

The Fighting Worker

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

Workers of
The World
Unite!

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NEW LEAGUE OF BANDITS SET UP AT FRISCO

April 20, 1945—Out of the lies and demagoguery surrounding the April 25th "World Security Conference" at San Francisco, one fact emerges with stinging clarity: the new League that will emerge from this Conference will be nothing but another League of Bandits. And the Conference is being called, not to organize peace or security, but to organize the plunder and protect it from hi-jacking by lesser powers.

Can there be any doubt on this score? One of the major tasks of the conference will be to work out plans for "trusteeships." A "trusteeship" is just another name for a colony (or as the old league of bandits called it, a mandate). To put it in blunter terms, the conference will formulate principles for DIVIDING THE SPOILS OF VICTORY. American imperialism is demanding and undoubtedly will get full control of almost all of the Pacific Islands and control of the Pacific Ocean, as well as other "trusteeships."

The conference intends to formulate plans for trade, banking, air traffic, etc. What is this if not the organization of the booty of the world?

May Day Unity

In preparation for May Day demonstrations the RWL sent out the following letter to various organizations. To date we have received no replies.

March 17, 1945

Dear Comrades:

In a few weeks we shall have the sixth May Day of the imperialist war, the third May Day since our own imperialists have entered the carnage. In all these years here in the United States there has been no united voice of protest which, like Liebknecht and Lenin in the first war, shouted that the Main Enemy is at Home.

It is the opinion of our organization that the masses are becoming increasingly disillusioned with the war, that they are ready to listen to an anti-war message. In previous years the RWL has attempted to organize united front May Day demonstrations, but to no avail. We have been forced to hold our own open air meetings on that Day.

We feel, however, that the urgency of the present situation makes it necessary for us to redouble our efforts to achieve some united action on this historic holiday of the working class.

This letter is being sent to the Socialist Workers Party, the Workers Party, the Socialist Party, the Industrial Workers of the World and the Young People's Socialist League. May we suggest that the six organizations agree to a national united front on a minimum anti-war program acceptable to all organizations as the basis for May Day Demonstrations this year?

We propose that in such a united front each organization shall present its own political position and shall have the full right to put out its own material.

We would like to hear from you within a short time so that if enough organizations agree to the United Front we can immediately take other organizational steps to meet and formulate plans.

Fraternally,

S. Okun

Acting National Secretary RWL

The "security" conference is called on the one hand to SECURE CAPITALISM AGAINST THE WORLD PROLETARIAT AND TO HAVE READY AN INSTRUMENT AT ALL TIMES THAT WILL "LEGALLY" USE FORCE AGAINST THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION; and on the other hand to secure the spoils of the major powers against the defeated imperialists and the lesser powers — nothing more or less.

AMERICA ORGANIZES THE WORLD

In particular this conference is called to organize America's domination of the universe. Unlike the first League of Nations, which was dominated by Britain and was therefore boycotted by the United States, this League will be a predominantly American instrument. It is no accident that the conference takes place in San Francisco. The center of trade, banking and politics has decisively shifted from London to Wall Street. And that fact is reflected in this conference. All the powers that depend on the United States for lend-lease, UNRRA relief, loans, and trade will be in there pitching for good old Wall Street. The Almighty Dollar has a stranglehold on the conference, before it starts.

But all is not rosy in this League of Bandits. The lesser powers are chafing at the bit. And the conflict with the Soviet Union is there for all to see.

France wants her colonies back and she wants a system of voting which will guarantee to the small nations some checks against the large powers. A revolt is brewing against the method of voting as agreed to at Yalta. In addition there is a major

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RUSSIA "AIDS" ALLIES

The impending military defeat of Germany by the Allies brings along with it the weakening of the whole Axis Imperialist Bloc. This throws the burden of the intra-imperialist struggle on the Axis side into the lap of Japanese imperialism.

Japan is completely surrounded by growing Allied might and is divorced from all aid from her fellow bandit ally Germany. The breaking of the Neutrality Pact between the Soviet Union and Japan further adds to her dilemma.

Premier Stalin and Foreign Minister Molotov want to assure their "friends" the United States and Great Britain of their "good intentions." Yet at the same time, they want to build a bulwark of buffer states in the East, to protect themselves from the inevitable attack on the Soviet Union from the East. The Soviet Union knows fully well that the United States and Great Britain are preparing for just such an attack by arming of their Puppet Chang Kai-Shek. Stalin has not declared war against Japan but has strong armies massed on the Soviet-Manchurian border in preparation for such hostilities.

JAPANESE WORKERS SHAKE CABINET

All these factors have expressed themselves politically by the resigna-

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May Day Manifesto

INTERNATIONAL CONTACT COMMISSION FOR
NEW FOURTH COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

TO ALL THE WORKERS, SOLDIERS AND OPPRESSED
OF THE WARRING NATIONS:

TO THE HUNDREDS OF MILLIONS OF COLONIAL
SLAVES THROUGHOUT THE WORLD:

May Day of 1945 will dawn over a world drenched with your blood as never before. This is the sixth May Day of the imperialist war, and no corner of the globe is spared from butchery. Every worker in the world is drawn into the struggle for who shall own the world. No island of escape in the South Seas but has seen its share of slaughter. . . . The unheard-of pin-points on the map have been defended and captured at the cost of dozens of thousands of lives. Eight square miles of space at Iwo Jima have cost twenty-five thousand lives — the flower of American and Japanese working-class youth. The traditional culture of the European continent is buried in the rubble of the great cities.

But no worker anywhere will gain from "victory" in the war. The victory over German imperialism will not give peace and plenty to the masses of the world. The smashing of Japanese imperialism will not free the colonials of Asia and the Pacific. Even now the cheering is disrupted by the angry growls of the probable "victors" over division of the spoils. London has no intention of relaxing its grip on the throat of the British Empire colonials. America does not intend to relinquish its booty in the Pacific. Already the seeds of the next phase of imperialist war have been sown; already the crop is flourishing, soon to be harvested. Every conference of the "United Nations" widens the rift between them and more clearly reveals the abyss of self-interest dividing the imperialist powers. Casablanca, Teheran and Yalta have already made plain the deep-rooted antagonisms between the United States and Britain on the one hand, in the struggle for the redivision of the world; and between world imperialism and the Soviet Union on the other hand. For no matter how distorted the proletarian policy of the Soviet Union has become under Stalinism, the cleavage between the workers' state and the imperialist world is still the fundamental cleavage of our times.

At Bretton Woods, at Dumbarton Oaks, at the Chicago Air Conference — all these antagonisms came to light and made agreement impossible. The San Francisco Conference will only intensify these struggles. There can be no agreement between the powers fighting for spoils; there can be no agreement between capitalism and the Soviet Union. The best that imperialism can offer is a breathing spell before embarking on a new and even bloodier course of conquest.

Let no worker or soldier be deceived by names. After the last imperialist war, the name "colonies" was replaced by the politer name — "mandates." Today a new name has been found for the same old exploitation — "trusteeships." But the names mean nothing. Under the name lies the same old grab for markets — the same need for sources of raw material, markets for manufactured goods, places to export capital, and military and naval bases. But every quarter of the globe already has a flag on it. The only way one power can extend its dominion is by robbery. And in the struggle between the powers, who will ask the colonials what they want?

UNITY IS A LIE

On the other hand, the campaign against the Soviet Union grows in force. There are two phases to this campaign. In the first place, world capitalism cannot brook the ever-present threat of a spreading World October Revolution, for which the transition economy of the Soviet Union is a tremendous potential aid. On the world-front of the class struggle, there is a desperate need for the overthrow of the warped Workers' State. In the second place, here is one-sixth of the world in which capitalism cannot find ready markets, so that the needs of imperialism demand colonial despoliation of the Soviet Union and the plundering of its vast resources. Even within the framework of the "United Nations" war against the Soviet Union is being prepared. The pressure on Stalin to break with Japan to supply an eastern land base for war on Japanese imperialism, is one example of this. The willingness of the British and American imperialists to allow Germany and Russia to exhaust themselves before intervening in the struggle is another. The open and concealed attacks on the Soviet Union are an ideological preparation for the impending war.

On every side the present "unity" is disintegrating. The war to save democracy, the war against fascism, stands nakedly exposed as a war of banditry. Bourgeois democracy generates fascism out of its own contradictions. The two are only different forms of bourgeois class dictatorship over the masses at home and abroad. Mother India's teeming millions have never thought of Britain as a lesser evil to Japan. The military and naval triumphs of the "United Nations" bring no corresponding liberation to the colonials. There is only more intensive exploitation, deeper degradation, more wide-spread misery. Moreover the lesser bourgeois nations have been added to the ranks of semi-colonies, as in Italy, Greece, Belgium, the Balkans, etc. The

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Miners Betrayed; Army Takes Control

On March 28 the contract for the soft coal industry expired. The miners presented the mine operators with a new contract. The demands presented would have alleviated some of the miners' economic problems and bad living conditions. The demands included modernized housing equipment, which has been a sore spot to the life of every mine worker. It has been stated for years that the housing conditions among the soft coal miners of the United States are the worst among the American proletariat. What happened to this demand? — Madam Perkins rules it off the list and John L. Lewis makes no objection. Another demand was that the company pay for explosives used by miners — again Ma Perkins rules this off the list. Other demands were treated in the same manner.

It has been a practice among American workers who are members of a trade union not to work for a company unless they are working under a signed contract. The miners have been no exception in this rule. After having submitted their demands to the mine operators, and the operators refused to deal with the union, the miners went out on strike.

In answer to this the government took over the mines and put them under Military Control. Thus the United States Army plays the role of strike breakers by forcing the workers to work without contract. If they refuse, they are threatened with army draft and accused of sabotage. The bosses have made a definite gain. They formerly hired thugs to do this dirty job, now Uncle Sam does it free.

ORGANIZE RANK AND FILE

Under the leadership of John L. Lewis the workers of the soft coal industry have again been sold out. They made a few gains through their militant efforts against the Mine Barons and probably would have made more had they had other leadership than stooges for the mine operators. Great sections of the miners are becoming more and more dis-

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Work or Fight Bill Not Dead

The American workers need not rejoice over the defeat of the Work or Fight bill in congress. Roosevelt didn't "lose all" when his bill was defeated. The Senate appointed a conference committee to work out "something else." It's certain that Truman will follow Roosevelt's policy and put the Work or Fight bill into effect in some form or another.

America will continue on the road to Fascism — that is inevitable. This capitalist system is too decadent to withstand the coming period of strife without a "crutch" of complete control over the workers' actions. The next period after the defeat of Germany will NOT be a lessening of the controls and easing of restrictions on the workers because of the heightening of the class struggle. Byrnes stated that in the post-war period the ceiling will have to be main-

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NEW LEAGUE OF BANDITS

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dispute as to the import and character of "local" agreements. Britain, France, and other powers want the right of regional agreements between five or six states to have validity without approval by the League. The U. S., on the other hand, wants a strong League and wants veto power relative to all International agreements.

And added to all these other inner-imperialist disputes, there is the continuing conflict between the world capitalists on the one hand and the Soviet Union (despite its Stalinist control) on the other. This conflict is plainly manifest at the Frisco conference. The Allies and Russian do not see eye to eye on the Polish question, or the Turkish question, or Russia's attitude to Argentina now that she has "entered" the war, or Spain, or a dozen other questions. There is, in addition, the dispute over giving votes to all the 16 autonomous Soviet Republics. The failure of the Stalinists to send Molotov to the conference indicates that they are not very hopeful of gaining anything there and they are not too enthusiastic.

Nor should they be. Stalinist horse-trading and status-quo politics has brought the Soviet Union to the shameful condition of having to participate in such Leagues of Bandits. But as anyone with an iota of sense must know, the warped Workers State can get nothing from such a conference. Stalin HOPES that by participating he can keep the imperialists at each other's throats and thus away from his. But by lending the weight of the Soviet Union to the League of Bandits, Stalinism is creating illusions in the minds of the world working class that seriously hinder the defense of the Soviet Union and make intervention against it far more possible.

RIFTS IN WORLD UNITY

Even before the conference convenes it is evident that there is growing disunity. The authoritative magazine TIME comments that the United Nations just aren't ready for such a conference. In commenting on the voting rules it states: "A wider, clearer understanding that the post-war system proposed for the world was in fact a strongarm system, recognizing and resting on the Big Three power, would have been all to the good. But last week's happenings made only for cynicism, doubt and further misunderstanding."

TIME expresses itself well. The Conference is to be just a strongarm weapon. But who will control the weapon is the big point of argument. And as time goes on the argument grows sharper.

For the workers of the world the Frisco Conference holds a number of important lessons. First of all the Conference is being organized in order to maintain the system of scarcity and to "plan" the lowered standard of living that will follow the imperialist war. The working class must expose this fraud, must expose the hypocrisy of the Wall Street propaganda. Secondly the conference, by its sharp disputes, indicates what we have stated so frequently, that the seeds of the next war are being sown in the midst of this imperialist carnage, that so long as capitalism exists we shall always be plagued by war, scarcity and slaughter. There is no such thing as "peace" under capitalism. "Peace" merely means that the imperialists face a greater danger — proletarian revolution — and that they are temporarily stopping their war for markets and plunder, to beat back the main enemy, the working class.

The only way to gain security, the only way to gain plenty, the only way to defeat fascism, the only way to end war is through PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION!

Russia "Aids" Allies

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tion of the Japanese Cabinet under Koiso, the appointment of Baron Suzuki, a representative of big Japanese industrialists in close association to the Imperial household. This change was made in order to avert the growing unrest and dissatisfaction of the masses of the Japanese workers. They see the hopelessness of further continuance of the mass slaughter for which they have paid such a terrific price in both exploitation and sacrifice. When things get too tough for the Japanese ruling class, especially from the wrath of the Japanese masses, Suzuki will try to make a deal with the Allied robbers. This deal will double-cross the masses of workers of Japan, but assure the safety of the Japanese capitalists, whether they be called Emperors or industrialists.

Added to this already complex picture is the sudden additional aid that is being given to China. The United States, after having stalled around for years, has suddenly become overgenerous in its shipments of munitions to China in the last three weeks. For years China has been begging for aid in her fight against Japan but very little was ever done about it. It is obvious that a weak China under Chiang Kai-Shek, whose main stooge role has been one of holding the masses of China in check for exploitation by American and British Imperialism, can now be armed. Now that the Allies have cleared the European theatre for their plundering, they can us Chiang again to help them do another mopping up job on Japan, since they now are the dominant factor in the far east.

WORKERS LOSE AT CONFERENCE TABLE

The intra-imperialist game of who shall be leading world power at the termination of military hostilities is emphatically portrayed by the role of the American robber barons in dictating to whom they give aid and under what conditions.

No crocodile tears should be shed for the break up of the Axis Imperialist Bloc, but certainly imperialism whether its name is Japanese, British, American or German, gains nothing for the workers on either side. This has been witnessed in both the European and Pacific theatres of war. It only brings more war and misery. The masses of workers are dying all over the world for their war-mongering capitalists who rule them. In the meantime the victorious imperialist bosses are preparing to sit around the table at the San Francisco Conference and divide the booty of their ill gotten gains among themselves. At the same time they are making plans to protect themselves from the ire of their own masses and those they have conquered.

The workers of every nation have to see through this gang of bandits no matter what national banner they fly. They have to know that even if Japan and Germany lose this conflict the workers of the Allied countries certainly make no gains. They have lost too much already, and will continue to lose more, unless they overthrow their own capitalists at home and establish a Workers Government that will produce for use not profit, and put an end to all imperialist wars.

Green - Murray Again Sell Out

If Green and Murray have their way the no-strike pledge will be continued after the war. That is the substance of the recent agreement (read: sell-out) between these two august labor misleaders and Eric Johnston, head of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce.

The three representatives of the bourgeoisie signed their names to a labor-management charter, which has a good deal of demogogy and pious hopes for social security and expanding foreign trade and prosperity, and ends with a call for the preservation of capitalism and for arbitration of labor's disputes.

According to Green this charter should help substitute arbitration for conflict. An arbitration committee of 20 people is being set up to implement the charter. On it are such people as Henry Kaiser, an official of Studebaker, and other sterling "friends of labor."

Fearful of the hostility of labor when cutbacks develop and real wages take another sharp decline, the bourgeois government is anxious to take the sting out of the workingman's bite. It is anxious to preserve the subservience of the proletariat to such instruments as the War Labor Board and to forced arbitration of disputes. The fruits of such a policy have been graphically illustrated in war time, when Labor took a 30% to 60% cut in REAL wages, even though it had more bargaining power than at any time in history. After the war, with millions unemployed the results of this class-collaboration can only be complete demoralization of millions of workers and the growth of fascist forces.

Class struggle policies in the Unions are an absolute MUST. The working class must repudiate the continuation of the Green-Murray-Lewis-Stalinist betrayal of labor during war time. A national group based on class struggle and organized as a progressive force in all federations of labor must be organized to take the cudgels of leadership from the labor lieutenants of capital.

To fail in that task is to invite disaster.

Work or Fight Bill

(Continued from Page 1) tained on wages and other war-time restrictions will remain in effect. The eventual passing of a form of the Work or Fight bill will be one of these "restrictions."

PERSPECTIVE — WAR

America wants to have all her machinery for future wars set up and well-oiled for the time when bickering at the peace tables brings no further results. America will be the strongest power after this war and as such she will demand complete domination of the world — by force if necessary.

Russia presents its problems too. Can American Imperialism allow even a warped workers state to exist when there is the threat of revolution on every hand? When Russia will be the second largest producing country in the world? Obviously not. America isn't planning for peace — she is planning for the inevitable wars that will follow this war and the future Work or Fight bill will be a step in that direction.

POPULAR & CURRENT PAMPHLETS

- John Dewey —
- Marxian Critique 10
- Why Communism —
- Statement of facts05
- Order from Demos Press, Now

How Much Will Your Money Buy?

Well, fellow-workers, how do you stand with your savings account? I know you haven't cleaned up tens of billions in this butcher war like J. P. and John D., but like some of our class, including me, you've probably managed to scrape together a bloody couple hundred. Like me, you probably did it through forced speed-up, long hours of over-time and a plenty beaten body.

Well, comrade, if you've got some greenbacks in the bank, it's bad — it's definitely bad. That's the plain sober truth about this crazy capitalist system — it's bad to have some sweat money saved up.

Why?

For the reason that these aren't normal times. That makes enough difference so that your cash and bonds won't be worth a pail of garbage three years from now. Here's why.

In normal times, you and I produce goods in factories. We get pieces of paper called money for wages. We go to stores and there we buy back the goods that we produced. So in normal times we use money to buy useful goods in stores.

Now what happens to money in war time?

You and I produce war goods in factories. We get pieces of paper called money for wages. We go to stores like in peace time to buy goods. But there aren't any goods because what we produced back in the factory was meant for battlefields, not display counters. So in wartime money doesn't mean anything because there's nothing to buy. Any housewife will fill your ears full of proof.

Now ordinarily, when there's a lot of money floating around and not enough goods to buy, prices go up. Prices go up because the next fellow will pay a little more for the item just so he can get it. Then the other fellow bids a little higher than the first fellow. And so on. That's the beginning of inflation.

HOW BONDS DELAY INFLATION

To prevent people out-bidding each other for the few goods left on the shelves, to prevent price inflation, the capitalist state sets up the OPA. Now even if the OPA could prevent prices going up, it can't get rid of the big thing — surplus money floating around. So, they started to sell war bonds. War bonds takes surplus money out of people's pockets. That's the capitalists' only purpose in forcing them on us. The capitalist government says "Give me your money so that it won't do any harm looking for things to buy and I'll pay you back with interest" — after the war." So the people have been sucked out of 50 billion by the capitalist government — 50 billions we'll never get back because the government is 250 billions in the hole already.

Still there's 100 billions in the saving banks because people don't trust war bonds. It doesn't make any

Miners Betrayed

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illusioned with this fakery and bureaucracy.

For years now John L. Lewis has capitulated to the mine owners at the expense of the workers. He will continue to do so until the miners take independent working class action. The miners like all other sections of the American working class must divorce themselves from their present bureaucratic trade union misleadership and set up Rank and File committees within their unions. The bureaucrats have betrayed the workers long enough — now the Rank and File must act!

difference, the money is just as worthless. Why? After the war, there will be a race among capitalists to grab the consumer market first. So we workers will produce goods and we'll get pieces of paper called money as wages. And we'll go to the stores to buy back the goods. But also coming to the stores will be the people with 100 billions stocked up in the banks during the war. That means that the moment OPA ceiling prices are removed, goods will be sold to the highest bidder. It doesn't matter if the ceilings are removed during "reconversion" or 10 years later. There'll still be more money than goods. That means that the inflation that was "successfully" kept out of the war by OPA is inevitable after the war.

THEN AND NOW

In World War I the cost of living was:

1914	71.8
1915	72.5
1916	77.9

That isn't a bad rise in prices. But look what happened as the war drew to a close.

1917	91.6
1918	107.5

Finally, look what happened after the war.

1919	123.8
1920	143.3

And then it declined but it was still higher than anything during the war.

1921	127.7
1922	119.7
1923	121.9
1924	122.2

This proves that the capitalist state postpones the inflation until after the war, when it's too late for workers to kick.

Fellow worker! The cause of inflation is production for war, instead of for use. Capitalist state controls can't eliminate inflation, they merely postpone it. The longer the imperialist war lasts, the worse post-war runaway inflation will be. An end to the chaotic capitalist system! Down with production for war — immediate workers control of production for use!

Fellow slave! We're giving our sons, our health, our happiness — for what? For a stinking, rotting capitalist corpse that's long overdue in the grave. Enough bleeding, suffering, destruction! Workers of the world — you grave diggers of capitalism — remove the stinking corpse! Bury the dead! But save your spades. There's new earth to be dug. There are new foundations to be laid. There's a new society to be built and we, the International Working Class, will build it. Forward to the World Communist Society!

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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.

CAPITALISM'S MOST CAPABLE AGENT DIES

With the passing of Franklin Roosevelt American capitalism has lost the most capable agent in all its history. It was no idle boast of Roosevelt's that "I saved America from Revolution." He came into power on the heels of innumerable unemployed demonstrations, bonus marches to Washington and the beginnings of industrial organization in the trade unions. Armed with a long-term policy of preparing the nation for imperialist war, Roosevelt made concessions to the restlessness and militancy of the masses. But these concessions were wrested from the Wall Street government by the action of the masses in the streets and in the factories. They were long term insurance AGAINST REVOLUTION.

This policy of national unity and civil peace won for Roosevelt a title of humanitarian and liberal which he ill-deserved. He was merely a more clever and more far-sighted agent of American capitalism than any other President in history. And when the imperialist war finally came around he proved again that he could modify his policies on the basis of a long-term perspective. Now, instead of humanitarianism and liberalism, he shifted steadily to the right; he forged the weapons for some other bourgeois agent to use — weapons of totalitarianism and outright dictatorship.

This attempted swing to the right will continue under President Truman. Some liberals will undoubtedly attribute the continued right shift to the fact that FDR is dead. But they are wrong. American capitalism can no longer grant the reforms it was able to grant in better days. No matter who the President, the direction of Administration politics must inevitably be the same. Truman will undoubtedly lack the tact, the patience and the demagogic abilities of his predecessor. Very likely his days will be stormier. But he will carry out the interests of American capitalism against the American working class nonetheless.

Capitalism is not the instrument of one man, no matter how powerful. Nor is its destiny shaped by the wishes and abilities of individuals. It has a certain economic and social compulsion to it based on specific class relations and economic factors. Some Presidents are more alive to these factors than others. Roosevelt was unquestionably the most alert bourgeois president of all time. But all administrations must and do carry out the will and needs of the ruling class.

Except for a few changes in titles, names and faces the Truman regime will carry out the wishes of Wall Street and the ruling class, just as did the previous regime.

No matter WHO is in power, the state is always and everywhere the INSTRUMENT OF THE RULING CLASS.

"Democracy" at Work

The statement by Colonel Krage, American Military Government officer attached to the 9th American Army, that the German people will have their food diet reduced to only 1150 calories per day, is merely another sign of the imperialist character of this war. The German people are to be punished because of the crimes of their capitalists.

The food diet for the average German will thus be reduced to less than half that of the average Englishman during the war and one-third that of the average American. It will be approximately half of the present German diet under Hitler!

The Krage statement reveals the crass hypocrisy of American Imperialism. Are people to be educated to "democracy" by starving them to death? Is that the AMERICAN PLAN for the universe? Unquestionably — as we have pointed out in the past — it is! Wall Street intends to reduce the standard of living THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. American bombers are today methodically destroying the plants and industrial machine of conquered Europe. After victory the destruction will be carried on in a more "peaceful" manner. The United States imperialists will brook no competition for world markets. They are out to dominate the world.

In the course of this struggle for markets and spheres of influence they find it necessary to pauperize hundreds of millions and probably to slowly starve millions to death. PRECISELY WHAT THE BUTCHER HITLER DID WHEN HE OVERRAN EUROPE! He too destroyed factories, reduced industrial nations to an agricultural set-up and starved millions to a premature death.

Yes, IMPERIALISM EVERYWHERE AND AT ALL TIMES IS THE SAME.

The measures against the German working class are amongst the harshest in all history. Civilians may be shot, for instance, for merely trying to communicate with friends or relatives in Nazi-held territory, for possession of an undeclared radio transmitter, or just for lying to Allied authorities. Heavy jail sentences are imposed for attending any public gathering not specifically authorized by the Allies, or just for "conduct disrespectful to the United Nations."

The Allies have imposed a curfew for 21 hours a day and during the other three hours only one member of a household at a time may be away from his home. This is "democracy" with a vengeance!

The closer the imperialists come to victory the more their real aims show. War, as von Clausewitz stated, is the continuation of politics by other means. Imperialist politics consists of sharp trade wars, lowering of the standards of the masses at home and abroad, penetration and conquest of colonies, and organization of an economy of scarcity and its concomitant: decree (later fascist) government. American Imperialism and British Imperialism are following this law, as follow it they must.

They are proving once again that this was NOT a war for humanitarian purposes, not a "people's war" at all, but a war for Empire. They are proving that they have no desire to fight dictatorship, or eliminate fascism, but they rank with Hitler as dictators. They are proving negatively what we Marxists have stated for 20 years:

ONLY PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION CAN END IMPERIALIST WAR AND DEFEAT FASCISM!

We Break with the SWP

March, 1945

To the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party:

We, the undersigned members of the Philadelphia Branch of the Party, hereby resign from the organization for the following reasons:

1. The S.W.P. policy is one of left support, here and all over the world, of Bourgeois Democracy. The perspective of calling for a struggle for democratic rights, tied in with the call for a Stalinist-Socialist government (such as the previous call for a Blum-Cachin, Caballero-CNT government or the present demand for a "Workers and Farmers' government" and a Labor Party government in Britain) is nothing but active participation in betraying the masses and beheading the Proletarian Revolution.

2. In the United States this policy is most clearly revealed in the "cautious" program of telling the workers they can gain nothing thru strikes "because the WLB and the International are against them," but must engage in "independent working class political action" — by supporting the Labor Party instrument of capitalism. Turn labor from independent struggle at the point of production to political support of labor fakery and labor politicians — this is the treacherous position of the Socialist Workers Party.

3. The Party position on war is a centrist revision of Lenin's position of Revolutionary Defeatism. While Marxists constantly point out that the "main enemy is at home," that we must work for the defeat of our own imperialists, Cannon brazenly declares ("Socialism on Trial," and "Our Defense Policy in the Minneapolis Trial") that we would not dream of in any way impeding the war effort, we simply work to change the government.

4. The "Transition Program" of the S.W.P. is in essence a series of demands for reforms to be achieved under capitalism, a completely reformist program. The argument that the Party does not expect capitalism to grant these demands is precisely the argument you will get from any Norman Thomas Socialist. This is the classical position of centrism.

5. The S.W.P. is rapidly becoming a Stalinist-Ikon movement. More and more its members are taught that Leninism consists of agreeing with Cannon unquestioningly. For this reason the Party is incapable of correctly defending Dialectical Materialism, the European Revolution, etc. Its only tactic is subjective mud-slinging and misrepresentation of opposition.

For these reasons we leave the centrist Trotsky movement to join the only Revolutionary Marxian Organization in America, the Revolutionary Workers League, and we appeal to the class conscious workers to do the same.

FOR A REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST FOURTH INTERNATIONAL.

LONG LIVE THE INTERNATIONAL PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION.

Signed,

Fred E. Smith
Edward Darwin

Now They're "Trusteeships"

At the conclusion of World War I it was apparent to the allied Imperialists that the odious system of colonial control over the so-called "backward" peoples of the world couldn't exist without wide-spread protest from the masses of the world. Too many dark and heinous deeds were associated with such colonial rule: Belgium's cold blooded exploitation of the Congo, British and French "Pacification" of Africa and Asia, and Germany's "civilization" of the Cameroons were still too much alive in the minds of the populations of these countries. To have annexed tour-de-force the colonies of the defeated Central Powers would indeed have been a rude awakening to the millions of workers, peasants and colonials who had fought for four hellish years to make the world "safe for democracy" and free from war forever as promised by the Anglo-American demagogues of imperialism.

A formula had to be proclaimed: a formula that would not destroy the illusions fostered and yet serve as an umbrella to carry out the imperialist aims of the war.

Such a formula was embodied in Article 22, of the now defunct League of Nations. Here is a paragraph:

"To those colonies and territories which, as a consequence of the late war, have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the states which governed them, and which are inhabited by people not yet able to stand by themselves under the

strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well being and development of such people form a sacred trust of civilization."

With this noble, altruistic patter as a point of departure the Allies proceeded under a system of mandates to carve up for their respective selves the colonies of the vanquished; to redivide the markets of the world according to the needs of the victors. This undoubtedly was the "divine and sacred trust of civilization!"

Article 22, of the League Covenant further specifies that the territories of Transjordan, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon and Palestine, formerly under Turkish rule would not be disposed of without first considering the wishes of the people that inhabited them. This was ignored when the interests of the British and French conflicted over the question of the Mosel oil fields. Dictated by the necessity of their imperialist needs, Britain and France divided this territory between themselves — despite the protests of the Arabian people who wanted to be unified into a single state as had existed under Turkish rule.

This, and countless other violations of the "sacred trust of civilization" had exposed the mandate system as nothing but imperial colonialism called by another name.

But undaunted in their efforts to give an ideological cloak to imperialistic banditry, and operating on the Michie-zalian principle that you can always fool the masses by new labels, the San Francisco Peace Convention (to organize a new den of thieves) will elaborate a system of "trusteeships" to govern the colonies of the vanquished at the conclusion of World War II.

We will, of course, be told that this has nothing in common with the system of Mandates: that its chief purpose is to raise the level of the backward peoples (this should be read, weaker peoples) and to bring the "four freedoms and a bottle of milk" to every end of the earth.

This is just patter, the same old stuff with a new title, under which the world will again be redivided for markets and spheres of influence, but this time under the control of U.S. Imperialism as the dominant power.

Read the RWL Pamphlet

"WORKERS' REVOLUTION OR WARS FOREVER"

10c per copy

Order from Demos Press — 708 N. Clark St.

Where is the Common Man?

The "liberal" Chicago Sun in an editorial February 5th, lauds Stuart Chase's study of "Democracy Under Pressure," a story that "exposes" the pressure groups formed by industry, labor and agriculture. The Sun thinks it is time for the "plain" citizens to take up arms against the pressure groups for the general welfare of all. Before we can attempt to understand whether this new pressure group is possible, let us define who the "plain" citizen is. If we are to believe the Sun, he is neither a member of industry, labor or agriculture. Who, then, is he?

We workers, constantly aware of such facts as the necessity of eating every day, paying rent, buying clothing, can rightly ask "How does the plain citizen keep himself alive?" The only conclusion possible on the basis of knowing "the facts of life" is that there is no such animal as the "plain" citizen. He is a myth. In capitalism's well developed folklore of the "common man," a psychological conditioning has enveloped the working masses. They are given to believe that they are, each one of them, the plain, common man, the man on the street, the sole holder of his destiny, the one-and-only individual who can change the course of history, the man who can make "democracy" work, etc. And they are given to believe further, that the ills of our times are due to the "plain" citizen shirking his responsibilities.

THE MYTH OF THE PLAIN MAN

This myth has blinded the worker of the factory or the field to his true position under capitalism.

The capitalist system is composed, basically, of two classes with completely contradictory interests. One is the capitalist class; a small group which has concentrated in its hands ownership of the means of production, i.e., the factories, the land, etc. The other is the working class which owns nothing but its labor power. It is the class which works (when work is available) for a wage (which is inadequate) and is entirely dependent on its wages for its existence. Further, the working class, as a whole, is engaged in socialized production. The fruits of their labor, all but what it takes to keep themselves alive, goes into the coffers of the capitalistic class as private appropriation — Socialized production and private appropriation.

NEWSPAPERS CONFUSE WORKERS

The capitalistic press consciously avoids publicizing the existence of these two antagonistic classes. It speaks of industry, labor and agriculture, and to make sure of distraction, throws in the myth of the "plain" citizen.

The Sun editorial adds up to the usual conglomeration of confusion which spells out nonsense to the working class. For the general welfare of all workers, since it is only the workers who produce the wealth, the only solution is WORKERS' CONTROL OF PRODUCTION FOR USE INSTEAD OF FOR PROFIT. This requires a Workers' Council Government. In this way we can have adequate sustenance for the working class without the horrors of depressions (starvation in the midst of plenty) wars (capitalism utilizing the workers' lives and blood to maintain their system), and fascism (the use of a dictatorship to maintain the capitalistic system).

(Continued from Page 1)

Treaty of Chapultepec finally succeeded in bringing Argentina under the dominion of Yankee imperialism.

Every country in which the "United Nations" have fought the Nazis bears the scars of a "liberation" that has left the roots of Fascism unextirpated. A Mussolini is supplanted by a Badoglio, a Petain by a Darlan — such is the "liberating" mission of the Allied arms. In Asia the same situation stands out even more strikingly. Plans are being made for the reconquest of French Indo-China; the Dutch will be glad to take back their East Indian Empire; Britain has relinquished nothing, and America seeks only to gain more spoils.

"DEMOCRACY" IN ACTION

Meanwhile, at home, in the industrial centers of the world, bourgeois democracy also yields to fascism wherever necessary. In England the workers have even forgotten what "democracy" means. The worker is sent into industry at government command. He has no choice of where to work. In America, the same laws and decrees affect the worker. Strikes are penalized by jail; militants are conscripted into the armed forces; conventions are outlawed; the government has claimed for itself sole jurisdiction over the life of the worker, in effect sapping the lifeblood of the unions. All this reflects not merely a campaign against the threat of revolution in wartime, but also the anxiety of the capitalist class to accelerate its drive against the living standards of the workers. Rationing operates as a floor on prices, while government agencies keep a tight ceiling on wages. Even where there has been an absolute increase in the worker's income (his real income, as measured by what his money will buy), there has been a RELATIVE decrease (if we compare the workers' share of income with the share retained by the capitalist class). Moreover, the weapons of the working class have been blunted, so that, in the coming struggle against a lower standard of living, the fighting power of the workers is diminished.

Nor are these only temporary, wartime measures. Each day brings a clearer revelation that the capitalist class proposes an extension of every wartime measure in the "reconversion" period. Rationing, price-fixing, wage control, all are with us to stay, unless the working class opens a determined fight in its own interests. The governments are preparing to convert from the waging of war to the waging of "peace," a "peace" against the international proletariat. Not only will the huge standing armies and navies remain, but they will serve a dual role: to hold the imperialist conquests of the war and to smash the resistance of the workers everywhere. Add to this the increasing colonial empire to be held by force, not only against competing bandits, but against the rising colonial masses. It is evident that bourgeois democracy has no irreconcilable quarrel with Fascism.

On top of all this comes the fact that the world today is far smaller than ever before. The improved productive methods will be used not to lessen labor but to intensify it. The dragging of new corners of the world into the sphere of capitalist enterprise means a further shrinking of the world market. Competition for that market must inevitably become fiercer and fiercer and end in new and bloodier imperialist wars. Hence an era of organized scarcity under capitalism is at hand. Capitalism can only solve its crises of overproduction for the market by destroying the goods produced, by plowing under food so that millions may starve, so that profits may survive, and by destroying millions of workers for whom the profit system has no room.

WHO STANDS BETWEEN THE WORKERS AND POWER?

In answer to these savage blows of the class enemy, what actions do the workers take? Their trade union leadership, more corrupted than ever, offers only collaboration with the boss class. The recent international Trade Union Conference clearly revealed that not a "leader" there had any thought for the interests of the exploited workers. The treachery of such a leadership is best shown by their failure to expose a single aspect of the imperialist campaign. The conference endorsed the bourgeois nationalism that led to this war.

On a national scale the "leaders" show the same eagerness to outdo each other in their abject professions of servility to the master class. The Bevins glory in the smashing of the Greek revolution; the Thomases proudly proclaim their devotion to the profit motif of capitalism. The maintenance of the "no-strike" pledge is their sole answer to the rising tide of workers' resentment.

Nor can the workers find any other spokesmen in the labor movement. The Second International, as unresponsive to the workers' needs as ever, and far more rotten because grown far older in its corruption, spews forth words of democracy and justice. Meanwhile it ignores the colonial question, it bows down to parliamentarism, it eggs on the boss class against the Soviet Union. There is no internationalism in it except the mealy-mouthed internationalism in words that only hides its lick-spittle service to the national bourgeoisie in deeds.

The "Communist" Parties present the same international line as does the Stalinist commissariat of foreign affairs. Here too the interests of the workers are bartered for a meaningless concession to Stalinism. Living on the unearned capital of the October Revolution of twenty-seven years ago; these rotten bureaucrats hold the working-class in check with meaningless promises of "after the war." In the ranks of the working class they are the most militant endorsers of the imperialist war. Today their ranks are being decimated everywhere as the rank-and-file see the objective consequences of their deeds. In Italy, the Stalinists have split in half. In Greece, in Belgium, even in America, the same organic decomposition of Stalinism is taking place, as ever new sections realize the sharp cleavage between Stalinist policy and workers' needs.

The various Trotskyite factions throughout the world offer no better hope to the toiling masses. Where the Stalinists and Social Democrats are reformist to the core, the Trotskyites are centrist. They offer the

classical combination of revolution in words, but reformism in deeds. Far more important to them than spreading the class struggle is the organization of the Labor Party. They have given assurance to the governments that all they do is propagandize and have no thought of ACTION for the workers' cause. They repudiate the classical slogan of Lenin to turn the imperialist war into civil war. They denounce the policy of revolutionary defeatism. They call for bourgeois revolution in India, for the Constituent Assembly. In short, they represent the phenomenon of continual capitulation to bourgeois democracy. Their line is one of mutiny on their knees.

WORKERS CONTINUE THE FIGHT

Despite this lack of leadership, the masses throughout the world, whose objective conditions drive them to revolutionary uprisings, must continue their revolts. Revolutionary crises have arisen since the outbreak of the war — in India, in Italy and most recently in Greece. In India the lack of a strongly developed proletariat resulted in the decline of the whole movement into a demand for the Constituent Assembly. In Italy the militant action of the proletariat necessitated more drastic steps to quell the uprisings. The workers, who were powerful enough to overturn the Mussolini regime, were not clear as to the next step. As a result they gave the bourgeoisie time to throw in a stop-gap government, the Badoglio regime of "liberal" Fascism — of Fascism that would deal with the "United Nations." The intervention of the American imperialist army speedily put down the revolt in Southern Italy. In Northern Italy, the proletarian core of the country, the culmination of the revolutionary wave is yet to come. And the collapse of the German imperialist military front brings that day close.

MISLEADERSHIP HAMPERS REVOLUTION

In Greece we see the clearest example of the role of British and American imperialism, as well as the nature of the opportunist political and trade union leadership of the working class. The Greek Revolution never left the bourgeois democratic channels on which its leaders held it. Nevertheless, the imperialists could not even tolerate this much freedom in the "liberated" country. They compelled the half-hearted conservative Papandreu to precipitate a civil war in order to liquidate the forces of the ELAS. And no group in Greece existed to provide a clear-cut Marxian leadership for the working-class. Even when the ELAS forces had the entire military opposition confined to a few square blocks in Athens, they had not the will to set up a workers' government in Greece. They sought for compromise — they found extermination.

But Greece and Italy and India have by no means exhausted the powers of the proletariat. The war is far from over, and there lie ahead only increasing misery and slaughter for the workers and peasants and colonials. New revolts, new uprisings against the occupation, new revolts of the slaves are on the order of the day — in France, in Germany, in Austria, yes, even in the homelands of imperialism — in England and America. These uprisings are as certain as the intensified misery from which they flow. Shall these new revolutionary upheavals too go down in blood? Or will there arise from them the new society, based on the liberation of man, based on production for use instead of profit, in lands where boss class rule has been smashed and the workers rule through their Councils? The whole future history of man lies in the answer to these questions. Either society relapses into utter barbarism, with endless wars of pillage, or the proletarian revolution blazes across the continents and sweeps away the cause of wars.

TASKS OF THE WORKERS

The workers of the world have the will for the mighty task history has imposed on them. What is lacking is an organizing force, a leadership that will direct them into revolutionary channels. The International Contact Commission for the NEW (FOURTH) COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL sends this message to all the workers and oppressed on this MAY DAY of struggle in 1945:

SOLDIERS' ON ALL THE IMPERIALIST FRONTS! FRATERNIZE WITH YOUR BROTHERS IN "ENEMY" UNIFORM. THEY ARE NOT THE ENEMY. YOUR OWN BOSS CLASS IS THE ENEMY!

TURN THE BOSS CLASS WAR INTO A WAR AGAINST THE BOSSES! BREAK THE BONDS OF NATIONAL "UNITY" THAT BIND YOU TO THE PROFIT MACHINE! FIGHT TO REGAIN THE RIGHTS OF THE WORKING CLASS!

BUILD THE PARTIES OF THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION EVERYWHERE IN THE WORLD! BUILD THE NEW (FOURTH) COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL FOR THE FINAL CONFLICT.

FOR THE UNITED SOVIET STATES OF EUROPE! FOR THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION EVERYWHERE! FOR THE OVERTHROW OF STALINISM BY POLITICAL REVOLUTION! FOR THE DEFENSE OF THE USSR FROM THE IMPERIALISTS AND FROM THE STALINIST IMPERIALIST AGENTS WITHIN HER BORDERS!

WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE! YOU HAVE NOTHING TO LOSE BUT YOUR CHAINS! YOU HAVE A WORLD TO GAIN!

ATTEND! HEAR!

May Day Open Air Meeting

at

Newberry Square, May 1

6:30 P.M.

ONLY PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION CAN DEFEAT FASCISM!