

The Fighting Worker

Workers of
The World
Unite!

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4 GROUPS IN WARD CASE

The Montgomery Ward case has become a national "cause celebre." Four distinct groups are using the issue for their own purposes.

1—Sewell Avery, of the house of Morgan, of Armours, U. S. Steel, Pullman-Standard, U. S. Gypsum, and many many others, is fighting the battle of the National Association of Manufacturers and right wing capitalist groups to bring back the open shop to America, and reduce the Union movement to shreds. At the same time, Avery is using the fight as a club against a political opponent, the Roosevelt regime and its group of capitalists, who are for "softer" methods.

2—The Roosevelt government, — which is trying desperately to keep civil peace in America and which is defending itself against attack by political opponents and class enemies. FDR is in favor of lukewarm class-collaboration Unions, and depends on them for most of his mass support. While he too favors lowered standards of living, etc., he nevertheless feels that workers will be best disciplined from within their own ranks by their labor fakers, such as Murray and Green, who are keeping them tied to the war chariot.

3—The leadership of the International Union involved in the fight,— the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Employees. While this leadership is considered somewhat "left" within the CIO, because it supports a capitalist Labor Party, it is nevertheless just as social-patriotic as the rest of the CIO Union

leaderships, and despite all of Roosevelt's cutting blows at the Labor Movement, the Wolchok-Levy leadership continues to give him full support. During the period when Roosevelt seized the Ward plant, Wolchok sent out notices to all Locals asking them to send wires to the White House "commending him (FDR) on his prompt action." But after Roosevelt gave up the plant, Wolchok had to send a wire to Washington condemning the act. Meanwhile he filled the workers with illusions that they could expect something from capitalist politicians, and he played up the whole seizure as a victory.

4—The rank and file of the Union — which went out on strike because it was sick of the tyranny in the plant, angered at the unsettled grievances and unable to live on the low wages. The rank and file saw in the strike a FIRST step toward higher wages. (Unlike the International which is interested 90% in the check-off and only 10% in other things). From now on in, the paths of the rank and file and that of the Roosevelt-supporting International are bound to clash. The militant picketers will want to know about wage increases, about settling grievances. Such things can be gained only by a militant fight — probably on the picket line again — against Ward's and the War Labor Board.

The rank and file should consolidate itself now into a solid progressive force to fight that battle.

Strike Wave Growing; Workers Want Action

With 10,000 Chrysler workers defying their own UAW-CIO leaders; with 15,000 Detroit foremen still uneasy because of the tactics of the War Labor Board and National Labor Relations Board; with 5,000 lumbermen in the Puget Sound area out on strike in protest against the WLB refusal to grant a wage increase; with 1,300 or so lumbermill hands out on strike in the Portland Oregon mills; and with numerous strikes and "quickies" popping all over the country despite the appeals of the top Union officialdom, the WLB and the Social Patriots, the U. S. seems to be entering a new strike wave.

The offensive seems to rest not only with rank and file action in isolated plants, but with the employers throughout the country. The WLB and NLRB have recently made a number of decisions which show this offensive in all its light. The Ward decision of the WLB which grants an employer an election every time a contract is renewed is a threat to the whole organized labor movement. By taking the cases to court, by stalling, and by going through the long redtape of the NLRB, employers can now avoid collective bargaining for months, if not years.

The American Brake case, likewise curtails the rights of the working man. Employees who go out on strike, the NLRB has ruled, are outside of the pale of the Wagner Act protection. The NLRB has thus authorized employers to fire workers for Union activity.

Grievances and Grievances

But over and above all this there are the thousands of grievances that are piling up and remaining unanswered. Employers just disregard the grievance and negotiation machinery of the Unions in the assured knowledge that without the right to strike the working class can gain no redress.

Workers are striking today for what appears in many cases to be just superficial reasons. In Detroit thousands are on strike because 16 workers were fired when they allegedly interfered with AFL teamsters in the Pepsi Cola dispute. In Chicago a group of 150 workers, mindful of the impossibility of grievance procedure, staged a departmental sitdown because a superintendent threatened to fire someone. Minor grievances seem to inflame the workers. In reality, however, it is an expression of their general opposition to the pushing around they're getting from the government.

W.L.B. In Disrepute

At the recent Steel workers convention it took all of Murray's eloquence and all the pressure of the machine to stop the Union delegates from rescinding the no-strike pledge. In the Rubber Workers Union, an Akron Local expelled the International President, Dalrymple, as a strike-breaker. At the coming convention of this Union in September the chances are very strong that the no-strike pledge will be rescinded.

Unless the Roosevelt government props the War Labor Board up with FORCE — and that seems to be what's coming — the WLB seems to be on its last legs. The foremen

"Second" Front Can't End War

May 13, 1944 — All signs point to the imminence of the much talked of "Second" front. Many sincere people are looking forward to this military venture as the closing chapter of the second imperialist bloodbath.

But will it really end the war?

The German armies are still formidable, and well-trained in defensive maneuvers. There is a possibility, of course, that they may give a better account of themselves than the allied press anticipates. But let us assume that the German armies are completely smashed in the next few months.

Then what? Will the war end? Can it end? Let us even assume that Japan too sues for peace at the end of the European campaign. Will THAT end the war?

Unfortunately not. The present war — all wars under capitalism — can be ended only by Revolution, Proletarian Revolution. The first war was not ended on the military field. It ended because of the Revolution in Russia and the 1918 Revolution in Germany, starting with the mutiny of the sailors at Kiel. Not a single inch of German territory was invaded when Kaiser Wilhelm asked for an armistice. A whole wave of Revolutions followed these events, Finland, Bulgaria, Hungary, etc. etc.

The gigantic military struggle about to begin will also unleash numerous Revolutions. The armies of the imperialists (on both sides) will attempt and have already attempted to quash these proletarian movements. But the Revolutionary tidal wave will have its disintegrative effects within the "victorious" armies as well. Workers of one country can be forced to fight fellow workers of another country on a regular battlefield; but Revolutions are another matter. They are contagious. They lead to fraternization and mutual aid.

There is also the Soviet Union and its Red Army. The Red Army, despite Stalin, will also react to the imminent Revolutions now seething beneath the surface of events in Europe. The struggle between Capitalism and the Workers State (now degenerated under Stalin), which has been interrupted since 1921, must inevitably be resumed in the near future — particularly as the Revolutions in Europe flare up.

"Victory" in the present war is only a prelude to a world-wide Counter-Revolution against the maturing Proletarian Revolution on all continents. In the first war, the period lasted from 1917 to 1924; it took world capitalism just 7 years to regain even a semblance of stability, to smash enough Workers' Rebellions to begin to temporarily breathe easy again. The crescendo of Revolution during this War (please note, DURING) will be even greater.

That in itself — the struggle against Revolution (including the Soviet Union) on the part of the allied and axis imperialists both — will take up years of military battles. But even if we were to assume that this struggle will be shortlived or that the Allied imperialists will win, there still remains the UNFINISHED BUSINESS OF THIS WAR. Everyone recalls the "small" wars after the first one, such as between Greece and Turkey, etc.

Even assuming a military victory over Germany and Japan, other imperialist conflicts will still remain to be resolved. There is the titanic struggle for markets and spheres of influence between the U. S. and Britain — which from an economic point of view is even greater than the conflict between America and Germany. That needs to be "resolved." Can it be resolved at the diplomatic table? Possibly, but only for a short time.

There is the conflict with other major powers — defeated nations like France and Italy. There is the enormous job of "policing" — permanent warfare, in other words, to ensure world control by the victorious imperialist bloc.

No, so long as Capitalism exists THERE CAN BE NO PEACE — "second" front or no. And the wars must come with shorter and shorter intervals between them and with greater and greater ferocity. So long as the profit motive exists there MUST CONTINUE not only the wars between classes, between the workers and capitalists, but the wars of the oppressed colonial peoples against their oppressing nations, and the wars of the big powers amongst themselves.

Only the destruction of Capitalism can end wars forever. Only the Proletarian Revolution against the evils of the Profit System, can bring Peace to Humanity. The "second" front, far from bringing that type of peace, is aimed PRIMARILY at trying to smash the impending Revolutions on the European continent and thus keep the proletariat and peasantry tied to the coattails of the hunger system for a while longer. Workers of the world have only one front to fight on — the front of the working class against their capitalist masters everywhere.

in Detroit could have damaged the reactionary WLB irreparably if they had continued their strike a few more weeks. It took all the hip-hip-hooray of General Arnold, who practically accused them of working with Hitler, to get them back to work.

A showdown is coming in the U.S. Each strike wave or wavelet strengthens the will of the workers. Disillusionment is rampant. The American bourgeoisie must in the near future either adopt a system of more open decree rule (such as the Bevin decrees in Britain) or face a gigantic strike wave. Mr.

Roosevelt is under pressure from the right and the rank and file of the left (working class).

The present strike wave, like all the rest, shows that the working class can expect nothing from their own leadership. The time has come when even talk of rescinding the no-strike pledge is passé. The working class should re-inscribe on its banner the cry of Labor: FOR STRIKE ACTION TO GAIN OUR DEMANDS. We, the workers, never gave up the Right to Strike. We should continue to fight for our rights in the only way that brings

THE MARXIAN POSITION

But we are not giving up our

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Quotes on a "Labor" Party

When an organization makes a 180 degree turn in matters of principle it prefers to forget what it said yesterday on the subject. For to recall such material may prove very embarrassing indeed.

This is especially true of both factions of the Trotskyites, who have essentially the same position on the Labor Party.

The March 1935, issues of the "New International", the theoretical organ of the then existing Workers Party carried an article (supported by all factions within the organization, the Cannon majority, the Schachtman group, and the Left-Wing, now the Revolutionary Workers League), called "The Problem of the Labor Party". We take quotes from this article and compare them with recent utterances of the Cannon Socialist Workers Party and the Schachtman Workers Party.

CANNON SAYS . . .

In the August 1934 issue of the "Fourth International" Cannon writes, "The enormous disproportion between the rate of growth of this mass movement of millions" in the CIO "and that of the vanguard party, showed that we could no longer hope for our party to be the medium for the first expression of political independent action by the mass of workers."

But in 1935 he supported a position which said, "What was clearly revealed more than ten years ago," (the Stalinist support of the Labor Party during 1922-25) "gives no reason for pessimism. It was not proved that the working class and even the farmers must inevitably fall under the influence of petty bourgeois demagogues, of Third partyism in the struggle for hegemony between the latter and the revolutionary Marxists. Not at all! What was proved is that in the battle between the revolutionary party and the third capitalist party for the support of the masses who

are breaking away from the old bourgeois parties slogan of the "Labor" party — or even the slogan of the "mass, class Labor party" (whatever that is) — does not possess sufficient class vitality or distinction from the Third party to make it possible to wean the masses away from the latter by means of it. That vitally important task can only be accomplished under the banner and on the fighting program of the revolutionary proletarian party."

SCHACHTMAN SAYS . . .

Schachtman on December 27, 1943, in "Labor Action" says, "The organization of a Labor Party by the powerful trade union movement would be an immense step forward by the American working class — its declaration of political independence, its most important proclamation hitherto of its separation from capitalist politics and capitalist political parties."

But, says Schachtman in 1935, "There is no room in the present conditions of the class struggle for the stable, unartificial existence of a "class Labor" party (to say nothing of the fantastic two-class Farmer-Labor party which is distinct from a third capitalist party as well as from the revolutionary party of the proletariat. The only genuine labor party is the party of revolutionary Marxism. Past experience in this country — not to mention the experience in other lands! — shows that the evolution of the British Labour party, namely, its degeneration from a great progressive force which separated the proletariat from the bourgeoisie to a reactionary obstacle to progress which ties the proletariat to the bourgeoisie, is accomplished in the United States under conditions of capitalist decline in a far more telescoped period of time."

THE MARXIAN POSITION

But we are not giving up our

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"Ally" Quells Greek Mutiny

May 8, 1944 — The irrepressible Revolution in Europe continues to simmer. Latest addition to the list of mutinies, revolts, strikes, is the far-reaching mutiny of the Greek Navy in Alexandria.

On April 6th sailors of the fleet put their officers ashore and patrolled the decks of their battle-wagons with Tommy guns. Time magazine records that "they refused to sail until the government of Tsouderos had been replaced by one that gave more representation to EAM (reputedly Stalinist-controlled).

But this is obviously not the whole reason for the mutiny. Because two weeks later Tsouderos resigned in favor of Venizelos, but the mutiny continued. The press then reported that the mutiny was put down by the British Navy and the ringleaders arrested; some killed by the machine guns of their "Allies."

But on May 6th the liberal writer, Mowrer, stated in the Chicago Daily News that all news from Egypt on the Greek revolt is heavily censored and the official reports should not be believed, that the mutiny still continues and has reached alarming proportions, and that there is a distinct danger of civil war in Greece.

The situation is so tense that the Greek government-in-exile, with the blessings of British imperialism, has now adopted a new premier named Papandreou, and is hinting quite broadly that it is willing to sacrifice the Greek King George if necessary. George is the epitome of Britain's idea of "democracy." In 1936 when he found that no one in the nation supported him he fastened the vicious Hitler-like dictatorship of Metaxas on the Greek people. It was this "democratic" regime that British imperialism has been supporting all along.

Now that the masses are in revolt, however, Britain is willing to make a few concessions to mock "democracy" in order to calm the

storm before imposing a new "Metaxas."

For a Soviet Greece

There can be little doubt that the aims of the mutineers, as well as the aims of the Greek guerilla fighters are not well-defined. The rank and file are undoubtedly motivated by a sincere desire to smash Fascism and military-dictatorship. Their grievances undoubtedly run deeper than the mere demand for the removal of a bourgeois premier. The experience of British guns putting down a Greek mutiny will certainly help disillusion those few remaining Greek workers and peasants who had any hope that the Allied imperialists were any better than the Axis imperialists.

Despite all the censorship, despite all the sugar-coating of the bourgeois press, the Greek mutiny assumes enormous proportions in the big game of War and Revolution now being played on the European continent. This was one mutiny that was too difficult to completely censor out of the news. But undoubtedly there are dozens and dozens of mutinies in all bourgeois armies. As the tempo of mass murder increases this spring, the tempo of revolt and Revolution will likewise increase.

Whether or not they understand the full implications of their actions, the Greek sailors have struck a blow for Freedom, for ending the war, for establishing a Socialist order of peace and plenty. Given a Marxian Party with its clear cut goals and perspectives, struggles such as these will lead to real victories of the masses of the world.

ALL AID TO THE GREEK WORKERS AND SAILORS!

KEEP IMPERIALIST HANDS OFF THE GROWING GREEK REVOLUTION!

FOR A SOVIET GREECE AND A UNITED SOCIALIST SOVIET STATES OF EUROPE!

Workers Act

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results — by independent working class action.

To Smash Fascism

Despite all the words of General Arnold about sabotage; independent working class action will be a greater blow to Fascism, both abroad and at home, than anything that can be done in any other arena.

Capitalism has proven for the past 25 years that it is willing to work with and will prop up fascism as a method of rule so long as it does not interfere with the profits and expansion of the so-called democratic capitalists. To smash fascism the capitalist system which breeds it must be overthrown. That is the job that lies ahead for the working class.

"Labor" Party

(Continued from page 1)

party, answers Cannon, in the article mentioned above. We help organize the Labor party "to work within it in order to influence its development in a revolutionary direction and, at the same time, build the Trotskyist Party."

The 1935 article gives a resounding denunciation to this policy.

"... it is not the business of the revolutionary Marxists, above all in the present stage of the relationship between capitalist disintegration and social reformism, to initiate or to help organize and found in addition to their own party another party for the "second class citizens", for the "backward workers", a "Labor" party, i.e., a third capitalist party, even if composed predominantly of workers." (Italics in the original.)

A Labor party, even an "Independent" Labor Party (independent of class struggle action), can be ONLY a third capitalist party. Its purpose is to direct the energy of the working class into pro-capitalist channels. It ties the working masses to capitalism; in war-time this means to the Imperialist war machine.

WE SAY . . .

The Revolutionary Workers League supported then and supports now the statements made in the 1935 article. We conclude with a final quote from that document.

"The Labor Party is not an abstraction; it must be considered concretely. Assuming that it is formed in the United States (and its creation is by no means a foreordained certainty, an inevitable stage the American workers must experience before they can think of revolutionary struggle!), it is more likely than not it will take shape as a directly anti-revolutionary (ergo, anti-progressive) party. With a stormy forward march of the American masses, in the course of which they may skip "stages" with even greater ease than their Russian brothers, the petty bourgeois reformers plus the socialist and trade union bureaucracy might conceivably form a "Labor" party for the express purpose of thwarting the progress of the working class. These pseudo-revolutionaries . . . undoubtedly have some 'exceptional' surprises in store for them."

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-- Workers of the World --

INTERNATIONAL MAYDAY

Mayday, day of international solidarity and of celebration of the workers of all countries took some peculiar forms this year under the misleadership of the social patriots.

In this country, instead of being out in the streets to demonstrate their will to fight the boss, the workers were asked by the labor fakers to work doubly hard.

In London, North Africa and Italy, Mayday was "celebrated" one day ahead of time so as not to lose any working hours. And the workers who gathered at these meetings heard the leaders of "their" organizations tell them that they (the workers) were pledging their full help not to the class war, but to the imperialist war.

While keeping the workers from striking in their own territory, the Allied authorities were playing with fire, in calling upon the workers inside France to strike for one hour on Mayday. The Vichy government, following the example of the German Fascist, declared May 1st a paid holiday, for fear that the workers militancy in a strike might get out of control.

In the Soviet Union, work was not interrupted for Mayday. There was no demonstration of international solidarity, not even the traditional parade. Instead the day was dedicated to culture. The officials declared a Charlie Chaplin festival, with a gala showing of the "Gold Rush." Said Solomon Mikhoels, director of the Jewish Art theater: "Who are these . . . mercenary tricksters of the Hearst and McCormick tabloid press . . . who started slinging mud . . . morally to discredit Chaplin's name, so as to weaken the force of his ideology? . . . Trotskyites?"

The newest Mayday slogan of the Stalinists seems to be: workers arise to defend the threatened honor of Charlie Chaplin.

In a small open air demonstration at Newberry Square in Chicago, the R. W. L. celebrated May Day in the old traditional manner this year. Despite a sharp breeze and threatening rain a fair sized audience listened attentively to May Day speeches by League members. Contrary to past years, the soldiers and sailors present did not heckle or attempt to disrupt. At the end of 2½ hours of talks the League convened an indoor meeting in a North side hall.

Comrades of the I. W. W. were present to help defend the meeting and distributed their own literature, but refused to participate as active speakers.

FREE FRENCH STALINISTS

Louis Marin, longtime representative of the extreme right in France, at his recent arrival in London stated that all French parties are united behind the French Committee. When Marin speaks of all parties, he does not see any further to the Left than the Stalinists. And with these he may well unite.

These are some statements by leading Stalinists in Algiers. Francois Billoux, French Committee Minister without port-folio pledged his party to cooperation with all other parties, no matter how Right (excluding Fascists however). "We do not want a civil war. We fear that a civil war might completely destroy France. We could not build Communism on a ruin." And Fernand Grenier, the French Committee's Commissioner for Air, speaking against political purging, (and the quotation well explains why he cannot afford to let anyone be judged on his political past) "In the pre-war and early war period many of us were Communists first, Frenchmen second. Now we are French-

men first and Communists second." The first part of that phrase is a false statement.

Louis Marin knows that there is no danger for him or any capitalist in collaborating with people who claim to be Communists second, because those people are no Communists.

LONDON BUS STRIKE

1,300 bus drivers and conductors gave the British government and the so-called labor representatives in it the only adequate answer to the measure just adopted, which makes it illegal for workers to walk out, unless a union sponsors the strike—in other words, unless the labor fakers who are very anxious to safeguard the bosses' profits, give their O.K. These bus drivers went on strike in complete defiance of this new anti-labor law.

Reliance on courts and the government will get them nowhere, as illustrated by these figures: Up to Feb. 29, 1944, 127 employers and 23,517 workers have been prosecuted in England for offenses against the war industrial code. No employers went to prison, but 1,807 workers did.

ITALY, FOOD RATIONS AND POLITICS

Newspaper reporters are distressed by the lack of what they call interest in politics manifested by the Italian masses. And they are right if they mean that the Italian masses have little or no interest in the faked change of government effected by Badoglio, — the so-called democratization.

But here are some facts in which the Italian masses are highly interested. These were the rations in Naples in April: Bread 7 ounces daily; sugar, 9 ounces a month; olive oil, one-fifth of a quart; dried peas and beans, 14 ounces; soup, 9 ounces; soap, 4 ounces; tinned meat and vegetables, 14 ounces. These rations figured on a daily basis would represent one-quarter of what an average American eats in one meal.

The Italian masses are interested in politics, but in politics that spell an end to starvation, an end to exploitation, an end to dictatorship, Fascist or Allied.

REVOLT IN EL SALVADOR

Latin America still resents Yankee Imperialism — from all indications. In El Salvador last month 53 people were killed during a revolutionary uprising and some 25 others were shot by the firing squad. Although President Martinez suppressed the revolt, a general strike protesting the government's action finally forced him to resign his post.

Martinez, like all president of all central American republics is another puppet for the United States, and its big fruit and shipping companies. The fact that the masses in this small country strike is an indication that their resentment stretches to their economic plight, which is completely dominated by Wall Street.

The "good neighbor" policy means starvation for the impoverished peoples to the South, and enlarged profits for the Wall Street crowd.

Revolt is the right of a slave. The Latin American workers and peasants deserve the full and tireless support of we workers in the United States in their fight for economic freedom and independence. We and they together have a common mission, in order to rid the world of imperialist wars, unemployment, and starvation — the establishment of the United Socialist Soviet States of America.

Gandhi Freed to Die in "Peace"

NOTHING ELSE CHANGES

Those great apostles of democracy, the British imperialists, have released Mohandas Gandhi after detaining him for 22 months without any charges, trial, or other "democratic" nicety. Probably the conscience of The City was considerably disturbed. Having released the Fascist, Mosley, because of "ill health," they evidently saw fit to release the liberal pacifist Gandhi; particularly since Mr. Gandhi is on the verge of death anyway, according to his son.

While Gandhi was incarcerated, a few million British Indians were being starved to death. Strikes, revolts and sabotage hit high peaks. Yet the British kept him under lock and key, despite his pacifism. It is a sad commentary on British imperialism that it had to keep such a lukewarm figure locked up. It shows how little of a base Britain has in India, how much it is held in disrepute.

Thousands Still Imprisoned

With Gandhi there were thousands of others locked up. Outside of Nehru, the other outstanding Indian Congress leader, the rest of the nationalists were thrown into ordinary jails. And what is more, they are still there. Even Nehru, friend of American capitalism, is still locked up.

The release of Gandhi is thus just a cheap maneuver. His death while imprisoned would have a shattering effect on "law and order" in India. Either way, however, it is quite evident that nothing has been done to change the brutal dictatorial poli-

cies of the Empire.

Road to Independence

The workers and peasants of India have won a minor victory in the release of Gandhi. But they can not win any real victory so long as they support the nationalist leaders or either British or American capitalism, which controls most of them. Imperialism has outlived the day when it could grant any reforms to the colonial masses except under the greatest compulsion. The Indian masses can not gain any independence merely by throwing off the shackles of Britain. They will then only become a source of tribute to another imperialist power.

The Indian workers and peasants can gain independence — real independence — only through establishing a Soviet Republic. In alliance with the British working class, the Indian masses must and will eventually rise up against ALL imperialism, against the native Indian capitalists and agents of imperialism, and set up a Socialist order.

The release of Gandhi must not be a damper on that goal. Britain must now be forced to release ALL class war prisoners and to grant democratic rights. But Britain will not do these things merely because of petitions or noble implorations. The British Lion will yield ground only as the masses take to action on the streets, in the factories, and in the villages.

FOR WORKERS, PEASANTS AND SOLDIERS COUNCILS IN INDIA!

**LAND TO THE PEASANTS!
FOR A SOVIET INDIA!**

THE FIGHTING WORKER

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New Cloak for Imperialism

Plans for the redivision of Europe are evidently far advanced. Pacts have been recently signed between England and the U. S., on the one hand, and Belgium and Holland on the other, as to how the present German-occupied countries are to be administered once the "second front" armies reach the shores of those countries. Another pact was signed between Britain, Russia, U. S. and Norway. The military commander will be in charge until such time as he sees fit to turn things over to civilian authorities. At that time he will turn matters over to the governments-in-exile.

While the military commander is in charge of an area he will undoubtedly begin a "reconstruction" program that involves American and British capital; he will undoubtedly take economic measures to secure the European property for the bankers of Wall Street and The City. He will also introduce fiat money and various military regulations over the civilian population. So long as there is even a remote danger of bombing or Revolution the military commanders can claim that the area shall be under military supervision.

One way or another, however, the armies of America and Britain will be close enough at all times to force any and all concessions they desire out of the small nations of Europe.

It is certainly revealing that the Allies intend to place in power the various "governments-in-exile" who haven't been put before the people of Holland, Belgium and Norway for a vote in 4 years. If the talk of self-determination contained any sincerity the peoples of Europe would be given an opportunity immediately after "liberation" (read: occupation) to vote for their own rulers, instead of being forced to accept the discredited exiles.

But imperialists have no intention of granting independence and freedom to the oppressed. Mr. Churchill has already made it clear that the Atlantic Charter — no carving up of old countries — does not apply to DEFEATED nations. If it does not apply to defeated nations, it obviously does not apply to anyone. Victorious powers are not in the habit of carving up and giving away their own territory, as Mr. Churchill must certainly know. The Allies are thus prepared to enact the 1918 drama all over again — only this time the Big Powers (U. S. and Britain) will get more of the loot than in 1914, and now they intend to police and hold it more firmly.

Self-determination is impossible under capitalism. The peoples of Europe will have an opportunity to vote on their own destiny only AFTER the workers and peasants have established a Union of Socialist Soviet Republics of Europe. Only the proletariat can end the ceaseless carving up and redivisions of the earth.

Ward "Seizure" Aid to WLB

Did the seizure of the Ward plant by Roosevelt do the working class any good?

Many labor "leaders" applauded this "courageous" step. But what is the total effect of the seizure?

Mr. Roosevelt has served notice on all and sundry that the anti-Labor War Labor Board and its Little Steel formula will be backed up to the limit. The challenge to the Board today comes from a right-wing capitalist — who is acting as a spearhead for the capitalist class offensive against the Union movement. But basically the WLB actually serves the long term interests of the capitalist class. It keeps the workers tied to the war; it dissipates completely their bargaining power and permits the capitalists to pay far lower wages than if the Unions had retained their right to strike.

Basically only the working class is in opposition to the War Labor Board. The steel workers are asking for a 17c per hour increase. The WLB (and Roosevelt) are telling them they can't get it because prices and wages are now "stabilized." Sooner or later the rank and file of steel will have to come to an open showdown with the WLB. The same is true of the auto workers and all other workers.

Isn't it clear that Mr. Roosevelt has — in the Ward case — laid down a precedent for taking action against the Unions? Isn't it clear that the only victor from that action is the reactionary War Labor Board? If it is OK to toss Sewell Avery out of a plant because he defies the WLB then tomorrow it will be OK to use troops and other force against the rank and file of the steel workers who defy the WLB frozen-wage policy. Mr. Roosevelt will then go to the workers and say, you supported me when I took a pot shot at Avery for defying the WLB, what's wrong with my doing the same thing against you now since you too are guilty of the same "crime."

Not only didn't the "seizure" help the Montgomery Ward workers, but it was a vicious blow against the Labor Movement as a whole — even though some of labor's leaders don't realize it as yet. It strengthened a reactionary instrument of the war government, the WLB, and it acted as a precursor of stern action (like Bevin's present anti-strike law in Britain) against the working class as a whole whenever it fights back.

"Stabilization Fund"

Legal Robbery of Small Nations

Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau has announced an agreement by 34 United Nations on stabilizing postwar monetary exchange. These people who believe that imperialism is dead, or that after the war the small nations will "decide their own destiny," should read this plan very carefully. It is IMPERIALISM OF THE 1944 VINTAGE, brought completely up to date with all the trimmings; the smoothest, most efficient and thoroughgoing method of despoiling and robbing the peoples of the small nations yet devised by the capitalist system.

Here's how the thing works:

An 8 billion dollar "stabilization" (it should be called robbery) fund will be set up by all the nations. Each country will be given quotas. America, for instance, will put up 2½ billion dollars; Britain 1¼ billions; Russia, 1 billion; China 600 million; and so on. They won't actually have to put up that much gold. The amount of metal put up will be either 25% of their quota or 10% of the amount of gold in their gold reserve, whichever is smaller. But they will have to guarantee the full quota.

The fund will be used to keep all currencies stable — that's what they say it will do. No country will be permitted to devalue or change the value of its currency without permission of the Fund committee. No country will be permitted to devalue more than 10% in any case.

The Fund Committee will be composed of representatives from the countries with the five biggest quotas, and the United States will have a virtual veto power over anything that comes up, according to the present plan. The committee could "recommend" measures such as tariff reduction to bring a nation out of the hole.

The Gold and the Guns

To the layman all of this sounds very complicated. But when you boil it down to simple terms it means just this: instead of small and weak nations being able to take monetary measures against the powerful "have" nations, the "stabilization" fund will see to it that these weak nations go increasingly into debt to the stabilization fund and come under the economic control of the big powers in an "orderly" way. When you recall that the Big Powers are also going to have their INTERNATIONAL POLICE FORCE, you get a clear picture of what is happening.

The Big Powers are to become the bankers of the world — with the United States holding the big edge. They're going to see to it that the lesser powers knuckle down to their control. And if anyone doesn't like it, they can talk to the International Police Force, which will also be controlled by the same powers.

Economic Weapons

Before the present war, the have-not nations had some means of fighting back. For instance, Italy was not able to compete with American goods. She couldn't produce autos as cheaply as Henry Ford. Ford could send his cars to Italy, and despite the transportation charges, could still undersell his Italian competitors. The only recourse Italy had, in order to keep its Gold within Italy and to keep its own industry running, was to set quotas on American cars, (this kept American cars out and permitted Italian cars a market in Italy), quotas on American wheat, etc. In addition to that, Italy could devalue its currency. The lira, instead of being 5 or 10 to a dollar was devalued to 50 or 100 to a dollar. (These are approximate figures to illustrate the point). Such a devaluation would make it profitable for Americans now to buy goods in Italy. For their dollar they could get ten times as many lira as previously, and since the Italian internal economy was strictly controlled, the cost of production within Italy did not rise anywhere near as rapidly as the devaluation.

Germany, Japan, Britain, France, even the United States,

used such economic measures to fight each other. Britain had its Empire Bloc whereby tariffs were practically eliminated between the Dominions and the Mother Country, while goods from outside-the-Empire countries had to pay stiff tariffs and meet certain quotas. Germany had its "aski" Mark barter system. The U. S. had its trade treaties and "favored-nation" clauses. France devalued its currency (all nations did in the last 25 years) to only a small fraction of what it used to be.

Thus the eternal struggle between the capitalist powers went on in the usual anarchistic manner. It led eventually to the present war.

Now, the American and British imperialists, are trying to CONTROL international finance just as they control internal finance within their own countries. They are trying to see to it that the small powers can NOT take the same kind of counter measures they used to take before this war. As the bankers of the world, the Big Powers, and particularly the U. S., will control the finances and economy of the rest of the world. They will be able to force nations like Argentina to produce more wheat and less corn, more farm goods and less industrial goods, or vice versa. Or else, with the Stabilization Fund, they will bankrupt them. They will have what they hope will be an "orderly" imperialist aggrandizement.

But will they? Will the new system be any better than the old? Will it eliminate conflicts?

Bigger Blocs, Bigger Battles

Even if you assume, as Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill are assuming, that the Proletarian Revolution will be defeated in the next 5 or 6 years (and history will show that the two gentlemen are quite wrong) — even if you assume that, it merely means that the struggle between the imperialists will now take on NEW forms. It will no longer be one nation against another. BLOCS of nations, FEDERATIONS OF STATES, will now develop to compete and fight against each other.

Great Britain is already preparing its solid bloc. Holland, Belgium and the Dominions are to be included in a British Federation. John Bull hopes to add more powers. America is trying to solidify a bloc of nations, with the Latin American powers, as the base of it, but with China and large segments of Asia as a part of it. Japan, Germany, Italy, France, and all other powers will become part (assuming they remain "have-nots") of these blocs or may be able to form other blocs and alliances of their own.

Thus, instead of a conflict between 70 or 80 "autonomous" powers, the imperialist struggle will boil down to a battle between 3 or 4 BLOCS. The battle will take place WITHIN the Stabilization Fund Committee. It will take place WITHIN the International Police Force Committee. Sooner or later (but probably sooner) we will witness what happened to the League of Nations. Some of the powers will withdraw and start a mad armaments race. The tightly squeezed losing powers will be forced to take action in their own defense. The Third World Imperialist Carnage will then finish off what the economic struggle within the Stabilization Fund Committee started.

Peace and Plenty

There can be no peace or plenty under capitalism. There can be no stabilization or order so long as we have the profit motive. "New" plans may be brought forth, but they only are additions and streamlining of the old imperialist plans. Stabilization and peace are possible only under a Socialist Society, only when production is for use rather than for profit.

The fine words of Mr. Morgenthau are merely a cloak for imperialist ventures. The working class must tear the mask from them.

The Newest Line of American Stalinism

Not for many years has the labor movement been confronted with such a brazen hash of social-patriotism, stool-pigeoning, "scientific socialism," support of imperialism, and denouncement of all working class principles as has emerged from the national convention of the American Communist Party.

First, Leontiev, writes a theoretical article presenting the theory of gradualism as the road to "scientific socialism" (See spring issue of "Science and Society" for the translation from the Russian) and then quick to take the hint the late but not lamented ACP springs to action.

The convention formally disbanded the ACP and set up the Communist(?) Political Association with the avowed aim of re-electing Roosevelt.

According to the preamble of the newly adopted constitution the Association "adheres to the principles of scientific socialism, Marxism, the heritage of the best thought of humanity and of 100 years' experience in the labor movement." And without the grace to blush it also in the same breath "upholds the Declaration of Independence, the U. S. Constitution" (based on the right of private property) "and the Bill of Rights" . . . The constitution orders expulsion of any member for "adherence to or participation in which the activities of any clique, group, circle, faction or party which conspires to or acts to subvert, undermine, weaken or overthrow any or all institutions of American democracy"

. . . however any one may join "regardless of political affiliation."

According to this concept any right wing capitalist is eligible to join, but any worker who joins a Union, goes on strike, protests Jim-Crow, fights against the Poll Tax, organizes in defense against police brutality or the inquisition of the Dies Committee, demands equal pay for equal work, or fights to add to, or even to maintain the hard fought for democratic rights such as do exist — that worker is "weakening any or all institutions of American Democracy."

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

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Lessons of the Montgomery Ward Case

May 11, 1944 — If the Montgomery Ward case proves anything it proves that workers get nothing from Franklin D. Roosevelt and his capitalist government.

Five thousand workers at Ward's, represented by Local 20, CIO, had to beg for months before the War Labor Board finally decided to "order" the Company to renew a contract with the Union. Meanwhile many workers were fired and hundreds had their pay cut. The Board took the word of Sewell Avery, Ward Chairman, that there was some doubt as to whether the Union represented the employees or not. It ordered that a Labor Relations Board election take place.

But even though the Union agreed to the ejection, the Board did nothing to enforce its own order that Avery renew the contract with the employees. When Leonard Levy, executive Vice President of the International Union, asked the War Labor Board what they would do to get Avery to recognize the Union, he was informed that they would do nothing "under the present circumstances." The Board thus told the Union that it wouldn't do anything unless the Union strikes.

Seizure a Farce

To the credit of the Ward workers, they did go on strike. The whole deal was so raw that they immediately rallied the whole labor movement, both AFL and CIO, (with the exception of the Stalinists), behind them. And after twelve days of strike, Mr. Roosevelt finally did something. He took over the plant and "recognized" the Union.

Government "seizure" of the Ward plant, however, was just a farce. Two government officials sat in Avery's office for 13 days and did nothing but twiddle their thumbs. Pay checks to the workers were still made out by Avery. The officials and straw bosses took orders only from Avery (who set up office somewhere outside the plant). Supervisors of the Company fired 15 militant workers in the week that the government held on to the plant. The U. S. government immediately ordered these workers re-instated, but the supervisors refused to permit them into the plant. So — the Union members remained on the government payroll, but were not permitted to work. They drew a salary (for the one week only, incidentally,) while doing nothing, but they were not recognized as employees.

Hundreds of grievances, including the discharge of the Union Secretary, Adolph Loresch, were not taken up by the government, despite the pious promises of Wayne C. Taylor, govern-men-in-charge.

Local Stronger — Problems Remain

Finally the N.L.R.B. ordered a quick election. Usually you have to wait for months to get an election. In this case with the reactionary press raising holy hell with Roosevelt, the Board insisted on an election 7 days later, which the Union won by an overwhelming majority, approximately 2,500 to 1,500.

But where do the workers stand now? As we go to press the discharged 15 workers are still out on the limb. The Company challenged their votes and refuses to permit them into the plant. Sewell Avery still insists he will not renew his contract with the Union for a maintenance of membership and check-off. Meanwhile Roosevelt, sensitive to capitalist pressure, has given back the plant to Avery — and things have gone back to "normal," back, in other words, to Avery's form of slavery.

The Ward workers are back to just about where they were when the strike started — they face months and months of legal red tape and monkeyshines. The strike, fortunately, has consolidate their ranks. Close to 1,500 members joined the Union during the strike and immediately afterward. Those who walked the picket lines are now militant and enthusiastic Unionists, where yesterday they were inexperienced. The workers are far better prepared for a fight than ver before.

THAT MAN — BILBO

The degradation of native Fascism hit a new low — and unity among the workers a new high — with the appointment of Senator Theodore Bilbo (Mississippi) to the powerful post of chairman of the Senate District Affairs Committee, and with the Senator's subsequent utterances on "white supremacy" and the "cleaning up" he intends to do in Washington.

Acting with a unity of which even their best friends had not believed them capable, the workers, white and Negro, rose in violent protest. Even the decent elements among the bourgeoisie found themselves unable to stomach the nauseous mouthings of the senator from the lynch state. Differences of creed and color, of political belief, even the ubiquitous "war effort" cry of the Stalinists and the New Dealers, were submerged and forgotten in the storm of protest against Bilbo. The District Committee to Remove Bilbo, a composite organization representing every possible shade of opinion except fascist, was formed and took the lead in the fight. United Federal Workers of America, representing ninety per cent of the wage workers in the District, and one of the few organizations that has militantly opposed discrimination and segregation, sent strong resolutions of protest to the Senate chairman, and the majority and minority leaders of that body. UFWA even in this case forgot its usual war cry (with which it generally obscures every fight of the workers for decent conditions) that "This will interfere with the War Effort" (with its inevitable implication that such conditions would be all right in peace time) and came out whole heartedly against Bilbo, fighting the case on its own demerits. As ably expressed by the administrative secretary of the largest local of Government employes in the country, "This is a trial balloon, sent up by our native 'white' fascist element, to determine just how far they can go along these lines. Unless a violent and unmistakable protest — a protest they dare not ignore — is immediately forthcoming, they will press further and further along those lines, until they have completely crushed every possibility of protest."

The chairman of the District Affairs Committee is in effect the dictator of the District of Columbia, since he has broader and stronger powers than the mayor and council combined of most cities, and since he is not responsible even theoretically to the people over whom he is given such

But the problem before them is still the same: they must force Avery to recognize their Union and grant them some Union security, they must fight for higher wages, they must get the hundreds of grievances settled (hundreds of workers were "reclassified" to lower wages, after the old contract expired).

Obviously the workers can expect nothing from Roosevelt.

Illusions Sow Low Wages

Roosevelt forced the workers to go out on strike before he would even pay attention to them. He took over the plant and embarrassed a political enemy. But he did nothing for the workers. And he will not. When the Ward militants begin asking for higher wages, Roosevelt will tell them (through his WLB) that wages are frozen, that they can't get any more. At that time he will be 100% united with Avery who says the same thing.

Before the entire battle is over, Roosevelt may call out the troops to force Ward strikers demanding more money, back into the plant. The same bayonets that were "used against" the Ward Company may yet be used against the Ward workers.

Unfortunately the leadership of the International Union — United Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Employees of America CIO, — has been filling the members of Local 20 with illusions about Roosevelt and the government. They told the Union members that seizure by Roosevelt was a big victory. It turned out to be a phyrrie victory, empty and hollow.

The workers will now learn in life itself that they can expect nothing from a capitalist government. Mr. Roosevelt is at the head of the government to see to it that the imperialist war continues and that capitalism survives the present crisis. He is in favor of lowering real wages and putting a straitjacket around labor. Mr. Roosevelt has his differences with people like Avery — but they are only "family" differences within the big capitalist family. In an emergency — when the workers threaten to kick over all the traces — it is certain that the two will be together to see that workers remain underpaid and tied to the capitalist machine.

Program for Ward Workers

Ward workers must have no illusions and no faith in Roosevelt or any other capitalist politician. They can depend ONLY on their own strength to gain what they want. A progressive Ward program for militant Ward Union members today would call for:

- 1—Organize a national strike committee, composed of worker representatives from the Albany, Detroit, Kansas City, Jamaica, Denver and Chicago plants — all of whom are in the URWDSEA. Include also the two plants that are organized by strikebreaker Harry Bridges of the Longshoremen's Union in St. Paul and Baltimore.
- 2—Prepare for united action to force a Union Shop and higher wages at all Ward stores and plants.
- 3—Expose the War Labor Board and the government for what they are, anti-Union and Union-busting agencies.
- 4—Rally all the people who oppose the no-strike pledge into a national progressive group to aid and support the strikers.

Ward workers have had a sample of the identity of capital and state or — boss class and government agencies. They should see clearly the necessity for the unity of working class action to gain the economic demands which all workers are forced to fight for. They should recognize the need for a political party to fight for the interests of the working class — a party that will have as its basic program the overthrow of the capitalist system of profit and the establishment of the Socialist system of production for use under a Workers' Council Government.

Sowing the Seeds of Reaction

The post-war intentions of the imperialist nations to annihilate their erstwhile ally — "communist" Russia — were sharply outlined here by the discussion topic given to the high school classes of the District of Columbia — "Will we have to fight Russia after this war?"

To a Marxist student of contemporary history — and we hope to readers of the Fighting Worker — this sort of thing comes as no surprise, but simply as confirmation of what we had long since deduced. But the average high school junior or senior is far from being a Marxist student. Intelligent, eager, questing, seeking knowledge, he makes a fertile field for whatever is fed to him by those in authority; hence this field is chosen to inject some of the most vicious propaganda in all history!

Picture a nations, in the throes of a death struggle, supposedly to destroy a nefarious system, while that struggle is at its height, about to come to a climax — already propagating the idea that the next step is to annihilate the nation which, almost single-handed, has been responsible for the destruction of that system! While the front page headlines scream about the victories of "our gallant ally," the most sensitive point of the social body is already being poisoned against that ally.

Are we, the workers, going to allow ourselves to be used to strike the death blow — or attempt to do so — against the only successful workers' government? This is the real question the young people must ask themselves in this discussion.

**WRITE TO
POSTMASTER
KREUTGEN
OF CHICAGO
AND PROTEST THE
MAIL-GAG ON THE
FIGHTING WORKER
AND
INTERNATIONAL
NEWS**

CAPITOL LETTERS

despotic powers, but only to the people of the State that elected him — and in practice, to only a small percentage of them, as is the case in Mississippi, where the poll tax disfranchises the great bulk of otherwise qualified citizens. Presumably the "white supremacy" advocates in that state agree with the senator, or he would not continue to be returned to the senatorial chamber to represent them; but what the disfranchised, inarticulate, oppressed workers of his state, of both races, think about him, is not on the record. This particular element of fascism will be crushed out before it can come to fruition. And it will be done, as it must be, by the combined efforts of the aroused and militant workers — the same factors that must, eventually, destroy not only fascism but EVERY form and degree of oppression under which the workers today suffer.

COURT CONCESSION ON TEXAS

One of the most significant decisions of the United Supreme Court in recent years — perhaps in the history of that august body — was the ruling that Negroes have the constitutional right to vote in the primaries. A prior decision of the court, nine years ago, was to the effect that the primaries were not state elections, and not subject to the constitutional regulation governing general elections. In Texas, as in the other states of the Solid South, selection in the primary is tantamount to election, the general election being merely a desultory confirmation of the primary choice.

Of course in actual practice, observers familiar with the Southern political scene, know that the vote will be kept not only from the Negroes, but also from white tenant farmers, share croppers, day laborers, mill hands, miners — all those who are now disfranchised in the general elections by the poll tax and the fantastic "educational" qualifications. In practice, the primary vote will remain exactly where it is now — in the hand of the Southern bourbons, the owners of the big and middle-sized plantations, the industrial magnates from the North — and their economic satellites who, from fear, ignorance, boot-licking subservience, or sheer apathy, vote the way the "boss man" wants them to.

Nevertheless, the decision is significant in that it indicates that the court felt it necessary to make concessions to the pressure of opinion from the masses of workers in the South. This conciliation, however, we need scarcely point out, does not actually touch on the real grievance of the oppressed workers, to whom the vote even if it were actually given to them, would scarcely relieve their real ills.

CLEARING THE SLUMS

More than three thousand citizens of the District gathered April 12, and demanded the ouster of Bilbo, sending a telegram to the senator himself demanding that he resign, and a copy of their resolution to every senator, urging his prompt removal should he refuse.

Bilbo's answer, published in the press the following morning was that he did not intend to resign, but would make his opponents "eat crow." At the same time he declared his intention of clearing all slum dwellers out of the only homes they have (or can obtain) and having them arrested, fined and imprisoned should they fail to move. This shameful procedure, it appears, will become possible on July 1 of this year, should Congress fail to act to repeal the law making it possible.

While he declares that his chief and only objective is to "make Washington a model city" his entire salvo is directed, not against the slums, nor the class that maintains them, but against the unfortunate victims of the slum conditions, and his entire statement drips with rancor and actual personal hatred against these victims of double oppression.

NO DEPRESSION

In sharp contrast to the "early-in-the-war" utterances of the administration, which promised that "there will be no depression" and "everyone will be taken care of" War Mobilizer James F. Byrnes (assistant president) is now warning that "there will be considerable unavoidable unemployment" and is simultaneously urging unemployment benefits, and the closing of plants that will inevitably increase the present trend toward unemployment. However, the nice little fly pokes its nose up out of the ointment, when the Mobilizer frowns on the payment of dismissal wages to war workers — the plan favored by the labor unions and the workers themselves. He greatly prefers a dole to the application of a little ordinary justice.