The Fighting Worker

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

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Workers of The World **Unite!**

WORKERS' VOTE PROGRAM

When you go to vote this coming November remember this: That no matter who is elected the worker will get absolutely no increase in democratic rights or working conditions except through his own efforts on the picket lines and in the streets;

That parliamentary action and balloting can never solve our problems; they can only act as auxiliary to mass action, in order to expose the capitalist politicians and system;

That no matter who is elected, Roosevelt or Dewey, or even Norman Thomas, the next capitalist administration will continue the inexorable march to greater regimentation and toward Fascism in America.

EXAMPLE OF ROOSEVELT

The history of the Roosevelt regime is a historical instruction. During the 1930's when the workers were out in droves in unemployed demonstrations and militant strikes, the Roosevelt government granted some reforms to quiet the storm. But as soon as the working class - thanks to the aid of the Greens, Lewis', Browders and the Labor Partyites was safely tied to the capitalist machine, as soon as independent working class action sloughed off, the Roosevelt government introduced all sorts of regimentation. It has taken back innumerable of the first reforms. It has introduced Fascistlike measures by the score - draft passport system, censorship, FBI intimidation of revolutionsts, etc. It has lowered the standard of living of the American working class through higher taxes, wage freezing, rationing, and other measures; and it will continue this process.

Washington never has and never will give the workingman anything long as we have capitalism. The government in Washington is a government of, for and by the capitalist class. The War has brought that out in greater relief than previously; the war is being run by the capitalists themselves: Nelson of Sears Roebuck, Rockefeller, Stettinius of J. P. Morgan, Biddle of the Morgan finance family, Jones of the Texas bankers, Wilson of General Electric, Knudsen of General Motors, Morgenthau of the Boston bankers, Baruch of the Lehman Bros'. financial family, with all the rest in the same category. The workingman gets something from the Washington politicians only when he forces them to grant concessions by threatening to take, even more through mass action. The workingman has no stake whatsoever in the capitalist government - no matter who is at the head of it.

THE SHAM OF "DEMOCRACY"

The propagandists will tell you between now and November how "democratic" the American system is. They will tell you that this is the only country in the world which has a "democratic" election during wartime. But they will "forget" to tell you that these rights to vote were won by rebellious revolutionists like Daniel Shay in the 18th century, the New York Workingmen's Party in the 1820's, and innumerable struggles of workingmen and women for the right to vote. They will "forget" to tell you that the founding fathers of this country - capitalist and slave-owning politicians to the core - opposed the right to vote of people without property.

Furthermore: they will not tell you that the present election is just as much of a farce as elections in many totalitarian regimes. You can vote only for a capitalist tweedeldeedee or tweedeldeedum. Millions of workers are excluded from voting. President Roosevelt himself admitted in 1939 that more than half of the whites in Virginia over 21 can't vote. As far as Negroes are concerned their plight is even worse. Poll taxes in the South eliminate at least half the population from voting. So-called "literacy" tests disfranchise hundreds of thousands more. Despite the Supreme Court ruling that Negroes CAN vote in Southern primaries and elections, one state after another has refused to permit them to vote this year. Millions of workers in the armed forces will not be able to vote this year. Hundreds of thousands of people in Washington, D. C. are disfranchised. Millions of youths under 21, old enough to work, old enough to fight and die, will not be permitted to vote. Millions of mi-gratory workers who travel from city to city for work, will not be permitted to vote. The state

Assuming, however, that all these people could vote - what sort



This is the capitalism system: One-fifth of the American people are earning less than \$20 per week. Three million retail workers get an average of only \$24.88. Literally millions of people need food, need household goods, bedding and other things.

But -

In Canada the American government is burning millions of dollars worth of water heaters, stoves, tires, crockery, mattresses. blankets, sleeping bags and hundreds of other items, according to Bruce McKelvie, correspondent of the Daily Province. The United States recently built the Alcan highway through Canada. Now that the highway is built, Uncle Sam must either sell the stuff or give it away.

It won't sell it because of an agreement with Canada not to sell it there. It won't sell it in the U.S. because the tariff will be too high and because it would "compete with private industry."

And in the U.S.A. tons of eggs are being burned on the city dumps bought and paid for by the U.S. Government, out of the "Victory" taxes paid by the working class! Are these eggs spoiled? Not at all! They are being destroyed by agreement to keep eggs at the same high price which prevents soldiers' families from being able to afford to buy them!

But the government won't give these thing away, because that would be "communism" or "socialism" or some other horrible thing. Taking care of people's needs under capitalism is a monstrous crime. Better to burn things up and let eople go cold, ragged and hungry.

THAT - is the blessings of capitalist "civilization!"

C. C. F. Beirays **Canadian Workers**

Across the border in Canada is being repeated again the tragic errors of the 20's and 30's. The Cooperative Commonwealth Federaion recently won 43 out of 51 seats in the Saskatchewan provincial legislature, and immediately the liberals and Labor Partyites sent up nosannahs. All political signs point to a national victory by the "socialist" CCF at the next elections. But - isn't this the tragedy of

the whole epoch since the Russian Revolution: that the masses, who are

REVOLUTION IN GERM MARXIAN PARTY KEY TO VICTORY

July 24, 1944 — The long-awaited German Revolution is beginning! Its victory or defeat will to a large measure determine the fate of humanity for years to come. Its victory will be the most powerful nail yet to be driven into the capitalist coffin.

The bourgeois press reports an attempt on the life of Hitler and a coterie of his generals. The aftermath of the attempt by a "small clique" to dethrone the Nazi hierarchy was a purge of generals and a conflict within the Army. Rumors from "neutral" sources speak of riots in Kiel, Munich, Berlin, Frankfort; desertions by Army divisions and mutinies by sailors.

THE FERMENT BELOW

To most observers these things added up merely to a "revolt by the Wehrmacht generals" - the Army is fighting Hitler, they say, and it is merely an attempt to replace Hitler with a German Badoglio.

The liberal "observers," however, observe nothing. The struggle within the ruling class of Germany is only a manifestation of something much deeper - the struggle of an awakening proletariat against the whole capitalist class, to end the war, to bring peace, bread and freedom. Every Civil War in its first phases appears on the surface to be purely a struggle between factions of the rulers. In reality, however, the rulers are fighting amongst themselves only because they no longer have a way out, only because they recognize they must now face the wrath of the proletariat.

Just as in Italy last year, there can be absolutely no doubt that the present struggles are merely a reflection of the class convulsions underneath. It took many weeks to crack the Italian censorship and learn of the gigantic strikes that preceded the fall of Mussolini. We will undoubtedly learn of similar occurences in Germany.

The bourgeois press loves to present Social Revolutions as faction fights within the ruling class. Thus, for instance, they presented the Russian Revolution in its early days as a fight between the Grand Duke and the Tsar, or between Miliukov and the Tsar. They made the German Revolution appear as a struggle between Prince Max and the Kaiser over peace. They made the Spanish Revolution appear as a struggle between Azana and Franco. The bourgeois press knows the danger of telling the truth about Social Revolution. But no matter how heavy the censorship they can not blot the Revolution out.

SYSTEM CRACKING UP

The present events in Germany are not a POLITICAL Revolution between two factions of the bourgeoisie. They are the BEGINNING OF A SOCIAL, PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION. All ruling classes fall out and fight on the eve of Social Revolutions - that is part of the breakup of their system.

Whether Hitler can stem the tide temporarily or not, the Proletarian Revolution in Germany (and, we may add, throughout Europe) can not be stopped, it can only be delayed. And it can be delayed only for a very short period at best. All the prerequisites of a Revolutionary situation are present and overripe: the bourgeoisie is hopelessly confused and struggling amongst itself, it can no longer rule by the old means; it faces the big crises caused by defeats and the economic waste of the war; and the masses are beginning to spring into action.

The Red Army victories are a barometer of what is happening within the German Army. The 360 mile advance of the Soviet forces in one month, on a front of some 500 miles is the greatest military achievement in all history, according to the capitalist press. On many days the Red military machine advanced as much as forty miles. This is even faster than the German blitzkrieg into the Low Countries and France in 1940.

Such advances would be impossible without defeatist actions, demoralization, desertions and mutinies on the part of the German soldiers. The German worker-soldier is today reacting precisely as the Russian worker-soldier acted in 1918; and it is leading to the same result: military defeat.

Such defeat facilitates Revolution! It will create tension and class conscious revolt on the part of the 12 million French, Italian, Polish, Russian and other workers who have been forceably placed in German factories. It will create a Revolutionary Inferno such as the world never seen before.

a choice do you have? In at least 23 states in the Union it is impossible for anybody outside of the two big capitalist parties to get on the ballot. Some states require nominating petitions with as high as 250,000 signatures. To really run an effective presidential campaign against modern capitalism it takes millions of dollars. What working class organization today can match the capitalist dollars?

Furthermore: if a working class party could hurdle all these obstacles, could enfranchise the 10 or 15 million workers who are deprived of votes, could get all the necessary signatures to get on the ballot what assurance would it have of actually being permitted to serve? None, whatsoever! Members of our older generation remember how the capitalists in New York, Washington, and many other places after the last war, threw Socialist legislators out of office and refused to permit them to sit in Congress and legislatures to which they were legally elected, simply because they were too "radical."

No, you can't solve your problems at the ballot. If you vote for Roosevelt or Dewey, or if you vote for the second line agents of capitalism, the Labor Partyites or Norman Thomas - you're voting to keep up this "democratic" sham, you're voting to preserve the rotten hulk of capitalism. If you don't want to waste your ballot, write in the names of the candidates on the Workers Vote ticket:

C. B. Cowan, for President. Allen Willis, for Vice-President.

AGAINST THE WAR AND CAPITALISM

A vote for the candidates of the Revolutionary Workers League is (Continued on Page 4)

dissatisfied with the old order of things, turns to a radical sounding reformist group and permit themselves to be caught in this straitjacket which holds them long enough for the Fascists to reorganize for the coup de main?

Examples of France, Spain Germany 1918-19, the Revolutionary masses permitted the "socialist" Scheideman to seize power and butcher the working class leaders. Germany 1930-32, the "socialist" Bruening paved the way for Hitler by demoralizing the masses, by tying them to the bourgeois state. France 1936, the People's Front government weakened the militancy of the working class, robbed it of some of its hard-earned victories and paved the way for bonapartist Daladier, who in turn opened the door for Reynaud and Petain. Spain 1936-38, the People's Front government forced the masses to give up their anti-fascist committees, to liquidate their independent (Continued on Page 4)

WIDESPREAD EFFECTS OF REVOLUTION

The German Revolution now beginning will spur on the Italian Revolution, which has been marking time precisely for this moment. It will give impetus to the working class in Denmark and France, where the proletariat has been rising up sporadically. It will create a Revolutionary tidal wave in central Europe, Greece, and elsewhere.

The Revolution now beginning in Germany will have many other important effects. Among them will be:

1-A concerted attempt by Stalinism to smash that Revolution, in alliance with Anglo-American Imperialism. The Von Seydlitz, officer-caste reactionary committee, now being played up in Moscow is being prepared for that purpose. Stalinism will undoubtedly play the most vicious counter-revolutionary role of any supposedly working class Party in all history.

2-On the other hand, however, contact of the Red Army with the German revolutionary proletariat will bring out all the contradictions in the Soviet Union. It may create the biggest break within the Soviet regime. It may bring on almost immediately a struggle between the capitalist elements within the Soviet Union and the working class, a struggle between the counter-Revolution and a proletariat attempting to make a political change back to workers democracy - back to the path of Socialism.

3-The German Revolution may at first aid the Anglo-American war efforts. But in the last analysis — depending on the extent of the victories of the German Proletariat — it will end in the defeat of the (Continued on Page 4)

Price 5 Cents

August, 1944

Eric Johnston - Capitalist New Champion of the "Middle Class"

Johnston, President of the U.S. social element of the population be proud to be what they are, and Chamber of Commerce, who recently went to Russia in search of future trade with the Soviets and to incidentally give the Russians a sample of his own special brand of Social Science.

Speaking boastfully he told the Russians that the American workers belong to the "Great American Middle Class"; that they are rugged individualists and intend to become more so, that there are no "Proletarians" in American Society because, as he says, the workers don't think they are Proletarians.

Perhaps the only correct observation Mr. Johnston made in his Moscow talk was, that, "When the Russians take pepper the American Communists (Stalinists) sneeze; and when they have indigestion, they belch." That is not far from the truth and is well said.

Classes in U.S.

But when he drooled his nonsense about the workers belonging to the "American Middle Class" he exposed his own monumental ignorance at the same moment that he admitted - what for many years has been denied by the apologists for American Capitalism - that there are classes in America.

So, now, that this spokesman for American Capitalism has unwittingly fallen in step with those who have always contended that this country no less than any other capitalist nation is divided on class lines, we will proceed to deal with his "no proletarians in America," flub-dubbery.

It is perfectly true, that a beggar may not think he is a beggar but his asking for alms contradicts his thinking. Similarly, if the social and economic facts show, and they do, that the American workers own no economic wealth or property by which they produce their living then they are proletarians, whether they think they are or not. And further, if the facts show that compared to the whole population only a few people own the productive and distributive wealth of the nation and live by exploiting those who operate such wealth or properties but do not own them, then we have in America, besides a middle class. an aristocracy of wealth class whose special interests are in continuous conflict with the interests of the workers as well as other segments of the population.

The Middle Class on W.P.A.!

Going back to the deep depression years of 1930 to 1933, if Eric Johnston is correct, then there were seventeen million members of the nation's "middle class" without jobs or the barest necessities of life; indeed, what a strange middle class France the French middle class not the upper French aristocracy or those lean years, but French statistics show that the French workers were unemployed as well as hungry, as were the millions of "illfed, ill-housed and ill-clothed" workers in this country, who were compelled to subsist on welfare and W. P. A.

exists below the middle class? Don't trouble yourself to tell us who make up the upper class for the workers have learned much about them in their struggles through the years for a better way of life.

As the President of the big league organization of American husiness undoubtedly you have heard someone speak of the thirteen million workers organized into trade and industrial unions and who occasionally go on strike. Would you say that such strikes are strikes of the middle class? Did you ever see doctors, lawyers, dentists, technical experts, small business men or other such elements walking in the picket lines?

But should you find it difficult or impossible to discover, a-below-themiddle-class-layer, in the American population, perhaps then, you could tell us what became of the millions of industrial and other workers whose labors during the expanding years of the American Economic system produced for the members of your organization the huge surplus values now existing in the form of industries, railroads, banks, etc. as well as vast sums for investments in many parts of the world. Also

perhaps, you can tell us to which social group belong those people who are presently operating the industries and producing billions of profit dollars for the war profiteers whom you so zealously speak for today.

Relatives Term

It should be clear to anyone that a middle class can only exist in relation to other classes. Should you deny the obvious logic of this, then you should be obliged to prove, not assert, that somehow in the evolution of the existing social order the historic economic relations which

called into existence the wage worker have ceased to exist, and further, that the present economy functions today without the participation of such a social group. That you cannot do even with the help of the gods themselves.

The operating workers of every factory, mill, mine or railroad, constitute elements of a distinct social class existing on a plane below the upper and middle classes. And what mainly distinguishes them as such. is the fact, that they work for wages and create surplus value for the owners of industries. They do not work for fees as do the middle class professionals; neither do they derive profits from the operation of small business enterprises. They are distinctly the wage receiving and profit producing operators of

constitute a distinct class in American Society. True, the Bourgois if they wanted to eat. society! Why, even in decadent propagandists and miseducators may have succeeded in making some workers feel that they belong to the privileged Bourgoisie, - lived the middle class; but the manner above the poverty level during in which they make their living determines which social group they belong to; not their thinking.

A bold and dashing fellow is Eric you be so kind as to tell us what maintained above all. They should resentful of being classified as anything less. The workers are not of the dead and dying, they are of the living present, and future.

Anyway, the only mind that could

possibly imagine that the workers belong to the middle (Capitalist) class, is the Bourgeois mind now in an advanced stage of intellectual senility. The Bourgeois mind decays along with the decay of the capitalist system by which it is conditioned, and the deeper the decay the more productive it is of such fantasies as those that issued from the head of Eric Johnston at Moscow. Wish thinking dominates the wounded capitalist ego as it makes one last pompous effort to impress a war ravaged world that is turn-

ing away to a new and superior form of human society wherein decadent capitalism will have no place.

> WE DEPEND ON CONTRIBUTION FROM WORKERS FOR PUBLICATION AND DISTRIBUTION OF THIS PAPER

Race Riots; Auto **Barons'** Solution for Unemployment

A City Plan Commission of Detroit estimated, on the basis of study and reports, that 450,000 persons will be unemployed in that area during the reconversion period and that some 200,000 may be unemployed after reconversion is completed. The report also stated that after adjustments, reconversion, people leaving the city, etc., there would stil be a relatively constant figure of 150,000 persons unemployed, in the city of Detroit alone.

The Mayor is most indignant . he said the report was "ridiculous," that during March, 1940, when un employment was high, there were only 138,000 persons out of work."

The Mayor forgets-that in March 1940 — many people had never worked at all, so weren't counted as "unemployed." Many men were the nation's machinery of production in the armed forces even then and and distribution and as such they the cost of living wasn't so high that everyone in a family had to work

The report also omits that in ad-

WORKERS OF THE WORLD

GUATEMALA SWITCHES DICTATORS

On June 22, Jorge Ubico, dictator of Guatemala, suspended constitutional rights in that country.

The students started a protest strike when Ubico refused to withdraw government control from the university and also refused to fire several professors. The movement spread fast throughout the working population. The railroad workers through their strike played a preponderant role. Ubico tried to fight back by placing railroad and public utility employees under military law.

"The people used little violence, for this was a trike of 'brazos caidos' (arms down). The life of long terrorized Guatemala slowed to a deathly standstill. Ubico used plenty of violence. His police and soldiers ranged the capital, threatening, killing. But the strike did not lose force." (Time Magazine, July 10). Ubico tried to compromise by firing Gen. David H. Ordonez, head of his police. He finally had to resign himself, not without instituting a military junta in his place and making provision for his own personal safety and the safety of his wealth.

The workers and students of Guatemala made a fine display of strength, solidarity and determination. What are the results? The military junta named by the dictator Ubico is forming a new cabinet and calling a special session of the national assembly to name an acting president. They restored the constitutional rights. The same old state machine is functioning as before. There will be a new president in Guatemala. But he and his government will be there for the same specific purpose, the safeguarding of the interests of the ruling class - and of U. S. capitalism which backed Ubico during his dictatorship - against the workers whose militant action got rid of him.

Instead of preserving the bourgeois state, the workers must be organized into a Revolutionary Marxian Party that can lead the attack against the state itself. That is the only way to fight against dictatorship and exploitation.

FRANCE DOESN'T SEE ITS "LIBERATION"

In France we again see the same phenomenon that so surprised the newspaper reporters in Italy. The population is not going crazy with joy at being "liberated" by the Allied armies. They react rather coolly to their new "freedom." So far there is nothing either "new" nor "free" about it. The war has come a bit nearer to them, they are under military rule, and they are still being ordered around, not by what they might consider "their own people" (the Allies are leaving de Gaulle out in the cold) but by foreign military men.

The population of Allied occupied France is not openly hostile, just as they did not dare be openly hostile to the occupying Germans but they are waiting to see what they will get out of this. And those who do not already know it will find out soon enough that no French worker is going to get anything from the Allies. Their oppression and exploitation will continue unchanged until they take their destinies into their own hands, until they fight against all oppressors, German, Allied or French.

REFUGEES GET A GIFT FROM ROOSEVELT

Roosevelt has finally shown why it is much more preferable for a refugee from Fascism to be in Allied occupied territory than in German occupied territory. The Nazis may put him in a concentration camp whether he wants it or not. Or they will put him in a labor camp without asking for his opinion. But under the Allies he will have a chance to stand in line and go through miles of red tape for the same result. This is the President's solution to the problem of thousands and thousands of war refugees. He is opening a camp at Fort Ontario, N. Y., for fully 1,000 of them who are now in southern Italy. Naturally, this is not being called a concentration camp, but it is easy to see the general idea, when one remembers that the infamous camps set up in France even before the German occupation were called "welcoming camps."

And already hundreds of refugees are standing in line to get a chance to be sent to America, to be herded in a camp till after the war; without a chance of settling down, starting any kind of a life, because they will not be permitted to leave the camp or to stay in this country after the war. The fact that they ere anxious to get even that shows what a haven "liberated" Southern Italy is.

ITALY'S RED ARMY

Antonio Poce, leader of the Italian "Armata Rossa" (Red Army) a partisan group which operated underground against the Germans before the fall of Rome - was arrested by the AMG police. No charges against him have been publicised, but the arrest was made obviously because his followers refused to be disarmed by the Allied armies. The majority of the 40,000 members of the "Armata Rossa" call themselves communists, but are in opposition to the Italian Stalinists, especially on the Stalinist collaboration with Badoglio.

· The arrest of Poce shows clearly, what the Allied rulers mean, when they say: fight for liberation. They are willing to exploit Italian independence movements against their imperialist rivals, but they know that

Such facts within the knowledge of all, slap back into his face the puerile mouthings of this boastful and impudent spokesman for American Capital.

Perplexing Questions

Now for a couple of pertinent questions to Mr. Johnston: If there exists in American Society a middle class to which, as you claim, the workers belong, then it logically fol-

Have Task to Fulfill

The enlightened works will not appreciate Mr. Johnston's stupid and futile attempt to falsely classify and to socially associate them with a

capitalism. They will vigorously resist any attempt on the part of the deceivers to obscure and belittle the Historic importance of their class in the present crisis of World Capitalism.

The workers as a distinct social force and class have a great task Bourgois classes can not perform, viz., the rescuing of the world from lows that there is a class existing the chaos and ruins wrought by the on a social plane below the middle wars of dying Capitalism. There- working class should be wise to it class as well as one above it. Would fore, their class integrity must be by now.

had the provide the second state of the second s

dition to the figure estimated there will be returning soldiers, looking for work, to swell the ranks and militancy of the new depression.

But the auto barons are well aware of the situation. In the last month they have seen that several organized "rumors" got into swingall directed against the large Negro population now working in industrial Detroit. It would be just lovely class that is destined to pass with if these workers got so scared that they all ran away back South, now, but if necessary the boss class will see that a "race riot" takes place to justify getting rid of a large section of militant Union conscious workers.

After that will come the attacks on Jews, foreigners, women workto fulfill, a task that the decaying ing, "reds," and every conceivable division within the ranks of the working class. Divide and rule is still the Capitalist method. The

a "Red Army" represents the same danger to them as it did to the Nazi The Italian workers must resist being disarmed by the AMG. They must build a real, strong Red Army, to fight for their interests against Nazi and Allied dictatorship alike.

NORTHERN ITALY STILL STRIKES

The workers of Northern Italy have by no means given up their struggle. After the big strike wave in December in which they took over factories, there have continually been reports of unrests. On June 27, the following AP dispatch appeared in the papers: "Rome - The Communist newspaper unit reported today a general strike in the Genoa region has forced closing of all factories while street fighting is raging in Florence, with the Gestapo and Fascists unable to bring the situation under control." The strike followed the transport of the machinery of the Ansaldo factory to Germany, the workers wanted to avoid being sent to Germany. Sporadic strikes were reported in Milan.

The Italian revolution is not dead! Fascism has not been able to break the workers militancy. But the Italian Revolution can only be victorious with the active support of the world proletariat.

The Samuel Kelly Defense Committee has filed petition for the unconditional pardon of framed Negro militant worker - Samuel Kelly. Help the campaign by sending telegrams and letters demanding that Kelly be pardoned - UNCONDITIONALLY - to Colgate Darden, Governor of Virginia, Capitol Building, Richmond, Virginia.

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

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Stalinism in Rumania

The Associated Press writer Henry Cassidy reports that the Red Army has changed next to nothing in conquered parts of Rumania. Anti-Semitic laws still prevail. Private property of old landowners and capitalists is respected, and even the Stalinist Party itself remains illegal as of old.

Doesn't that all prove that we have capitalism in the Soviet Union, the liberals and mechanical "marxists" will ask?

No, it proves nothing of the sort. At the time that the 16 autonomous - or supposedly autonomous - Republics were created in the S. U., the FIGHTING WORKER pointed out that this was the prelude to permitting capitalist territories into the Russian sphere of influence, that is was an enormous concession to both Allied imperialism and the pro-capitalist elements within the Soviet Union.

As Europe moves into the vortex of Revolution, Stalinism is rapidly being deprived of whatever mass base it previously had. At the outset of the war, June 22, 1941, the burocracy undoubtedly was able to mobilize large sections of the working class to frenzied support in the struggle against Axis Fascism. But the present pact with the orthodox church, the marriage laws, the autonomous re-Depublics, indicates that that mass base is deteriorating. Stalinism must thus make even greater concessions. It creates an open haven for the counter-revolution. To such engths has Stalinism gone to appease its imperialist "allies!" The Stalin burocracy lives in an orbit of contradictions. It is subject to pressure from all sides. Despite its intentions in Rumania it will probably have to take some measures to curb the capitalists and landowners. In self-protection it may have to eventually expropriate them as it did

in Poland, the Baltic States, and Finland earlier in the war. The events in Rumania are giant-sized steps in the direction of the restoration of capitalism. They intensify the struggle within the Soviet Union enormously. They bring close the day - very near now - when an open clash between the counter-revolutionary elements and the working class will occur. They also make imminent the destruction of Stalinism, as well.

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

Bulletin of the

Provisional International Contact Commission for a New (Communist) 4th International

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AUGUST, 1944

WAR AND REVOLUTION Political Report to the 7th National Convention of the Revolutionary Workers League

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Subscription - \$1.00 a year, 10c per copy. Order from Demos Press, 708 N. Clark St., Chicago, Ill.

Imperialism in a

The speech of Henry A. Wallace, Vice-President of the United States after his Asiatic trip to China and Soviet Asia is very significant. It reflects the continued breakdown of the Chinese economy and of American imperialisms' future aim of harnessing and developing the whole of Asia (particularly China) to its own needs.

America's ultimate goal is to capture and control the Asiatic markets. However in order to attain this it must first assure itself of "peace and order" in the "European sphere." Specifically this means three things:

One: steming the rising tide of the proletarian revolution; Two: introducing the counter-revolution into the Soviet Union;

And three: pitting Great Britain, Germany and the small powers against one another with American hegemony over all.

These are the immediate and most pressing problems facing it. Before American imperialism can fully devote itself to its ultimate goal it must solve these immediate problems; meanwhile it carries on its struggle against Japan as secondary to the war in Europe.

However not only must the American Bourgeoisie defeat the proletariat in Europe but it must also defeat the revolutions brewing in Asia, in China, India, Burma, etc. It is exactly for these reasons that Wallace made the trip. Wallace went to observe first hand what the objective situation is, and to attempt to bolster the wavering Chiang Kai Shek government by promises of economic aid and future "agrarian reform."

American imperialism wants to safeguard its present and future investments and wants to be positive "that there is no foreseeable likelihood of conflict within China or between China and the U.S.S.R."

"Failure to concern ourselves with problems of this sort

after World War I is costing us today hundreds of billions of dollars and a terrible toll of human life. To avoid a recurrence of the scourge of war, it is essential insofar as the Pacific basin is concerned that relations among the four principal powers in the Pacific - China, the Soviet Union, the British commonwealth and the United States - be cordial and collaborative."

"Quart of Milk"

Page 3

Wallace fails to say how the living standards of the Chinese masses can be raised when it is the object of American imperialism to exploit and subordinate China to its own ends. He fails to answer how Capitalism will end its imperialist wars and how its causes will be removed without removing capitalism itself. He fails to outline in which manner the antagonisms between Britain and the United States will be resolved in the Pacific in line with the British statements with regard to Hong Kong and their other interests.

Wallace failed to answer these questions because the only answer that Capitalism can give is more imperialist wars, more imperialist antagonisms, more subjection of the masses. Wallace failed to answer these questions because, despite

his demagogy, his first interest is in making- China an American economic colony.

The masses in China have no interests in Mr. Wallace's promises of a FUTURE heaven on Earth, of a "quart of milk every day." They have 5,000% inflation NOW. They have seven years of hunger and a severe famine. They have been bombed more times than any nation in history. The starving millions who roam throughout China have had enough of Chiang-Kai-Shek, enough of both British and American Imperialism, and Japanese Imperialism. They need a thorough house-cleaning - a Proletarian Revolution in China to end the dominance of imperialism and to establish a Worker's Dictatorship based on production for use.

MORE DIVISION GANDHI SOWS

The old Mahatma is now ready to eat his words of yesterday.

Gandhi is proposing to set up two states in India, a Moslem state in those arease where the Moslems are a majority, and the rest of the nation a Hindu state. This proposal, according to AP, has been sent to the Moslem League as a basis for Indian "independence." It would become operative only "in case of a transfer by Great Britain of full power and responsibility of government in India."

Gandhi is again hoodwinking the British Indians.

THERE CAN BE NO INDEPENDENCE FOR INDIA UNDER CAPITALISM! Should Britain grant India dominion status it wouldn't change the plight of the Indian worker and peasant one iota. It would merely mean that these unfortunate people would be exploited by a consortium of British-American and native Indian capital, rather than just British capital. It would mean a little more "freedom" for the native Indian capitalist, like Gandhi's personal friend Birla, to exploit the Indian workers (with the help of American capital, no doubt), rather than the present restrictions placed on Mr. Birla and his kind.

EXAMPLE OF CANADA

The solution for the problems of the Indian masses does not lie along religious but along CLASS lines.

In that, India is very similar to Canada, and Indian workers can learn a lesson from Canada. Is Canada independent, simply because it has a minion status? Anyone who's been to Canada surely must have noticed the dominance of American capital and industry. The worker in Toronto and Windsor is exploited by Ford's, G. M., the Nickel Trust,

and hundreds of other imperialist firms.

Would an "independent" Quebec help the French Canadians? Possibly a few French Canadian bosses, who might break through the stranglehold of "foreign" capital, or get a few more concessions. But not the French Canadian worker and farmer.

FOR A SOVIET INDIA

India is in a similar situation. If it throws off the yoke of Britain it will only be to assume the ball and chain of either American or Japanese imperialism - or a combination of the various powers. Just as China did not liberate itself by the Kuomintang struggle for "independence," but only became an indirect puppet regime for Wall Street, so India faces the same result.

The Marxists are in favor of the RIGHT of self-determination. The Marxists in America and Britain demand immediate and unconditional independence and immediate wthdrawal of all imperialist troops from India.

But the Marxists and revolutionary workers of India must insist, on their part, that the only solution for their problem is a Soviet India, that IF THEY ARE GIVEN THE RIGHT TO DETERMINE THEIR OWN FATE (a right, by the way, for which they will have to FIGHT), they will a choose a Government of Councils of Workers and Peasants, a Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

That RIGHT will not be gained through plebiscites, but only through mass action and a policy against ALL imperialism.

And it will be gained only by a confirmed struggle not only against the imperialists but against their agents like Gandhi, Nehru and others.

STALINISM "INTERPRETS

The villainous, complete collabor-, tion, will help us to bring to a sucapparent.

of a Bolshevik leader, Zinoviev, to and all exploitation."

ation of the Stalinists with the world cessful conclusion the cause of In contrast these are the words ed working masses from all slavery Stalin's government is now allowing

Supports Imperialism

THE

2-To prove that there is teeth in

territory. These actions would not | war - fraternization with the 'enebe necessary if the Workers Revolubourgeoisie today stands stark and peace, and at the same time the its agreement to keep the European tion were allowed to occur in these lines - has been ignored. Instead cause of the liberaton of the exploit- workers under the capitalist paw, areas. Instead of Revolution, how- the Stalinists campaign for hatred, ever, Stalin courts the Pope!

BOLSHEVIK

my' worker-troops at the front calling the invaders "beasts," threata large force of captured German 6-Unconditional surrender is de- ening and holding war criminal

PROGRAM

the workers of the Petrograd Soviet	Owner the Partition	troops to be trained under a pre-	manded by Stalinism.	trials, and praising the allied bomb-
on the first day of the victorious	Opposite Position	Nazi German general "to police	Again on these points a true	ing of Europe in which it is the
October Revolution: "This day we	But the Stalinists today are tell-	Germany."	Workers Government said in 1917:	workers who die or go homeless and
have paid our debt to the interna-	ing us how thousands of workers	3 - Also by its noisy support of		hungry.
tional proletariat, and struck a ter-	should nobly suffer and die on the		peace, which is desired by the im-	Toward the end of World War I,
rible blow at the war, a terrible	beaches of the imperialist war. We		mense majority of the workers and	Lenin said: " we hope that
body blow at all the imperialists "	make here a simple, brutal list of	TIONAL NEWS) which is nothing		revolution will soon break out in
Compare this pronunciation with	the contemporary Stalinist betrayals		pleted by war — immediate peace	all the belligerent countries "
those of the "Communists" of Sta-	of the triumph of October 1917		without annexations, and without	These points illustrate in part the
linism, who though they dissolve	1-Stalin's government props up	victorious "great powers" of this war		difference between the strategy of
themselves as a political part remain	and cooperates with the tottering			a workers government in the de-
as a "cultural" organization" which	bourgeois governments of Europe in		world attempt to channelize the mil-	fense of the Workers State in 1917,
pledges itself to support the fourth	their imperialist struggle and their	and the second sec	itancy of the labor movement by	which also embodied the defense of
term of Franklin Roosevelt - the	war against the masses. In what		steering it into national war pa-	the entire world working class, and
most polished demagogue Wall	have been called adroit political	to permit the strong and the rich	triotism which leads to no-strike	the present criminal betrayals of
Street has ever produced.	moves, Stalin has taken the lead in	nations to divide among themselves	pledges, speed-ups, persecution of	Stalinism.
Call for Revolution	recognizing the French nationalist	the weak and conquered national-	rebellious rank and file leaders and	
At the same meeting of the Petro-	DeGaulle, and the governments of	ities is considered by (the workers')	other strike-breaking services for	POPULAR & CURRENT
	the King of Norway and Badoglio	government the greatest possible		
	the butcher of the Ethiopians. Re-	crime against humanity "		PAMPHLETS
and Governments of all the Bellig-	cently too, the bourgeois press told	A Stalin's government produing	Patriotism versus Marxism	John Dewey —
erent Nations." Its final words, read	us that "Uncle Joe" sent a pleasant	its plans to haul conquered German	8 - The Stalinists have failed to	Marxian Critique
by Lenin, were:	birthday card to Benes of Czecho-	workers into Russia as slave labor	recognize that the great mass of the	Marxian Critique
" the Provisional Worker's	slovakia with whom (as with Eng-	to pay for the war.	hardpressed Germany army, is com-	Why Communism —
	land) he has negotiated a twenty		posed now of workers pressed into	Statement of facts
sia addresses the conscious work-	year pact pledging assistance in the	Unconditional Surrender	service. Thus the basic strategy of	and the second
ers that these workers, by de-		5-The Stalinists propose annex-	the workers government learned in	Order from Demos Press, Now
cisive, energetic and continued ac-	ism) in Europe.	iation of Eastern Poland and other	1917-19 of terminating an imperialist	
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R. W. L. Holds 7th Convention

In direct contrast to the two capitalist Party conventions was the 7th national convention of the Revolutionary Workers League, held in the middle of July in a midwestern city. The Democratic and Republican Party conventions were held ostensibly for the purpose of "nominating" a President of the United States and endorsing a Party "program." The programs were basically the

rine programs were basically the profit-system at any price, misery same — imperialism, exploitation, for the masses, profiteering for the pluto-crats, domination of the world thru armed might, keeping the wage-slaves at home in line — thru armed might when necessary.

The Convention of the Marxian organization also has a program. It is for the extension of the October Revolution. For the establishment of a society with a system of production for use instead of for profits, with a government of the workingclass, the only class that can or will fight the advent of fascism capitalisms right hand. This convention consisted of elected delegates - workers, who not only nominated a Presidential and vicepresidential candidate to run on a Workers Vote Ticket (see page one for detailed program) but also decided on the political program of the organization. The full report can be read in detail in the August International News.

Role of C.C.F.

(Continued from Page 1) militia, to give up workers occupation of factories, and paved the way by these measures for a Franco victory.

England 1926, the "Labor" Party smashed the great British general strike.

Peoples Frontism

Peoples Frontism in its manifold forms has caused the greatest debacles in modern history. The CCF, like all these other examples, is coming to power because the masses in Canada are opposed to the King government and the repressions of war-time. The masses are becoming aroused; they are beginning to fight back. The election is only a symbol of that resentment.

But the CCF can not and will not aid the workers of Canada. Mr. Douglas the premier elect of Saskatchewan, CCF leader, warned his constituents: "Don't think that we can give you an entire new society" TIME magazine comments that "the truth was that it was not socialism but practical politicians who called themselves socialists that had won in Saskatchewan."

For Imperialist War

The CCF, like its pygmy U. S. counter-parts, stands four square for the imperialist slaughter. It proposes only moderate reforms. It represents no danger whatsoever to entrenched capital in Canada.

In fact under the circumstances it is a blessing which the capitalists no doubt recognize.

WORKERS' VOTE PROGRAM

(Continued from Page 1)

a vote AGAINST capitalism, a vote of challenge to WAR AND IMPER-IALISM, a vote telling the capitalists that you're sick of hunger, war, reaction, regimentation and the incursions of Fascism; that you want and are ready for a Workers Council Government.

The main issue in this campaign is the War. No one who is for the War can be for progress. The imperialist war is the greatest fraud of all times. It is a war for markets and profits, for imperialist aggrandizement, and above all for the continuation of the system of capitalist exploitation all over the world. It is the most reactionary event in all history. Those who support the War support scarcity, hunger, plunder, murder — AND PROFITS. The present War will lead to new ones, will lead to bigger and worse depressions, to more idle men, more idle factories, more idle capital, than any event in all history.

A vote for the Workers Vote Ticket of the R.W.L. is a vote AGAINST BOSS WAR, AGAINST IMPERIALISM!

The candidates of the Revolutionary Workers League pledge that they will fight to end the war by turning the war of the bosses for profits, into a War of the Working Class for Socialism!

In the 1940 elections the candidates of the R.W.L. stated that "America is already in the imperialist war in Europe. This will be followed by the military phase." At that time Roosevelt and Willkie both denied it. Mr. Roosevelt stated: "I tell you mothers and fathers of America again and again and again . . . that your sons will not be sent into foreign wars."

This election they are continuing the lie. This time they are telling us about "peace and prosperity" after the war, about a "quart of milk" for each inhabitant of the globe, about the "security of small nations," about jobs at decent wages. But they lie again, and they know they lie. They are already welching on these promises, permitting hundreds of thousands to die of famine, hunger and destruction. They are lowering instead of raising the standards of living, wherever their imperialist boot marches. Capitalism can not give the masses anything but scarcity, plowing under, longer hours, decreased living standards. Capitalism can not give us anything after this war, except another war and another depression — and a world-wide system of Dictatorship.

In this election the Roosevelt ticket will have an organized machine within the working class to peddle these lies, the Political Action Committee, originally organized by the CIO. The P.A.C. is the forerunner of a national Labor Party sometime in the near future. It is an attempt by the social-patriotic labor fakers and the Stalinists to take the steam out of workers' opposition to the results of "no-strike" and the war. It is an attempt to keep the working class tied to capitalism. It is another form of People's Frontism, and it can only lead to the same dire results: strengthening of reaction and Fascism!

REVOLUTION IN GERMANY

(Continued from Page 1)

Allies as well. The Revolutionary spirit must and will pervade the forces of the Allies. It is one thing to send one imperialist army against another; it is quite a different matter to send even a "victorious" army against a social revolution. The main desire of the Anglo-American soldier today is to "go home." Will he stand up and fight against his Revolutionary comrades in Europe? He refused to do so after the last war. There is a strong possibility he will refuse again.

4—The German Revolution will have its repercussions everywhere. It will bring on not only strike waves in the "democracies," but severe repressions by the bourgeois governments as well.

MARXIAN ANALYSIS POINTS THE COURSE

When in 1939 the Revolutionary Workers League pointed out that this war will bring about Revolution, we were laughed at. We were also laughed at for predicting that Hitlerite Germany would attack the Soviet Union, after the Stalin-Hitler pact (aren't they the same type of government, blood-brothers, we were told). We were particularly laughed at for predicting that Fascism could ever be fought by the workers and peasants. But on July 25, 1943, the Italian workers showed how to overthrow Mussolini — although they haven't as yet been able to consolidate their victory. The German workers are today starting on the same course. History is once again proving that Imperialist War can end only in

Proletarian Revolution, that the road to peace can only be approached by Workers Council Governments.

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A vote by you for the candidates of the Revolutionary Workers League is a pledge that you will fight, with the rest of the working class, to overthrow capitalism, and to organize a Workers Council Government in America. A vote for the Workers Vote ticket is a vote for real peace, permanent peace, for an end to the profit system, and for a system of production for use — for a higher standard of living!

VOTE FOR A WORKING CLASS PROGRAM FIGHT THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM

1—AGAINST THE IMPERIALIST WAR! Expose the role of Wall street in the war, the alliances with Fascists and sem-Fascists in both Europe and Latin America. Expose the profits of the war and the schemes to pauperize Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America in the interests of the Wall Street hierarchy. Expose the counter-revolutionary plans of both the Allied and Axis powers, who are plotting against the Workers Revolution in Europe. For true internationalism. For aid to the oppressed in Asia, Europe and elsewhere to help them overthrow their own tyrants as well as in their efforts to exclude ALL Imperialism.

2—FOR FULL EQUALITY FOR THE NEGRO PEOPLE AND OTHER MINORITIES. Against the Jim-Crow discrimination of Negroes; organize to smash the restrictions forcing Negroes to live in filthy, overcrowded, high-rent Ghettos; fight against the vicious lynching both in the South and in the Army; eliminate Jim-Crow in the Unions; organize Workers Defense Squads of Negroes and whites to stop race riots; for economic, political, and social equality for the Negro people. Smash anti-Semitism and the vicious discrimination against Mexicans, particularly in the Southwest and West. Eliminate the abuses and indignities against Japanese-Americans.

3—FOR DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS OF THE WORKING CLASS. Fight the Roosevelt campaign of regimentation: rationing, wage and job freezing, abolition of the right to strike. For the right to strike, and for strike action (including the sitdown strike) to gain our demands NOW. For the right to picket, including mass picketing and workers defense squads. Abolish the passport system. For the right of soldiers to elect their own officers, to democratically decide on questions affecting their interests, to set up councils of soldiers and workers to assure democracy in the Armed Forces. For trade union wages for veterans out of work and full medical, financial and other aid to rehabilitate themselves and the families.

4-FOR EQUAL RIGHTS AND EQUAL PAY FOR WOMEN. Stop the disgraceful attempts to reduce women to domestic chattels and underpaid wage slaves. For full equality in law and in fact.

5 — FOR IMMEDIATE AND COMPLETE INDEPENDENCE FOR THE COLONIES AND PROTECTORATES NOW UNDER THE UNITED STATES CONTROL. Free the colonies from the influence and domination of any and all imperialist powers and the incipient capitalist class within their own borders, including Porto Rico, Cuba, Virgin Islands, the French colonies in Africa and others.

6—RAISE THE LIVING STANDARDS OF THE MASSES AND OP-POSE AND DEFEAT THE NEXT WAVE OF UNEMPLOYMENT. For the five day week, six hour day, with no reduction in pay from the present 48 hour week. For trade union pay to sick, old, unemployed or disabled workers and soldiers and others, paid for exclusively by taxing the capitalists. For stabilization of wages at the highest rate in the country for any job classification, plus enough to take care of the rise in the cost of living and to advance the living standards. Against all incentive piece work pay or other forms of speed-up or stretch-out.

7—SAVE THE POOR FARMERS AND SHARECROPPERS FROM PAUPERIZATION. Abolish all existing mortgages for the small and middle farmer and the sharecropper; divide the land of the Southern Bourbons among the sharecroppers and tenants who now inhabit them; for a complete moratorium on rents paid to the large landowners; organize the workers on the big bonanza farms and smash the power of the landlord-bank-insurance company capitalists.

8—FOR WORKERS CONTROL OF PRODUCTION FOR USE. The workers must struggle today to better their living conditions and in order to prepare for the greater struggles to come. Only a Workers Council Government, however, can organize production for use and solve the problems of the oppressed.

9 — FOR AID TO THE WORKERS OF ALL NATIONS IN OUR COMMON STRUGGLE TO OVERTHROW WORLD CAPITALISM AND ESTABLISH A WORLD WORKERS COUNCIL SOCIETY! For solidarity with the Soviet Union and help to the revolutionary workers there in the political tasks of removing the Stalinist cancer and re-establishing Workers Democracy.

10 - FOR A WORKERS COUNCIL GOVERNMENT: a government

The CCF is a third capitalist party, which uses Socialist demagogy and reformism, to immobilize the working class. Precisely because of that demagogy it is a greater danger than the old line capitalist Parties.

Need Marxist Party Bourgeois and Social Reformism represents today a major danger to the oppressed of humanity. The reactionary dictators are openly anti-working class, openly brutal. The Fascists are fairly well known. But the reformists, because they speak such honeyed words about a future "socialism," and because they are open agents of a PRESENT CAPITALISM, represent a more insidious danger.

The Labor Party, the Peoples Front, and all other such forms of reformism must be vigorously fought. Only the Social Revolution can gain for humanity peace and plenty; and only a New Revolutionary Marxian Party can give leadership to the exploited and downtrodden.

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BUILD THE MARXIAN PARTY

No matter what anyone says or does, the Proletarian Revolution in Europe is working up its biggest steam. But whether it will march to success depends on the big and most important factor: will the German and European proletariat be able to build a Marxian Party in this period. Undoubtedly many Revolutionary Marxian nuclei will attempt to come up from underground. We will not be surprised to find many forces close to Marxism that have been functioning illegally for years. Upon their ability to build this new Internationalist Party, the New Communist Fourth International, will depend the fate of the European Proletarian Revolution.

In this historic hour, the Revolutionary Workers League sends greetings to our comrades in Germany, the comrades of the Red Front of Greater Germany, and the comrades of the Revolutionary Communists of Germany (R.K.D.). Despite all the hardships, murders, repressions and illegallity these organizations have continued to exist. At the outset of the war they jointly signed the International Contact Commission programmatic document with the R.W.L. and the Leninist League of Great Britain; pledged to a struggle against the Imperialist War and for a Proletarian Dictatorship. They wrote us at the time that the possibilities of growth of the Marxian forces in Europe were much better than in the United States, despite all the hardships. And to that growth and to the building of a new Marxian Party, these comrade have devoted themselves throughout these years.

In the most literal sense, this can be the beginning of the end of World Capitalism. The building of the Marxian Party is decisive.

LONG LIVE THE GERMAN SOCIAL REVOLUTION!

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that will take back from the capitalist slave-drivers the means of production and will socialize industry; a government against the exploiters in order to insure democracy for the working class. The new government will carry on production for use instead of for profit, will organize production on a higher level in order to assure abundance for all, instead of starvation amidst plenty, to insure the elimination of poverty, unemployment and imperialist war. The workers in the United States must establish a Workers State that will cooperate with the workers of the whole world, including especially the revolutionary workers within the Soviet Union, and to lay the basis for a World Communist Society by giving material support to the revolutionary movement throughout the world.

The Workers Council Government — the Dictatorship of the Proletariat — can be obtained only by the independent action of the working class, both in the economic and political spheres, only under the guidance of a new Party of the Working Class, completely independent of all other parties, an International Party, the New Communist (4th) International.

A vote for the Workers Vote Candidates is a vote for a Workin Class Program!

Write in the names of:

C. B. COWAN, for President

ALLEN WILLIS, for Vice-President.

FIGHT FASCISM BY FIGHTING CAPITALISM!