Third International, Marxist, until it degenerated and was final liquidated under the capitulating bureaucracy of Stalinism.

Out of this war will come the Fourth Communist International to lead the working class to the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the World Federation of Worker's Council Governments.

Even now new November 7ths are brewing in Europe, Asia, Africa and the mighty titan of capitalism, America. As the war with its slaughter, destruction and profiteering rages into every nook of the earth, as the blood soaks into the bodies and minds of the men and women who are fighting oppression by the enemy at "home" as well as the enemy on the battlefield, so parallel with the holocaust dawns the day of their emancipation. Life shows them in every way that freedom can be obtained only by fighting against those who keep them in chains, whether the links that hold that chain, are called "four freedoms," "for God and King" or the scream for "lebensraum!"

November 7, 1917 the Russian workers learned that the only road to peace and freedom was to "turn the imperialist war into civil war," and the workers of Europe tried to follow suit. But one major factor was lacking for success—A MARXIAN REVOLUTIONARY PARTY.

The same class relations that existed for the Russians in 1917 still exist for the world today. The same old war for markets and profits, the same old liberal phrases and promises for the future, the same decadent boss rule, intensified as its senility wears it down, and the same dynamic of the social front to make for gigantic upheavals by the working class.

It is up to the working class to fight their own battles, and it is up to the Marxists to lead the way.

The Main Enemy is at Home!

Smash Capitalism to Smash Fascism!

For The Defense of The Soviet Union and the Extension of the October Revolution!

For the Class War to End the Boss War!

Build the Fourth (Communist) International!

U. A. W. Bamboozled Into Line

The Auto Workers convention in Buffalo October 4th to 10th nearly made history. But only nearly. At the end of the Convention the Reuther-Addes bureaucracy was still in the saddle and the capitalist handcuffs still remained on the hands of Labor.

Walter Reuther and his brother

Victor, and Dick Leonard, leaders of the "Committee for a Democratic American Union" and the Addes - Frankenstein - Stalinist group did a good job for their side. Although Reuther and Addes fought viciously over posts and over secondary issues, it is significant that they united firmly in upholding the no-strike pledge.

Whoever arranged the agenda did a "good" job—for Wall Street and its New Deal! The first six days were taken up with movies, talks by Army officials, a big blow-off by Phil Murray, and relatively secondary issues like incentive pay or whether to shoot the works on Roosevelt or give him a few ifs and ands (qualified support). The MAIN issue of the Convention was pigeonholed to the last day, after all the baloney, appeals to patriotism, etc., had been dished out, and many delegates had either gone home or were too tired to put up an effective fight.

DOWN WITH SECRET DIPLOMACY

Stalinism is in a contradiction at this conference. It wields exceedingly few weapons over the heads of the Allies. It engages—against all the principles of Marxism—in SECRET diplomacy. It operates behind the back and against the interests of the World Proletariat. It calls upon the masses to support imperialism. This support of the war by the workers in Allied countries makes it possible for the imperialists for the time being to do as they please in foreign policy and in the war. Stalinism thus robs the Soviet Union of its only POSSIBLE ally, the world proletariat, and it puts Russia at the mercy of the imperialists.

Whatever the results of the Moscow conference—it is only an interim in the vast civil war between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, only unfortunately the proletariat suffers a defeat at this conference because of the secret and anti-revolutionary diplomacy of Stalin.

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THREE VOTES ON NO-STRIKE

Even at that however, the no-strike question almost caused consternation in the heads and hearts of Reuther-Addes-Roosevelt. It took THREE separate votes before R. J. Thomas, President of the UAW-CIO declared that the no-strike pledge had been continued. Added and Reuther, saw eye to eye on this one, but even their combined support couldn't do better than this close call. And there are many delegates who will still bet two to one that the resolution to continue the no-strike pledge was beaten.

(Continued on page Two)

Italian Crisis Splits Fascists

Allied Imperialists Employ Quisling Badoglio As Aid

Badoglio's declaration of war against Germany is certainly a pitiful gesture. Faced with social revolution, wracked with strikes, demonstrations, and armed revolt, the Italian bourgeoisie has split asunder like tissue.

The Mussolini section has run like scared rabbits to Himmler and his Nazi murderers. The House of Savoy and Badoglio have called in the Allies to smash the Revolution in Italy.

Badoglio, unlike Petain and the French capitalists, has learned that there can be no neutrality in this war. But the "co-belligerency" of Italian capitalism will avail just as little for the Italian masters as the "co-belligerency" of DeGaulle.

DIVERTED AGAINST REVOLUTION

The Imperialists settle things in realistic terms, on the basis of military strength. During and after the war, those who have lost the force of arms will be relegated to very minor roles. Despite his "sacrifice," Badoglio will reap no great harvest. That fact must certainly be known to him. The only real advantage of "co-belligerency" to the Badoglio section of Italian capitalism is that American and British guns will help stifle the Italian proletarian revolution and permit Badoglio to maintain his rule, but an American quisling.

The Badoglio incident—like the Darlan incident and the Giraud incident and many others—is very interesting. Allied imperialism is now "co-belligerent" with a Fascist of some 21 years standing, with the rapist of Ethiopia. Badoglio, however, unlike his Darlan, Giraud, Mikhailovic, and other predecessors has been prompted to promise "democracy," "free election" and such things.

Promises in a period of war are very cheap—particularly since they don't have to be given immediately (like Wallace's quart of milk, or Roosevelt's Four Freedoms). That Badoglio makes such "left" (for him) promises is an indication that the proletarian revolution still seethes within Italy. We learn of riots in Rome and Milan. Probably strikes and sabotage are quite extensive. Badoglio MUST sound "left" if he is to survive.

FROM RIGHT TO LEFT

Dorothy Thompson has an interesting and lucid article in the American Mercury in which she speaks of the need of having "law and order" governments in conquered territories. She clearly puts forth the idea that after the conservatives, American imperialism must be prepared to place in power people considerably to the left—in order to allay mass revolt. Miss Thompson is certainly correct in her estimate of what the Allies are going to do: put governments in power that will stifle Revolution, ranging from rightist to left reformist.

But Miss Thompson misses the whole point. The "left" govern-

ments are only interludes to canalize the revolt and prepare for extreme right—Fascist—regimes. That is the meaning of Allied foreign policy. That is the reason that it always attempts to deal FIRST with open or semi-fascists and yields to so-called liberals (or liberal words) only in the face of imminent revolt of the masses.

Badoglio is playing the game of Miliukov, Noske, Karolyi, Chiang-Kai-Shek and others before him. He is doing the job much better than Giraud. But it is a job of preserving capitalism and continuing the war. He shows by his declaration of war that he is no less a war-monger and imperialist than Mussolini; that his only distinction is that he hopes to save more of the Italian empire by making a deal with Roosevelt than with Hitler.

STALIN'S TREACHERY

Incidentally the most treacherous stab in the back yet dealt the working class in this war, was the flagrant support of the Badoglio declaration of war by Stalin. Instead of a clarion call to the workers in the Nazi-held and in the Allied-held sections of Italy to oust imperialism and establish a Socialist Soviet Republic, Stalin has called upon the working class to support the Badoglio counter-revolution. Worse than that, Stalin has blessed the bayonets that will kill workers who dare to fight against capitalism!

Stalin has supported the imperialist war from its first day—first as an ally of German imperialism, now as an ally of Anglo-American imperialism. But this is the first time in the course of the war (the first time since Spain) that Stalinism is giving material and moral aid to open counter-revolution.

Twist the facts as anyone may, that—and that alone—is Badoglio's major role. If he declares war against Germany it is merely so that he may have the excuse to maintain the bayonets against the proletarian revolution. Badoglio's Italy is no longer interested in the imperialist phase of the war as its main problem—it now must contend with the real enemy, the main enemy of capitalism, the Italian working class.

HURTS SOVIET DEFENSE

For Stalin to bless Badoglio, for the Soviet Union under Stalin's helm to remain silent—worse, to cover up—this role, is treachery of the highest order, is a blow not only against the Italian working class, but against the Defense of the Soviet Union as well.

Stalinism is preparing to reenact the role of Kerensky, Noske, in Italy (and elsewhere). On the other hand the proletariat everywhere and particularly at this moment in Italy, must be on guard against the enemies of the home front, the Badoglio-Allied "liberators" as well as the Stalinist attorneys for imperialism and counter-revolution.

Auto Workers Convention

(Continued from page One)

Or course, Reuther (an old Socialist) was smart enough to pepper his no-strike resolution with a little (?) demagoguery. He called for continuing the no-strike pledge "in all plants in which management is bargaining in good faith." (As if workers ever did go out on strike in plants where they could get what they wanted peacefully!) "In plants where managements is taking advantage of the war effort and labor's no strike pledge to destroy collective bargaining, the union shall take steps to insure continuous production by government operation of such plants." So ends the Reuther resolution.

Isn't it just ducky? Instead of striking, we will call on Uncle Sam to take over our plant. Doesn't anyone remember what happened at North American when the soldiers took over? Or in the coal pits this year when Uncle Sam took over? Government means boss, and government operation merely means that the bosses collectively run the plant for the individual boss TO GET THE MOST PROFIT POSSIBLE UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES! The Government is the instrument of big business. Even the Reuther brothers must know that, but they know too that the rank and file isn't yet sure of the fact. So, Reuther peddles his demagoguery.

ADDES CONTINUES IN OFFICE

The Reuther tactics brought them no dividends worth mentioning. Although the Reuther caucus was almost twice as large as the Addes-Stalinist caucus, both Addes and Frankenstein retained their posts as Secretary-Treasurer and Vice-President respectively. And the relationship of forces on the new Executive Board is about the same too.

The question that presents itself immediately is: how come? The answer is not hard to find. Reuther had two "important" differences with the Stalinists. Addes and the Communist Party were in favor of the General Motors idea of "incentive" pay — piece work, speed-up. The position of the rank and file was overwhelmingly opposed to agreeing to the speed-up in the present negotiations with General Motors, and elsewhere, and so Reuther's position carried.

SUPPORT ROOSEVELT SELL-OUT

The other "difference" was over "qualified" or "unqualified" support of Roosevelt. The Stalinists in their A number 1 hypocritical manner (because tomorrow they may change it, and yesterday Roosevelt was a war-monger) were for all out support to the "commander-in-chief." Reuther, mindful of the lack of enthusiasm of the rank and file for the present Roosevelt course, (wage-freezing, job-freezing, lowering of the standard of living, higher taxes, etc.) made the "enormous" concession to this sentiment by giving "qualified" support.

These were the only real difference between the two groups. The reason therefore that the Addes group could continue in office is that the rank and file of the delegates couldn't for the life of them see any fundamental difference between the two caucuses. For the rank and file the big issue was the RIGHT TO STRIKE. On that issue both groups were united. The delegates therefore took their pick on a PERSONAL, rather than fundamental, basis.

Since Addes had been in office for many years, he got the nod over Dick Leonard—although by the small margin of 71 votes. And after Addes was elected

there was a small rush of the doubtful votes to make peace with Addes. This switch helped Frankenstein — previously beaten by Reuther for the post of Vice-President—beat Leonard again for the other vice-presidency.

HEALTHY RANK AND FILE

The present auto convention, like many others, showed a healthy rank and file spirit. The delegates had little respect for their leaders. Almost all of them, including R. J. Thomas who was re-elected unanimously, were booed roundly when the delegates disagreed with them. But as in the past, no organized left-wing caucus with a class struggle program stood opposed to the officers.

A Cleveland trade union group, The Trade Union Discussion Group, distributed a militant leaflet to the Convention calling for:

PROGRESSIVE PROGRAM

1—Rescind the no-strike pledge IMMEDIATELY "and start a real battle to better our living standards ABOVE January 1941."

2—"We must still fight for the five day, thirty hour week, with double time for all overtime, because after this war is over we are to be confronted with 25 million unemployed who can not possible be absorbed by the present work week."

3—No "discrimination against women and Negroes."

4—"We must still guard ourselves against politically ambitious demagogues who would tie labor still further to the present sell-out leadership through a so-called Labor Party which would only mean harnessing us to a war government similar to that of the English Bevin and Morrisons. Labor does not want or need such reformist parties. The present war crisis and the coming post war unemployment can be solved only through Production for Use instead of for Profit, under Workers Control."

5—"Build a national shop steward movement based on rank and file militants no matter what Union they belong to, and let's turn the tide away from the defeats we've suffered in the last two years."

The Cleveland leaflet was warmly received. The Auto Workers issue of the FIGHTING WORKER also got a good reception from the delegates, with many workers coming back and asking for additional copies.

LABOR PARTY NO ISSUE

Incidentally the Labor Party was no issue at the Convention. All the Trotskyite poppycock about how the masses were just dying for a Labor Party was exploded into a cocked hat at this convention. A delegate got up during the Reuther caucus meeting and proposed discussion on a Labor Party. He was given a stony reception. The Convention just forgot the matter.

WILL BE DECIDED IN FACTORIES

The Auto Convention nearly rescinded the no-strike pledge. Had it done so it would have made history.

But the issue will still be resolved in the plants. Negotiations at General Motors will be resumed in November. The Little STEAL formula blocks the path of 300,000 workers. The infamous War Labor Board stands in the way of a decent livelihood. Almost two years of run around has seeped deep into the marrow of the automobile workers.

In more and more plants open opposition to the no-strike sell-out of Thomas - Reuther - Addes-struggle.

Questions and Answers

A comrade in the East writes in the following questions: The R.W.L. answers them below:

1—How would you describe the 'Bolshevik' Party as it was in Russia in 1917 and as it should be? Who rules? Both in times of 'legality' and 'illegality'? How did it lead, agitate and influence and gain trust from the masses?

ANSWER—This question is obviously a leading question. Most likely the writer feels that the Bolshevik Party of 1917 had many characteristics that led to Stalinism of 1943. But we do not agree. A Party reflects the level of development of the class it represents. In Russia in 1917-23, with famine and misery stalking the proletariat, it was inevitable that bureaucratic and alien TENDENCIES would crop up within the Revolutionary Marxian Party of Lenin. So long as there is hunger there will always be opportunism and bureaucracy.

The question is whether a Marxian Party can control those TENDENCIES or succumb to them. Lenin, in his writings, constantly berates bureaucratic tendencies within the Russian Communist Party. But so long as Lenin lived the Marxian current within the Party was able to control and on occasions purge the bureaucrats. The Bolshevik Party had many secondary shortcomings, but it permitted the greatest democracy, inside and outside the Party. It gave leadership to the working class, guided it to a victory over capitalism, fought off the counter-revolution, and began building Socialism. Naturally there were many excesses, tactical blunders, etc.—but no Revolution can be otherwise. The liberals and revisionists try to make of these episodic and exceptional things a GENERAL CHARACTERISTIC of the Bolsheviks; but they are wrong. Only after the Revolutions in the rest of Europe were defeated did the bureaucratic and opportunistic tendencies of Stalinism gain control of the Party.

The Bolshevik Party was based on "democratic centralism," fullest democracy in discussion, greatest centralism in action. The Party was ruled by a Central Committee, democratically elected at Party Conventions. During illegality, communication between Party cells was difficult. At such times the Central Committee within Russia even disavowed Lenin. During 1917-21 Lenin was defeated on many important questions—Brest-Litovsk being a most clear illustration. In Lenin's time the Party was far from monolithic: it had a dozen or more factions, each with full democratic rights at the Party's functions.

Who ruled the Bolshevik Party? The Party served the interests of the working class. Its membership was overwhelmingly proletarian, and the workers controlled the Party leadership through the democratic centralist structure.

The Bolshevik Party gave leadership to the masses in action. Its leaflets, papers, propaganda to the Soviets, gave day to day guidance to the working class. Although in February 1917 the Bolshevik Party was a small minority, in the course of this day to day guidance and leadership it gained overwhelming mass support by November 1918.

CAN A COUNTRY SKIP STAGES?

2—Marx's views were that only failure can come to attempts to jump the stages in social evolution. Is that why Russia failed? After all, she was very backward and feudal.

ANSWER—Marx's statements on the fact that society can not skip stages must be taken only in the GENERAL and ABSTRACT sense. For instance, it is impossible generally to have Capitalism before Feudalism. Generally and abstractly, too, Feudalism follows chattel slavery. BUT there are cases where nations went over directly from primitive communism to Feudalism. CONCRETELY we frequently see COMBINED development. There are parts of China, for instance, where capitalism has only been introduced a few years ago (Northwestern sections). There are neither roads nor railroads. The only means of transport is the Airplane. This part of the world, thus has "skipped stages." The same is true of many colonial areas, not only in the economic but social sense. In fact TODAY it is impossible for these backward areas to make any progress at all WITHOUT SKIPPING STAGES. Russia, as the weakest link in the capitalist chain, combined its nationalist-democratic revolution as a PHASE of the Proletarian Revolution. Russia "failed," (it degenerated under Stalinism) not because it "skipped stages" but because the Revolution failed to spread to other countries, particularly Germany.

WORKERS STATE AND SOCIALISM

3—Is there a wide difference between a "Workers" Republic and "Socialism"?

ANSWER: If you mean by a Workers Republic, the Dictatorship of the Proletariat (A Workers COUNCIL Republic), that is the FIRST state toward Socialism. The working class can not eliminate the State all at once. It needs a repressive organ against the remnants of capitalism which will remain for some time. But the State under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat represents not a minority, but the overwhelming majority. The Soviet Republic eliminates commodity production and introduces production for use; it eliminates private appropriation in favor of state (and later social) appropriation; and it eliminates wage labor and surplus value, in favor of payments for labor based on social production. Once Society has been able to destroy the vestiges of capitalism, to make the Revolution worldwide, then the State begins to decay (disappear) and we have Socialism—SOCIAL (rather than state) ownership of the means of production. Socialism in turn is eventually replaced by Communism, complete elimination of the state, and it is based on the principle "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs."

Browder-Murray is being developed. Here and there progressive groups on a militant program are being organized. The hope of the auto workers (and of the rest of the working class) rests on the extension of these militant rank and file groups. Sooner or later they will take the road to class struggle.

INTERNATIONAL NEWS
Theoretical organ of the Provisional International Contact Commission.

NOVEMBER ISSUE:
Manifesto: 26 years After The October Revolution. The Coming World Revolution.
Write to DEMOS PRESS, 708 N. Clark St., Chicago, Illinois.
International News, .10 each, \$1.00 a year.

India Not Starved Into Submission Yet!

On August 8, 1942 the Indian workers and peasants revolted with unabashed fury. Strikes, demonstrations and reprisals against British imperialist agents swept the land. After a short period in the press headlines—the events were too sensational to be suppressed—news in India in the capitalist dailies disappeared.

Well-hidden dispatches, however, show the gravity of the Indian situation.

The Associated Press on September 25th writes:

"More than 1,000,000 hungry and destitute persons are being fed one meal daily in Bengal, the Provincial Food Minister estimated today in outlining the gravity of a famine in the most densely populated section in India.

"Fifty persons a day are starving in Calcutta alone... During the week ending September 11, there were 1,292 fatalities compared with a five-year average of 589 for the corresponding week... An army of the hungry approximating 100,000 are wandering in the streets of Calcutta without shelter, spending their nights on the streets or in the shelter of doorway and overhanging roofs, and begging by day."

1/3 OF NATION STARVING

Mind you, one million starving people in ONE province. Each day in one city alone approximately 44 corpses are picked up—people who literally starved to death. How many thousands of corpses are reported or are buried by relatives no one knows. The figures of the British regime must obviously be very conservative.

According to an estimate of the number of people in Calcutta and the number of people in the country as a whole the number of those Indians actually starving to death must be somewhere between 50 millions to 100 millions—one third or fourth of the nation.

Calcutta has a population of 1,485,000. All of India has some 353 millions. If 200 people die everyday in Calcutta alone—if the famine is nationwide—how many thousands are dying each day through the country? The figure must be as great as the number of deaths on the battlefield of Europe each day. What a horrible commentary on the blessing of Allied Imperialism and the "Four Freedoms"! While billions are being spent to murder boys in Europe and Asia, capitalism finds it impossible (and unwilling really) to stop the murder of innocent natives in British India.

IMPERIALIST LIES

Can anyone possibly defend the "noble" aims of Allied Imperialism in the face of such facts? Can anyone possibly believe the lies of Wallace, Willkie and the British "Laborites" about quarts of milk a day and plenty, in the face of such evidence?

The monstrosity of India, under imperialist yoke, is one of those tidbits of capitalism which can not be eliminated so long as the profit system exists. The Indian masses started one year ago along the road of liberation—the Proletarian Revolution. Unquestionably the fire of Revolt continues to simmer and will grow stronger as the time goes on. No nation can survive such events without social cataclysm.

American workers should look to India. The desperation of the Indian masses will lead in the near future to a mighty outburst of Revolution. Aid to that Revolution will contribute mightily to the liberation of all mankind from war, starvation and the oppressions of our times.

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

Subscription \$1.00 per year

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

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

Program For the Soviet Union

"If you were in the Soviet Union today, what would you do?" The question is worthy of considerable discussion.

If we were in the Soviet Union we would be living under the tyranny of Stalinism. Tyranny is never a sign of strength; it is always a mark of weakness—the inability of a regime to gain mass support. In the case of the Soviet Union that weakness flows from the pressure of world capitalism, on the one hand, and the strengthening of the capitalist and middle class elements within Russia, on the other hand, a direct result of Stalin's nationalistic and reactionary policies.

The tyranny of Stalinism, however, is a matter of 15 to 19 years. Can such tyranny be snuffed out in a few months? Can the Soviet Union be restored to Workers Democracy in a short period? The objections look formidable. Actually, however, the war of the imperialist powers (both the Axis and the so-called "allies") against the Soviet Union represents the gravest crisis both for the Workers State and the reactionary regime which has foisted itself upon it. The concept of "socialism in one country," of deals with imperialist powers, of catering to "liberal" capitalists,—this ideology of Stalinism is in its deepest trial; it stands exposed before the masses, who are paying for it in rivers of blood.

Despite all the victories on the military front, Stalinism is in a crisis. Millions of workers have arms. In threatened areas the workers in factories must be given guns to defend themselves. Hundreds of thousands of guerrillas—workers—have guns and are fighting. The masses have an excellent opportunity to re-establish Workers Democracy, to oust Stalinism, and turn the course of the Soviet Union forward to Socialism. That the working class is opposed to Stalinism is quite evident; otherwise there would be no need for the terror and purges of the bureaucratic regime, for the Moscow Trials and the murder of Old Bolsheviks.

Now is the time to get rid of that parasitical development on the body of the Workers State.

A PROGRAM OF ACTION

Revolutionists in the Soviet Union today will take the simple course of re-establishing those instruments of Workers Democracy which Lenin and the Bolsheviks established, and which Stalin has liquidated one by one. Concretely that means:

1—Re-establish Soviets (Workers Councils), on the basis of delegates from the individual factories (rather than elections to a "parliament" on a geographical basis). Make these Soviets once again the dominant ruling power in Russia. Opportunities to re-establish these primary instruments of Workers Democracy will be many—in large cities, newly liberated areas, in areas under threat of the imperialists, in newly built towns in Siberia, etc. where Stalinist power is tottering or questioned.

2—Organize Workers Militia in each factory, both of men and women, UNDER RANK AND FILE CONTROL, to defend the gains of October against the imperialists of both camps (the Axis military offensive, and the allied "diplomatic" and other offensives within Russia). If and where such Militias already have been organized by Stalinism (in areas where Germany threatened occupation), the revolutionary workers in Russia will fight within them for rank and file control and for an INTERNATIONALIST policy. Where they do not exist, the Marxists must have the initiative in organizing them. The worker militia will be the backbone of the fight against imperialism abroad and reaction at home.

3—Within the Red Army, the Marxists and militants must fight to end the bourgeois officer caste system and GPU reaction, which has recently reached full bloom. Present officers must be removed and the Red Army must be reformed back to the policies of Lenin's army; free election of officers, democratic discussion of policy, and full equality in the relations of officers and men. Above all the policy of the Red Army must be brought back to one of EXTENDING THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION.

4—The Marxists must not under any circumstances subordinate the independent and democratic organs of the working class—wherever they will be organized—to the Stalinist and bourgeois elements. Neither, on the other hand, must they take a defeatist position for the Soviet Union as a whole. On the contrary they must march separately from, but strike together with the Stalinist forces against the immediate enemy. They must not, however, forego their duty to fight Stalinism and attempt to re-orient Soviet policy on an Internationalist program of opposition to all imperialist powers

and for World Revolution.

NO TRUCK WITH STALINISM

The Revolutionary Workers League disagrees with those groups who supposedly are for the defense of the Soviet Union, but who are willing "during the war crisis" to subordinate the Russian proletariat to Stalinism. The Russian war can not be won except through the extension of the October Revolution. Military victory alone merely means that one group of imperialists will be vanquished; the victorious group will then most certainly continue where the vanquished left off—just as in 1918. For the Russian masses to win the war it is necessary to remove Stalinism as soon as possible. With Stalinism and its nationalistic policy, victory is impossible (although MILITARY gains will undoubtedly be made for a considerable period).

Wherein does our position differ from the tasks of the proletariat in capitalist countries? It is quite obvious, we think. In capitalist countries we are unalterably opposed to the war, opposed to aiding it in any way. We do not march with the imperialists in any way, we fight them at every turn. In the Soviet Union, on the other hand, we are for WINNING THE WAR. We fight for and welcome military victories, but above all we attempt to gain the major social and political victories: EXTENSION OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION TO OTHER COUNTRIES, and a political Revolution within the Soviet Union to restore Workers Democracy. The struggle against Stalinism is merely an integral part of the struggle against imperialism, because Stalinism and its policy aid world imperialism.

The mechanical-minded will see some "strange contradictions" in this position. If Stalinism serves world-imperialism why then do we support the Russian war effort? Without question Stalinism controls the State apparatus, and without question too it attempts to utilize it for its own reactionary ends. But, that does not change the fundamentals of the situation. The contradiction, you see, is IN THE SITUATION—a Workers State with a reactionary leadership. Our position is modeled to fit that contradiction: support the Workers State but fight its leadership because that leadership is undermining the Soviet social order.

DEFEND THE SOVIET UNION—FIGHT STALINISM

Life is filled with such examples. For instance, many May Day demonstrations (in peace times) were controlled by the Stalinists or Socialists. Their slogans were reformist and reactionary. Did we on that account categorically refuse to participate in those demonstrations? No, in the majority of cases we did participate—with our own banners and our own slogans and our own criticism of the reformist leadership of the demonstrations. We did so because a May Day demonstration is a CLASS action, mass action, and we favor mass action.

In May and June of 1917 the Mensheviks controlled many demonstrations. The Menshevik slogans were the opposite of the Bolshevik slogans. The Bolsheviks were opposed to the war, the Mensheviks for critical support. Yet the Bolsheviks participated and in fact took over the leadership of these mass actions.

In trade unions we usually run up against reformist and even racketeer elements. We do not on that account refuse to join the Unions or participate in their strikes when those strikes occur. We know that the Union (and the demonstration) are not perfect analogies. The Soviet Union is the first Workers State in history. There's never been anything like it. As a consequence our analogies may be not always exact. But an analogy is merely an illustration of a point; our general position is entirely correct.

Within the Soviet Union we must strive to preserve that which is progressive: the new property relations, the elimination of the capitalists, planned economy of a positive character (economy directed toward plenty, not of scarcity as in Germany and the U.S.) and other progressive features. The full flowering of these social and economic factors is impeded by a cancer, just as the full flowering of a Union, or a class demonstration, is impeded by labor fakers and reformists. The cancer must be removed, but the patient kept alive. That is in substance our position on the defense of the Soviet Union. We defend the degenerated Workers State against any and all imperialist enemies, but we defend it by the only means we know how, by a program of extending the October Revolution. Stalinism being an impediment to that program and to the natural Socialist development within Russia, must be removed, and it must be removed NOW. The quicker it is removed the more lives will be saved.

We must not be swayed by the terrible emotions of war time. The Soviet Union, after 19 years of Stalinism, is still a bulwark of Revolution, although its towers quiver and crack considerably. The task of restoring it along the path to Socialism is difficult, but the World Revolution will be set back many years if the counter-revolution that was defeated in 1918-21, now succeeds in 1943 or 1944.

August International News Banned

The Postmaster of Chicago has just informed Demos Press, which publishes "International News" and "The Fighting Worker" for the Revolutionary Workers League, that the August issues of the "International News" has been declared unmailable. This issue contains the article "The Class Struggle in the Army," which exposes

U. S. Girds For Showdown With Britain

The post war world will witness a cut throat competition between the two imperialist powers, Britain and the United States, (after the elimination of German and Japanese imperialism), for the control of the sea and air lanes of the world. Already there are quite a number of manifestations of the battle to come between these two 'United Nations.' Those liberals who believe that the report of the Five Senators is just a maneuver on the part of the isolationists to break up the Roosevelt-Churchill love match are deluding themselves. These Senators represent a group of American capitalists that are determined to fight Britain to a show-down for the mastery of the world as soon as their differences with the Nazis and the Japanese are settled.

Further manifestation of this rivalry for economic mastery of the world is contained in the statements made to the New York Times by Admiral Howard L. Viker, vice-chairman of the Maritime Commission, after he returned from a tour of the British shipyards: "I told them we intend to become a Maritime Nation and to stay one, I said we would do it by co-operation, but if they won't co-operate we'll stay one anyhow." This is a blunt declaration to Britain that American Imperialism is determined to control world trade. The Admiral further said that the present American shipbuilding program of competitive ships is 10 times greater than that of Britain.

These remarks of Viker were corroborated by Admiral Land, chairman of the Maritime Commission when he told the House Small Business Men's Committee that the U. S. is building from 165 to 170 more ships a month than Britain and that the American Merchant Marine is an ace in the hole at the peace table.

The fast intensifying friction between the two big industrial powers is forced by the dynamic of war production to reveal itself on every front. In Algiers General Eisenhower warned General De Gaulle (stooge for Britain) that if the present anti-American campaign continues in North Africa the U. S. will reconsider its policies and suspend shipment of arms and ammunition to the French forces in North Africa.

Summer Welles in his speech to the Foreign Policy Association made his points clear when he stated "the irreducible minimum of what should be obtained by the U. S. as the outcome victory... must be the practical certainty that in the world of the future the U. S. will be secure—and enabled... to develop its own natural resources and its trade..." "The alternative are... for new and more devastating wars."

How does the question of the capitalist post war world police plan to keep the peace fit into the picture? It would be an easy matter to keep down the competition of vanquished Germany and Japan,—and thereby keep the world "peace," but who will police Britain and America? The world police scheme may be different in form from the League of Nation, but in content it is the same, a device to keep the world peace for the victorious imperialist powers. Only this time the instrument will be dominated by U.S. world imperialism—if capitalism is permitted to survive.

Defend the Trotskyites

The demand for a retrial by the members of the Socialist Workers Party (Trotskyists) and the Minneapolis truck drivers union was recently turned down. These working class militants were convicted on seditious charges last year.

The boss class knows full well that the destruction of men and material in the imperialist war and the consequent misery and privation, will inevitably bring in its wake tremendous upsurges of a revolutionary nature by the working class. We have already witnessed such struggles in India, Italy and Denmark. To prepare themselves against that eventuality they attempt to remove any possible leadership from activity.

We of the RWL have been harassed and intimidated a number of times. Our leaders have been forced to appear before the FBI several times and a number of issues of "The Fighting Worker" and the "International News" have been declared unmailable. Second class mailing privileges have been taken away from the Socialist Workers Party. And their leaders now face a prison sentence. This is part and parcel of the general program destroying or making impotent ALL working class organizations, both political and trade union.

Although the Revolutionary Workers League has fundamental differences with the Socialist Workers Party, not only of a programmatic nature but also on what constitutes a class struggle labor defense, we extend to these victims of boss class justice, as we do to all class war victims, our fullest support. We stand ready at all times to join in their defense.

the capitalist class nature of the imperialist armies.

The May Day issue of the FIGHTING WORKER was also suppressed.

This anti-democratic action is being vigorously protested by the Revolutionary Workers League, thru the Labor Defense Congress. Our friends are urged to send letters of protest to the Postmaster, Chicago.

Land Of The Free

A West Coast Worker Looks Around

Here on the West Coast where some 400 thousands of workers have flocked into the San Francisco Bay Area alone since the United States became actively engaged in the present capitalist world slaughter called war, there is disgust, anger, bickerings and ideas without end as to what should be done. All labor feels and realizes something is wrong.

The greatest influx has been from the deep south and many are Negro. These new workers have been accustomed to working under non-union conditions and their ideas about labor rights differ radically from the local worker, much to the dismay of old time unionists here.

It is clearly evident that the fat war chests of many of our labor unions here and elsewhere could well be used to organize labor in the deep south for the protection of itself as well as of all labor.

HIGH GRADE RATE

The greatest single industry here is that of shipbuilding and while the pay is not so bad as that of the coal miners of the east, yet human life is regarded very cheaply for that very reason and rarely does the death of a worker killed in the shipyards appear in print in the local capitalist dailies. Hence the exceptionally high accident and death rate is not publicly known. The din and noise in the shipyards is so terrific as to very measurably shorten the lives of these engaged therein.

OVER CROWDING

Gas and tire rationing have compelled the worker to lay up his automobile for the most part, and ride the street cars to and from work which are always crowded beyond standing capacity at work times so that frequently street cars do not stop to pick up waiting workers thus compelling the worker to spend an unduly large proportion of his time getting to and from work. Most workers are unaware of the fact that the wealthy get "C" cards and drive hundreds if not thousands of miles on pleasure or fishing trips, etc. Hours of work have been lengthened besides so that the worker has no time to attend educational lectures, etc. every ounce of energy going into the insanity of war production.

The U. S. Dept. of Labor published a cost of living index show-

ing living costs to have risen only 13% above the 15% Little Steel formula, yet doctor bills and fresh fruits and vegetables which are necessary to life have risen about 300% in this region and no mention is made of that in the statistics. However, the laborer's wages are held rigidly to the Little Steel formula or below it.

TAXES IN ADVANCE

The greatest single complaint is about the combined slice of over 30% taken direct from the worker's pay check in the form of war taxes, war bonds, (deducted with no questions asked and very little likelihood of repayment), so called Social Security, (in reality a form of tax collection in advance), State Unemployment Insurance and lastly old age insurance.

One wonders if we will reach the position of the Chinese government in collecting taxes up to five years in advance.

In the Los Angeles air craft industry statistics are being released showing that recent increased speedup and efficiency are allowing labor (in many cases) to produce an equal number of planes with less than 1/10 of the former number of workers employed at the outbreak of our world slaughter.

HOUSING FARCE

The Government having established a rent ceiling, private industry lacked the incentive to build homes for these extra workers so the Government simply took what private real property it needed at the terms it chose to offer, just as in Nazi-Germany and erected the type of home it chose, usually two stories and in long rows like barracks with no rear doors, resulting in deaths from fire to the upper floor occupants when a fire blocked the only door, the front one.

Even so the housing shortage is desperate beyond words (for example two families, totaling nine people living in one room without sanitary conditions) but there are many of these government buildings left unoccupied, for what reason we workers do not know but many have suggested they are for the housing of strike-breakers in the event of a strike.

The government will not permit the distribution of any radical literature from door to door or in any other manner at these shipyards or homes, thus aping Hitler

most effectively though all the while maintaining that we are fighting for the four freedoms. Nevertheless our message calling for world solidarity of labor and the Fourth International is spreading.

FASCIST TRENDS

The crowning insult of all however is the statement released by the War Labor Board here on September 15, 1943, to the effect that it will destroy any labor union that stops war production.

If there is any difference between this and Nazism which we are in theory fighting to destroy, I hope someone will kindly explain.

Labor is in a surly mood here. It knows something is wrong and will be even more convinced when the proposed extra sixteen billions of taxation that Congress is now working on is fastened on us.

Let the "Fighting Worker" be placed in the hands of each and every worker and note the light that comes to the worker's eye. He is anxious for a radical change. America being a big nation, no combination of Capitalist or fascist nations on earth can prevent labor from winning.

ALL WEALTH TO LABOR!

Into the unions, throw out the labor fakers there, compel the big corporations to bear all the taxes for their war, and without fail subscribe to the "Fighting Worker" and adopt its program! We'll have no fascism in America, regardless of what mask the capitalists use in their attempt to bring it about!

Just as the Capitalists of Germany used Hitler and the slogan of National Socialism to bring about Nazism there, so are the sixty families who rule America using the present war and meaningless four freedoms slogan to abolish all worker's rights permanently and bring about totalitarian rule here. But World Capitalism is doomed to defeat this time.

All workers here sided with the striking coal miners of the East and against the Government Nazified role, with the exception of the Stalinists who represent but a very small fraction of labor here. The Stalinist leaflets condemning the miners were highly resented by all labor here.

Labor produces all wealth, therefore all wealth should belong to labor.

Labor On The March Again

October 17, 1943—Straws in the wind indicate a possibility that the New Deal administration is ready to make a few minor concessions to the working class in order to release some "steam" and stave off a major clash.

A few days ago Roosevelt set up a new committee to "investigate" Railroad wages. It seems that one million railroad workers who were awarded an 8c an hour raise only to have it revoked by Economic Administrator Fred Vinson, are pretty sore about the whole thing. Some of them in fact are talking about striking.

At the end of last week, too, 25,000 coal miners in Alabama and Indiana decided once again: "no contract, no work." The miners just stayed out of the pits. Mr. John L. Lewis, labor faker par excellence, then issued a statement begging the miners to scab on themselves. He assured them that he had had a meeting with the moguls of the War Labor

Board and they had assured him that the miners new contract will be dealt with this week. The new proposals are a far cry from the original demands of \$2 travel time and \$2 a day increase, but they will add approximately \$10 a week to the mine-worker's pay check. The miners' militancy; despite Lewis, is getting SOME results.

Truck drivers are striking, sporadically, all over the country. Ten thousand of them in the South went back to work last week only on the promise of action by the War Labor Board. They gave the board 30 days; otherwise they threaten to come out again.

LET OFF STEAM

Steel and General Motor negotiations will soon be pounding the doors of the infamous War Labor Board. Hundreds of thousands of workers are involved. On the basis of the Little STEAL formula none of them can get raises. Mr. Roosevelt, whose base

become narrower and narrower as time goes on, will have to meet this critical situation. If he fails to make any concessions, the present coolness of millions of workers toward the New Deal will turn into sharp antipathy. The auto workers convention showed that this spirit is growing.

If he does make some concessions, however, it will merely be another stopgap to check the class struggle. The American working class must not be confused by such reform. They come only, now as in the past, only because the capitalist government is afraid of the 25,000 miners, 10,000 striking truckdrivers, one million threatening railroad workers, and a million raging auto workers. Without independent working class action—or immediate threats of it—Labor would get nothing.

And conversely the MORE labor takes to picket lines and strikes, the MORE it will get.

"Under Cover"

A REVIEW WITH
A CONCLUSION

We are fighting a war to save the world from Fascism—so we are told. But in the midst of the war a good bourgeois democrat who uses the name John Roy Carlson writes a book called "Under Cover." And lo and behold the long arm of Fascism stretches into the most sacred corners of our so-called "democracy."

Fascist vermin who call for death to Jews, Catholics, Negroes and revolutionary elements have entree into the highest places. Thirty one Senators and Congressmen, including Nye, Wheeler, Fish, Walsh, Reynolds, and dozens of others are in constant contact and on closest terms with native American fascists. Lawrence Dennis, theoretical leader of the American Fascists, writes a letter of introduction to Senator Nye and addresses him "Dear Gerald." Senator Reynolds, former Governor Talmadge of Georgia, and quite a few others publish fascist material and have the highest regard for sewer rats like Joe McWilliams.

Politicians and Park Avenue

But that isn't all. How far does the conspiracy stretch? Is it merely on the surface or does it go up to the top? Carlson lists contributors and friends of American Fascists. Carl Mote, president of North Indiana Telephone Company, George Ball a multimillionaire jar manufacturer both support the native fascist Court Asher, who publishes "X-Ray." Henry Ford; Alfred Sloan, head of General Motors; International Harvester; Lamot Dupont, J. H. Alstyne, president of Otis Elevator; E. T. Weir, head of a major steel Company; the President of facturers; James H. Rand, president of Remington-Rand; and many other capitalists — either openly or secretly — contribute

money and other aid to native Fascists; not just reactionaries but FASCISTS.

The Fascist hooligans run all the way into the deepest of Park Avenue. Harry Junk, Chicago fascist practically lives with the Chicago Tribune, one of the biggest friends of Fascism.

It must be emphasized that Carlson is not speaking of just reactionaries. He deals with American Fascists, the overwhelming majority of whom are 100% sympathizers of all European Fascism and many of whom are for an Axis victory. The large majority of the hundreds and hundreds of characters and organizations in Carlson's book demand violence against oppressed minorities; they use racial phrases just like Hitler — "America for the Americans."

To the uninitiated the exposure is probably very shocking. But the Revolutionary Workers League has long pointed out that the American capitalists are and have been grooming native Fascists to smash the American labor movement at the first opportunity. Carlson, unfortunately, is too blind or unwilling to draw a single correct conclusion from all the things he has seen in 4½ years as an investigator within the ranks of American Fascism.

He is astounded by the vast net of "sabotage and naziism," but he fails to understand that this is an integral part of Wall Street's dictatorship, that there is nothing accidental about the whole thing, that it stretches right into the very vortex, into the mightiest of the mighty, of the powers that be. And that finally only a revolutionary proletariat can save America from Fascism. The bourgeois democrats (even liberals like Carlson) can only smooth the road for them and wink an eye at their activity.

Letter From A Lake Sailor

Duluth, Sept. 1943

Dear F. W. Ed.

You might be interested in this copy of my correspondence, if you can use it, O.K.

Dear Carl,

Was very glad to hear from you after you had been away so long. The answers I could give you regarding the lakes would be pretty discouraging. As far as union militancy goes, the unions here don't hold a candle to the coast. Even the few fellows who do try to make the companies live up to their contracts are strangled by the scissor-bills, lots of whom are old-timers here, too. The Lake Carriers' Ass'n. which is an open fink hiring office for the ship-owners, overshadows everything with their tremendous power, because of the vast number of ships they operate, the steel interests behind them, and the influence they have over their stooges in government maritime posts.

School for Scabs

They even operate their own school in Cleveland for advancing men on deck and below, grinding out docile deck-mules to become bucko-mates etc. with a very finky odor. They probably do a better job than Sheepshead Bay, too, if possible.

The W.L.B. is "impartial" again

The current beef now is that the Lake Carriers pay more than the Union ships! It seems that the W.L.B. "granted them permission to raise the wages," but when the union wrote up a new contract, (which called for a higher scale than the Lake Carriers) the ship-owners broke out in tears and said in effect, "Honest, fellas,

we wish we could give you this wage increase, but have to wait for the W.L.B.'s O.K. on it." So it's been several months that the W.L.B. has been horsing around, and hardly anyone knows what the devil is going on. The Union says that during these delicate moments while the W.L.B. is trying to make up its mind, we should not provoke them by pulling any stuff like walking off, etc., and that this is just what the companies would like to see us do, so that they can holler bloody murder and call in the army, the navy, the coast guard, and the Sheepshead Bay campus students who don't know their backsides from a hole in the ground.

Well, gee, what the hell is the W.L.B.'s job? It's to hold down wages as much as possible. The only time they back down is when they can't stand the pressure. After all, they are just an open agency of the shipowners and the government, not of the sailors. You would think that after months of stalling, that ought to be clear enough. It seems that to flop down on all fours and beg for crumbs from the W.L.B. gets you no place exceedingly fast.

Look at the miners, they knew what they were up against when the W.L.B. began to stall. They know that the only way they can get anything at all, is by keeping up the pressure on them, even if the big-shots do try to bull-doze them with threats of forcing them to work in khaki. Sure, they'll dig, but let their wages keep up with the profits.

See you at McSorley's this fall.

JOEY.