

The Fighting Worker

Workers of
The World
Unite!

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Wadsworth Bill Is Labor Slavery

Oozing with unctious and dripping with the contemptible cynicism characteristic of all prostitutes, the kept writers of the boss press lament daily the slave labor of Nazi Germany. In doing this they are playing the old game of "Stop Thief!" By calling attention to the methods of robbery practiced by their rival in plunder they wish to distract the attention of the American workers from their own increasing exploitation and oppression. Particularly would they have us gaze at the slave labor of Nazidom while right here in the United States such a filthy thing as the Wadsworth Bill, reeking of the slave market, it put across. To them we reply, "yes, we are going to keep our eyes on our brothers as well as our enemies in Germany, but we shall also take a little peep at the Wadsworth bill. Do you mind? "And regardless of whether they mind or not we shall proceed to take not only a peep but a darn good look.

What is the Wadsworth bill? Briefly it is a bill proposing to register and render subject to industrial draft all the working men and women of the United States in the same manner that certain age groups of the men have been rendered subject to military draft. It has been correctly characterized as a slave bill. It is the culmination of a series of assaults that have been made upon us since 1940. The military draft,

the registration of all males (constituting an internal passport system directed particularly against militants), the freezing of wages, the freezing of men and women workers to their jobs, the necessity of certificates of availability, have not proved sufficient for the paytriotic bosses. Not only must they have the pound of flesh (and the blood connected therewith) they must also have the whole body legally "signed, sealed, and delivered." This is due neither to mere capricious brutality nor to the usual exploitive tendencies of the bosses, by themselves.

WORKER'S COMMODITY LABOR POWER

Two prime causes enter into the calculations of the democratic apostles of exploitation. And we must fully understand both in order to strike off the head of this hydra. First, as Marxists have always pointed out, we of the working class have only one commodity to sell the value of this is determined by the amount of labor necessary for its production or reproduction. In other words we get what is necessary to enable us to exist and bring up another generation of workers to take our places when we are thrown on the industrial scrap heap. We also realize that the tendency of capitalism is to decrease wages by bringing into the labor market all the members of the family. Since

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Badoglio Surrendered To Throttle Italian Revolution

Italy's surrender to the Allies is the result not so much of Allied "victories" as the long-standing defeatist and revolutionary actions of the Italian working masses. Without the increased demonstrations, strikes and mass hostility of the Italian proletariat to the imperialist government in Rome, the "victory" of the Allies would have been long postponed.

In the face of proletarian revolution Badoglio welcomes the Allied imperialists; just as the French capitalists opened the door for the German imperialists when the French masses became a threat to their profit system.

Probably an important section of the Italian people—particularly the leaders of the "block of five parties"—believe that with Allied victory, there will be "peace." The resentment of the masses against the old regime is so great that very likely any change is welcome. But gradually as the noose of allied occupation (providing they do occupy Italy) and its costs tighten around the Italian boot, the disillusionment of the masses will grow apace. The war is imperialist both as far as the Axis and the Anglo-American bloc is concerned. The "freedom and liberty" is only a smoke-screen for imperialist aggrandizement. The new currency in Sicily, for instance, is exactly like the German currency in occupied countries. Sicilians are given no guarantee as to the exchange value

of the new "lira"; they are backed up by nothing. But the printed paper lira circulated by Lord Rennel and his Allied Military Government will not help the pauperized Sicilian people.

IMPERIALISTS RULE BUT MASSES PAY

On the Italian continent similar arrangements will be made. Major industries will be put under the thumb of Threadneedle St. and Wall Street. The masses will suffer increasingly. In limited areas and on special occasions food will be given out to quell the inevitable food riots. But further pauperization of Italy is absolutely certain. Mr. Badoglio will know, just as did his predecessor, how to shift the major burden onto the backs of the masses. The "new" regime has merely changed allies; it has not changed its basic character—an agency for Italian finance capital.

Gradually guerrilla warfare will develop, very much as in France. Gradually strikes and other mass action will break through the "stillness of peace." The Italian Revolution may be arrested, if the Allies succeed in pushing the Germans out. It can not be stopped, because forces greater than all the armies in the world are pushing Italy and the rest of Europe toward Social Revolution. Economic breakdown and history are more compelling than even military armies and Italy's economic decay can not be patched up.

PEACE, BREAD, SECURITY

For a time there will be some illusions in Italian workers' minds. The Stalinists and the other parties of the "block of 5" no doubt are welcoming "allied democracy" and the "four freedoms." But "democracy" must mean jobs, security, democratic rights, bread, peace. No imperialist power on earth can bestow such gifts upon any nation. The oppressed will soon learn that differences in the name of imperialist countries make no differences in their dictatorial policies. The oppressed will find, as they started to discover when they threw Mussolini out, that PEACE IS POSSIBLE ONLY THROUGH PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION.

WORKING CLASS HAS OWN INTERESTS

The Italian worker who supports the Allied occupation forces commits a crime, against himself and against his people.

The robbers peace of the Allies will be a peace of stolen territories, of colonial exploitation, of class oppression. It will be a peace to smash the class struggle, to liquidate the revolution, whether it be through a military government of occupation, or through setting up under its control another Italian government dictatorship.

Against both robber gangs—
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U. A. W. Delegates Can Turn Labor's Defeats Into Victory!

Convention Decisions Hold Key to Labor's Future

One of the most militant groups of workers in the history of American trade Unionism meets in Buffalo on October 4th. Approximately 2,000 delegates, most of them direct from the plants, will congregate at that time to hold another Convention of the United Automobile Workers, CIO.

It is no exaggeration to say that this convention holds within the palm of its hand the key to the welfare of the rest of the working class. If the assembled delegates override the reactionary views of their leadership—as they threatened to do at the last Convention in Chicago—Labor will again be oriented in the right direction, the direction, of class struggle. If the leadership is able to do what it failed to do at the last convention—consolidate a tight bureaucracy on a reactionary no-strike program—than Labor will receive a severe setback once again.

The temper of the delegates is absolutely certain. The overwhelming majority of them are opposed to the no-strike pledge and are for a vigorous struggle against Management for better wages and working conditions.

The eastern regional conference of the UAW went on record to rescind the no-strike pledge. The Michigan state CIO council indicated the opposition of the auto locals to "no-strike." Innumerable Locals—Flint, Brewster, Buick in Melrose Park, and many others—have boldly denounced the no-strike pledge. Of the million workers in this great Union only the reactionary officialdom and the rotten Stalinists cling to the treacherous no-strike policy.

UNION HAS SAME TASKS

Seven years ago 25,000 copies of this paper, THE FIGHTING WORKER, were distributed at the Cadillac Square demonstration urging a General Strike for the Closed Shop and 30 hour week. At that time Ford's was unorganized and the whole International Union was one

fifth its present size. Today, after seven long years, and after organizing the whole industry, the Union is still confronted with the same basic tasks. Only Ford's is a closed shop. The rest of the industry operates on a "maintenance of membership." In the last two years the Union has gained hundreds of thousands of members but for all practical purposes it has been backsliding.

The militancy and gains of the early years are gone. Thousands of grievances are piled up. Thousands of militants have been fired and have NOT BEEN REINSTATED. The Thomas-Reuther-Ades leadership does nothing—but praise Franklin Roosevelt, and continue to accept his job freezing, wage freezing, and slave labor conditions.

ISSUES BEFORE CONVENTION

The issues before the Auto Workers Convention are simple and clear cut:

1.—NO-STRIKE PLEDGE. This treacherous pledge by Phil Murray and Bill Green—given without the consent of the rank and file of labor—must immediately be repudiated, if Labor is to break through the present wage cuts. Without the strike weapon, the alliance of Management and Government has imposed one cut in wages after another. The stalling, red tape and machinery of the War Labor Board has been used and will increasingly be used to hamstring the working class. The no-strike pledge is the dividing line between all those who serve labor and all those who oppose it. Those who favor the no-strike pledge are only sell-out artists.

The Roosevelt government has threatened to draft all strikers, and even to imprison some. This threat is an exposé of the basic reactionary role of the capitalist government in Washington. But it can be blown to bits by concerted action on the part of Labor. A strike of auto workers would force Roosevelt to retreat. Without

the one million members of the UAW continuing at their jobs, the Roosevelt government is paralyzed and ineffective.

2.—THE FIVE DAY, THIRTY HOUR WEEK, WITH DOUBLE TIME FOR ALL OVERTIME. Many people think this is a pipe-dream today. But if the working class is to defend its interests it MUST demand the thirty hour week TODAY. After the war there will be at least twenty million unemployed. The trade union movement will be smaller than before the War. Will this small and ineffective movement be able to gain the thirty hour week? Obviously not. But the thirty hour week is an absolute necessity if we are to even partially solve the unemployed problem. Labor CAN get it today, when we have such great bargaining power, because we have more Union members and a tighter squeeze in the labor market. The thirty hour week does not mean we can't continue to work for 40 and 50 hours per week, but it means that we shall be paid at double time, AFTER THIRTY HOURS. By establishing the thirty hour week TODAY we can absorb at least a few million unemployed after the war. To refuse to fight for the Thirty Hour week today is to condemn many millions more to permanent unemployment.

3.—DEMOCRACY IN THE UNION. The Thomas, Reuther, Ades, Frankenstein leadership tried last year to eliminate Conventions for the "duration of the war." They tried to cut down the number of delegates to a mere few hundred so that only the Local leaders and International big shots would be present. More than anything else the present leadership fears the rank and file. Last year the Stalinists were the "big stick" that tried to push these things across. This year no doubt another attempt will be made to impose a bureaucracy on the
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The Wadsworth Bill Mass Action Grows In Kelly Defense

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1914 capitalism has been in a state of general crisis with ups and downs within that general crisis. Like every other commodity labor power maintains its value through fluctuations in price, sometimes rising and sometimes sinking with regard to the actual value, bearing in mind the above tendency for the value itself to constantly sink. This theoretical analysis may be dry, but it is necessary in order to understand the Wadsworth bill and one of the main purposes behind it. Now let us apply it.

DRIVING THE PRICE DOWN

When the crash of 1929-1934 took place there was a catastrophic fall in wages, estimated at about 60% for the whole working class. We did not hear at that time from the bosses or their kept writers, the Lippmans and such creatures, the Wadsworths and such vermin, any proposal to make the bosses accept workers in to the factories at the cost of their profits. On the contrary any measly pittance for the working class, employed and unemployed, had to be gained by struggles of a desperate character and very high calibre. Every appropriation for the unemployed, every effort of the employed to maintain the low standard of living, had to be purchased at the cost of "blood sweat, and tears" of the workers, to quote the inimitable phrase of Winston Churchill, that admirable democrat whose cigar bill alone amounts to \$2628.00 per year. We have not forgotten and we shall not forget that at a time when there was greatly lessened demand for our commodity the purchasers of that commodity acted as good business men and drove the price down as far as possible.

But now the situation changes with regard to our commodity. The demand for it temporarily has increased. This should normally result in greater fluidity of labor and an increase in wages. But

do the protagonists of capitalism now say "Well, boys, its your turn now." Oh, no—First they tried to make use of patriotism "that last refuge of an unprincipled scoundrel" to quote Doctor Johnson. But not many of us fell for that bait. We remembered the past and we saw the swollen profits of the present. Then they called on their good stooges, their agents in the AFL, CIO, etc. The right to strike was surrendered by these lackeys. But since we the Workers had not been consulted we did not feel bound. Strikes took place and increased. So after the preliminary measures, alluded to previously, the lackeys of the bosses in Washington spawned the Wadsworth bill for the purpose of not only holding back wages but cutting them by legal fiat.

IMPERIALISM NEEDS SLAVERY

However there is still a more important reason for the bringing forth of the bill at this time. American imperialism, out for the conquest and looting of the world, out for the suppression of its imperialist rivals, and particularly out for the suppression of the international working class, needs docile slaves at home. In this Wadsworth bill all sections of the ruling class are becoming united. Having maneuvered for a long time Roosevelt has now come out in favor of it.

Our answer must be emphatic and decisive. The bill must be met by an open repudiation of the infamous "no strike" pledge. The whole working class must be aroused to the importance of this slave bill. The retainers of Morgan and Rockefeller on Capitol Hill must be told in no uncertain terms that the day of passage of the bill is going to be met with general strike. But to do all this a different, much different type of labor leadership is needed than is found today in the American work-

KELLY SENT TO VA. JAIL WHILE CASE IS STILL PENDING!

Richmond, Va.—(By special correspondent to the "Fighting Worker," Carlotta Lee):

In my first article on the Kelly case I stated that the culminating outrage was in Brother Kelly's being denied bail and sent to the Richmond jail. Events since then have clearly shown that I, along with the other Richmond workers, had not sounded the depths of boss class "justice." A few days after being sent to jail, Samuel Kelly was remanded to the Virginia State Penitentiary to start serving his sentence. This, although his petition for rehearing is still pending before the Supreme Court of Appeals of Virginia! Another freedom has been added to the classic "four freedoms," the freedom to serve ones time in the penitentiary while once's case is still being considered.

ing class. Not the hypocritical tears of Green and Murray, but the awakened consciousness of the rank and file, and the translation of that consciousness into action, can smash this bill.

Bring this filthy piece of legislation to the attention of the next meeting of your union. Bring to the attention of your shopmates the slimy maneuvering of all the bosses and their tools with this bill and the question of the drafting of the married men. Demand that the "no strike" promise be rescinded forthwith. Send delegations of you fellow workers to Washington on a mass scale to demand the withdrawal of the bill. Build shop steward committees on a mass scale. Fight this bill and all measures of further oppression with united working class action.

LOCAL JUDGE PASSED BUCK

Promptly Mr. E. A. Norrell, and Mr. Thomas H. Stone, counsel for Kelly presented a petition for a writ of habeas corpus to Judge Julien Gunn of the Circuit Court of Richmond, asking that Kelly be released on bail while his case was pending before the Virginia Supreme Court. The judge stated that he could not grant the writ, that it was up to the Supreme Court. Such a petition will be presented to the Supreme Court within the next few days.

MASS ACTION GROWS

But the viciousness of the boss class and their judicial tools has also served to stir the masses of workers and Negro people. August 2 a large mass meeting was held under the auspices of the Samuel Kelly Defense Committee at the Fifth Street Baptist Church. The whole tone of the meeting was very militant. Dr. C. C. Scott, chairman of the recently formed Samuel Kelly Defense Committee, struck the keynote of the meeting when, to the accompaniment of loud applause, he declared that the case was the concern not alone of Negroes, but of the working class, and that oppressions such as those of Kelly could only be put an end to by a united and militant working class.

Dr. W. L. Ransome, president of Richmond Civic Council, a federation of over one hundred organizations stated that Kelly was being persecuted because he was a Negro, because he was opposed to the "powers that be," and because he had stood for the oppressed, regardless of color. Mr. C. A. Steele, in the fight for Kelly from the very start, gave a moving summary of the various stages in the fight, following Mr. Stone, national counsel of the Labor Defense Congress, who analyzed the testimony of all the witnesses, quoting from the record.

This meeting was called under the auspices of the Samuel Kelly Defense Committee. This united front body embraces thousands of people in the city of Richmond. It has elected as officers, Dr. C. C. Scott as chairman, C. A. Steele as vice-chairman, C. O. Dean as treasurer, and Dorothy Thomason as secretary. A large meeting of delegates of affiliated organizations has been called for August 16th to hear reports on the case by Messrs. Steele and Stone. Contrary to the "rule or ruin" policy of the WDL, the Labor Defense Congress promptly turned over the handling of the case to the Samuel Kelly Defense Committee, selecting as its representative on the United front body Miss Thomason. The Labor Defense Congress has already arranged a mass meeting in Washington, D. C. for August 22 at which Mr. Stone, and possibly Dr. Scott will speak. This will be held at Franklin Park probably in the afternoon. Other cities are also arranging meetings, including Cincinnati, where the LDC had not formerly had contacts.

WHAT TO DO

Other cities should follow the example set by Richmond and Washington. Letters and telegrams demanding the release of Kelly should be sent to the Supreme Court of Appeals of Virginia, Supreme Court Building, Richmond, Va. Communications should be addressed to Miss Dorothy Thomason, c/o Samuel Kelly Defense Committee, 705 N. 5th St. Richmond, Va. Checks or money orders (and funds are badly needed) should be made out to C. O. Dean, Treasurer Samuel Kelly Defense Committee at the same address. Also letters should be sent to Samuel Kelly, 500 Spring St., Richmond, Va. assuring him of the support of those on the outside. Let us all so work that it will soon be possible to have Samuel Kelly back in the ranks of the militant working class, actively battling once again for the class he holds so dear, the complete emancipation of the working class and the oppressed Negro people.

Labor Needs Action At Point Of Production!

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Auto Workers. The present leadership can be expected to do nothing else. But the rank and file can not make any progress so long as Thomas, Reuther, Addes and Stalinists run the organization. The rank and file must OUST these bigwigs and put into the saddle a rank and file controlled leadership based on the SHOP STEWARDS AND MILITANTS DIRECTLY FROM THE PLANTS. Above all, the honest delegates to the Convention will find their efforts dissipated unless they band together into a permanent caucus, at the Convention and after it, to protect democracy in the Union and to push a militant class struggle program, based on mass action and strikes.

4—END DISCRIMINATION AGAINST NEGROES AND WOMEN. This discrimination is a far-sighted policy of the industrial barons to divide the auto workers and to bust their Union after the war is over. Race riots and underpayment of fellow women workers are merely attempts to get us fighting amongst ourselves and to place the blame for our troubles AWAY FROM WHERE IT BELONGS—on the Wall Street capitalists and their government—and place it on the backs of our fellow workers. We must demand adequate rights for upgrading of Negroes and women and for protection of their right to work and live on an equal basis with all other sections of the population.

5—NO RELIANCE ON GOVERNMENT AGENCIES. The War Labor Board, the National Labor Relations Board, the OPA, and all other government agencies are merely INSTRUMENTS OF THE CAPITALISTS. Is any proof necessary for this statement? The fact that Labor has lost more in the last two years than it was able to gain in the last twenty, is certainly positive proof of the anti-working class role of these agencies. The so-called Labor representatives of the War Labor Board must be forced to resign immediately, and the trade Union movement must withdraw all support from all government agencies.

6 — REESTABLISH INDEPENDENT WORKING CLASS ACTION. We can not depend on "promises" from quart-of-milk Wallace, and glorious utopias pictured by New Deal capitalists, after the war. Labor must regain not only its right to strike but the right to one of its most effective weapons, the sit-down strike. The auto workers made their greatest gains with the sit-

down strike. The New Deal and its Murray-Thomas stooges within the labor movement tried to take the sting out of the workers' struggles by tying us up in Labor Board knots, by pushing us into War Labor Board straitjackets and by putting us at the mercy of Wall Street's government. The rank and file must now re-establish labor's traditional rights and spirit, its militancy and class struggle policy.

PRESENT LEADERSHIP BIGGEST OBSTACLE

On such a program the working class can recover from the defeats of the past few years. The biggest obstacle in their path is their present leadership. Rumor has it that Walter Reuther, present Vice-President of the UAW-CIO has the largest organized caucus of the Convention. Reuther will go along with R. J. Thomas, however, as he has done for many years. The differences between Reuther and Thomas are very slight, except for the fact that Reuther is a much more capable phrase slinger. As for Addes and Frankenstein they have consistently been good rubber stamp men for Phil Murray and his policy.

No, the auto workers can expect nothing from their present leadership. The leadership of the auto workers must come from deep down in their ranks—not big names, but people with militant programs. The rank and file will take great steps forward only through a militant Shop Steward organization, based on progressives IN THE PLANTS, and based on unity not only with UAW members throughout the country, but with progressives who belong to the International Association of Machinists, the AFL Metal Trades and other Unions which have auto and airplane workers.

"POLITICAL" ACTION

One other danger confronts the auto workers. Faced with dire economic problems the rank and file will try to push a progressive economic program. The leadership and other forces (including the Trotskyites) will try to take the steam out of this rank and file desire by proposing "political action," either of the Sidney Hillman type (support of the New Deal), or the "Labor" Party type.

THE LABOR PARTY

The other proposal—for a Labor Party based on the Trade Unions—is much more dangerous. A Labor Party in Australia, New Zealand, England, and other places—can only serve the interests of the capitalists. It is a reformist Party of capitalism, based on the labor

lieutenants of capital in Labor's ranks. Can Phil Murray, R. J. Thomas, John Lewis, and Bill Green serve us better as heads of a "Labor" Party, then they have served us as heads of the Trade Unions? Obviously they will merely sell us out again, tie us even more firmly to the same reactionary agencies of the capitalist state which have plagued us for many years.

At this time, when INDEPENDENT WORKING CLASS ACTION AT THE POINT OF PRODUCTION, is the greatest necessity, to propose "political" action of the Labor Party type is merely to take our minds away from the main problem and to put us even more at the mercy of the same fakers who have sold us out up till now. The Labor Party is merely a "left" capitalist Party, which can serve no other purpose but that of patching up Capitalism, and demoralizing and confusing the masses to the point where the open reactionaries will find us divided enough to take over.

WORKER'S PROBLEMS AND PROGRAM

The working class needs political action, but not of the Hillman or Labor Party type. In the last analysis the program outlined above is only a partial program to solve the problems of the working class. Unemployment, crises and imperialist wars are inevitable under capitalism. Even strong trade Unions based on a class struggle program can only ameliorate the difficulties, lighten the burden. The only solution to our long term problems lies in the overthrow of capitalism and its wars and unemployment. For that we need, not reformist politics but revolutionary politics. For that we need a Revolutionary Marxian Party, not a Labor Party. For that we need not only 30 hour week, but Workers Control of Production under a Workers Council Government.

The Auto Workers Convention faces many pitfalls and many shrewd manouvers by the leadership. It must not fall into nice-sounding traps, parliamentary manouvers of "Labor" Parties. It can rely on independent workers action, nothing else.

RESCIND THE NO STRIKE PLEDGE.

FOR INDEPENDENT WORKING CLASS ACTION TO ESTABLISH THE CLOSED SHOP AND THE THIRTY HOUR WEEK.

FOR A NATIONAL SHOP STEWARD MOVEMENT BASED ON RANK AND FILE MILITANTS WHETHER IN THE AFL, IAM, OR CIO.

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Unconditional Surrender

The "unconditional surrender" pledge of Roosevelt and Churchill after the Casa Blanca Conference, and Stalin's agreement to this concept, are something more than military formulas to be used against the Axis. It is a counterpart to the Anglo-American position on the "Second Front." The liberals and non-Marxian radicals have fallen into the trap of the "second front" as a purely military plan and all indications are that they have also accepted the "unconditional surrender" position in the same light.

When the R.W.L. first exposed the "Second Front" position, counterposed to it a revolutionary front of the working class, few realized the political and military dynamic involved. But since the internal crisis in France and the invasion of North Africa, and the internal crisis in Italy and the invasion of its Island possessions, more persons are at least aware of the correctness of our position: That the "Second front" is primarily aimed at the danger of a SOCIAL revolution in Europe and only secondarily as military strategy against the Axis imperialists.

THEY COMPROMISE WITH AXIS BUT NOT WITH WORKERS

The Anglo-American imperialists have now filled the formula of "unconditional surrender" with the same social content. The average person on the street thinks the "unconditional surrender" demand is aimed at the rulers of the Axis countries. The manipulation of the United Nations with Italy after Mussolini was thrown out has been more than a curtain raiser to indicate what is coming. The United Nations were ready to do business with the King and Badoglio.

The King and Badoglio represent the SAME crowd that Mussolini represented. It is only a change of office boys. But not only will the United Nations do business with the real imperialist rulers of the Axis nations even though only the office boys are changed, (fascists, military dictators or other reactionaries,) but they will do business on the basis which does not include unconditional surrender.

It was Italian capitalism in the grip of the Gestapo which disrupted the attempts of the Italian capitalists to come to some kind of terms with the Anglo-American capitalists. It was not the formula of "unconditional surrender."

Walter Lippmann, the Morgan Banking columnist, even proposed that the United Nations come to terms with any "democratic" government that can maintain property relations, and to allow such a government its own internal authority, only exacting certain temporary military concessions to continue the war against Germany. He says, "For if the Italian people are aroused not only to liquidate Fascism but also to oust the Germans than we can trust this aroused people to restore their own liberties."

"Unconditional Surrender," you see has many meanings.

It really means the following:—If the Anglo-American imperialists can obtain a decisive military defeat of an Axis power or lesser nation, and a regime can be established that will give some concessions to enable the United Nations to further the war against the remaining Axis partners; and above all if this new government can establish "law and order," the rights of private property and the continued exploitation of man by man—then a compromise less than unconditional surrender will be worked out.

PRIMARILY AGAINST THE WORKERS

But if these two points cannot be obtained by Anglo American imperialism, or if the unrest in the nation is so bad that most likely these conditions cannot be carried out even if promised by some stop-gap government—then the United Nation leaders will press for UNCONDITIONAL SURRENDER. In other words, if the new capitalist government, no matter what its political color may be, is unable to hold in check the proletarian revolution, the Allied imperialists under the formula of "second front" and under the formula of "unconditional surrender" will invade the country to smash developing Soviets, dual power or the Soviet Power, whichever the case may be.

The formula of "unconditional surrender" has its two sides just like the Second Front formula. It is a political-military formula aimed primarily at the developing social revolution, and also aimed at the Axis imperialist. When we say, Axis imperialists, we do not refer to Fascism, because present day history has plenty examples of the Roosevelt Regime doing business with Fascist government, and with Fascist leaders who are preparing to take over.

In Italy, at this stage both aspects of the formula were negative for the Allies. Germany could not be ousted so the King could not surrender, and above all the developing social revolution indicated that the present regime, or any other stop gap government could not fulfill its pledge—to defeat the social revolution. Therefore, the formula, "unconditional surrender"—The Allies will take direct military and political action of their own to try to smash the Proletarian Revolution.

Quebec Conference and Separate Peace

The puzzling question that burst forth from the Quebec conference tables is:

"Will the Soviet Union sign a separate peace with Germany?"

At the height of the Churchill-Roosevelt talks, Stalin injected two darts into the Allied picture. Removal of Ambassador Litvinov from Washington and the cold statement in Pravda that the Allies have not lived up to their promise of a genuine "Second Front," started tongues wagging all over the world that the Soviet Union was on the verge of "double crossing" her Allies.

The breach between the Allies and the Workers State is certainly a real one. The "double cross" business, of course, is not a very serious charge since the Allies—like the Axis before them—regard their pacts with the Soviet Union as temporary expedients, to be torn up at the first opportune moment. Roosevelt, Churchill and the capitalists they represent, had and continue to have no more idea of real aid to Russia than of giving real aid to Hitler. Without doubt (as proven at Munich and on a dozen other occasions), the Allied imperialists would much prefer new Hitlers (with different names) all over Europe than a new Soviet Union, or even a victorious present Soviet Union.

And without doubt, too, that is the big question mark in all Allied strategy on the "Second Front": How many troops and what counter-revolutionary Quislings shall be used by the Allies to smash the growing European Revolution and the Russian stronghold (though warped) of the World Revolution?

RUSSIA CANNOT GIVE UP TERRITORY

In the light of all this, can there be a "separate" peace?

A few things are obvious from the outset.

First of all (at the present moment) Russia can not accept a "peace" based upon loss of territory. Unlike the capitalist states, Russia's material wealth is NOT International. She owns no steel mills in Germany, no auto plants in the United States; she has exceedingly little capital exported abroad. She has no capitalists who are "close" to German capitalists or English capitalists because of the fact that they belong to the same International cartels. Loss of territory is an absolute loss that can not be made up. It is a total loss, because Stalinism as a whole can not make a "deal" with ANY capitalist power, under present circumstances. Loss of appreciable territory at this time when the Soviets are on the offensive, and after all the bloody sacrifices, would rock the Stalinist boat with the force of a hurricane. Stalin can not accept such a "peace."

GERMANY FEARS PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION

Secondly, on the other hand, the present German regime can not offer any sort of peace which gives back to the Soviet Union all her pre-war territory. With millions of dead and the enormous sacrifices of the German population, such a defeat would undoubtedly unleash a proletarian revolution in Germany and unquestionably would be the end of Hitlerism.

What possibilities for a "separate" peace exist therefore?

If Germany were threatened by Social Revolution, would she try to make peace with Russia first or with the Allies? Naturally she would call in her capitalist blood brothers to help smash the Revolution, just as Laval signaled to Hitler to come in and smash the threatening French rebellion.

The PRESENT German regime can NOT make peace with Russia under present circumstances. The PRESENT Soviet regime can NOT make peace with the Hitler government. What other alternatives are there? Obviously the Soviet government could make peace with German government only in the midst of a Revolution. Such a "peace" would have two aims, as far as Stalinism is concerned.

It would be an attempt, first of all, to prop up a liberal bourgeois regime in Germany and arrest the German Revolution BEFORE it vitally affected the militancy of the Red Army. Secondly it would be an attempt to "divide" the imperialist front again so that this time the Allies would be hamstrung for a short period and unable to invade the Soviet Union.

A liberal capitalist government in Germany, rebuffed by the Allied, would have to attempt such a peace with the Stalinist regime in the Soviet Union.

Such a "separate" peace is possible, but not necessarily likely at the present moment. A separate peace between the Allies and the Axis to smash proletarian revolutions and the Soviet Union is a dozen times more likely.

What then, is all the Stalinist talk? Why does Pravda take the liberties of heckling the Allies?

THAT CHANGING LINE OF STALIN

Inside the Soviet Union today there must be considerable chaos. Stalin has "sold" the population on the idea that he would get aid from the Allied imperialists. He had to un-educate and re-educate the whole internationalist-minded population on the idea that it was possible to have an alliance with imperialist powers.

But the experience of the masses has been very bad. While the Soviet workers died and starved, England and America have engaged in only a few minor skirmishes. Even the most backward worker in the Soviet Union must realize by now that the alliance with Imperialist Nations is only a one way ticket.

The "criticism" of the Allies by Stalin is a concession to this uneasiness, to the growing mass unrest within Russia. In reality the Stalinist regime becomes more and more engulfed in bourgeois power politics. It becomes more and more obligated and more and more at the mercy of the imperialist powers—both the Allies and the Axis.

The "independent" role of the "independent threats of separate peace" are only so much camouflage. Subservience to the imperialists was decided on long, long ago. As far as Stalinism is concerned those chains are unbreakable.

The only defense of the Soviet Union lies in extension of the October Revolution. The Workers State can not make peace with ANY imperialist power, without being destroyed, without facing a new counter-revolution. The only kind of peace that the Soviet Union can make is with a SOVIET Germany, or a SOVIET America. No other.

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

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Capitalism. Germany, Key to European Revolution

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Revolution In Europe

Within the first month after the fall of Mussolini the "Fortress Europe" has rocked heavily with underground explosions.

Not only the occupied countries, but also the "protectorates" and neutral countries have felt the blow. Yet this is still the first stage, only the beginning.

The wave of rumors of backstage diplomatic moves, peace negotiations, indicates the fear of the collaborationist ruling groups in the Balkans, fear of an Allied invasion and even more a social upsurge under the stress of the war.

MASS UNREST GROWING

But there are more than rumors. Intensification of Greek resistance, Yugoslav guerrilla activity, Norwegian and French sabotage, the sudden mysterious death of King Boris and the shake-up in the Bulgarian government, the stiffening attitudes of Sweden and Turkey—all show that the military fortress stands on a foundation whose economic, social and political pillars are cracking under the strain.

Little Denmark provides a clear picture of what is going on.

In spite of the collaborationist government, sabotage from below has grown to larger and larger proportions. The Cabinet and Christian X stood in danger of losing their hold on the population. To have submitted to the German ultimatum would have destroyed that hold completely and tied the Danish ruling class to a weakening Germany in the face of growing Allied might.

Instead, put on the spot and forced to make the choice, the capitalists of Denmark chose the road to another "government in exile," hoping in this way to gain more in the long run.

The strikes that swept every large city in Denmark gives evidence of the powerful hostility deep within the masses to the Nazis and the exploiters.

But the Allied journalism which attempts to portray this as simply a democratic pro-British sentiment is concealing the truth. The proletarian character of these strikes is unmistakable, its revolutionary spirit will become clearer as the war goes on.

BEWARE OF COUNTER REVOLUTION

The war will bring more results, sharper, deeper, wider and larger. The stage is set and ready for them. American and British Imperialism know this also, only too well, and are preparing apace. The more revolts, the larger they are, the closer is the so-called "second front," the invasion of the Continent.

In addition to the military purpose of defeating Germany, the second front will have another and even more basic purpose: to buy off the coming revolution with food and supplies, and to smash and crush what they cannot buy off.

The revolutionary forces are gaining, but they will suffer a terrific setback if they mistake foe for friend, if they allow American and British Imperialism to shackle and strangle them in the name of fighting Germany.

"Land Of The Free"

17 MILLION CITIZENS AND DEMOCRACY

Wherever the American Armed forces go they bring with them samples of the working method of their native democracy. In the Colonial countries and Islands they shoot natives for fun, work them all day with one American cigarette as wages, and completely eliminate them in matters pertaining to local administration. How can that be considered strange when it is a replica of democracy at home?

ECONOMIC EQUALITY

The Ford Motor Company in Detroit is "pursuing a policy deliberately aimed at denying jobs to hundreds upon hundreds of Negro workers, a large number of them trained in skills sorely needed in war production in the Rouge plant" according to CIO local 600 in a brief filed with the FEPC. Ford continues to advertise in Kentucky and Tennessee papers for help.

Or take Farmer Bodiford and McGaugh of Fort Deposit, Alabama. Luther Carter, a Negro, worked for farmer Bodiford, without pay for sometime, supposedly working off a mysterious "debt." When Carter left Bodiford to take a job somewhere else (which had a weekly pay) he was promptly beaten up by the two above gentlemen, forced into their car and taken back to the farm to continue his slavery.

SOCIAL EQUALITY

In March Field, California, Pvt. Clarence Richardson was court martialed and sentenced to 25 years at hard labor for protesting the discrimination of Army orders which barred Negro soldiers from attending a service theater and club in the locality.

Another good patriotic citizen is Father Riker of Holy City, California, who has his own township, general store, filling station, and saloon. He advocates himself for World President and when not busy with his various business and religious enterprises dashes off masterpieces in book form. The last one is entitled "The Perfect Government" or "The White Race Is Supreme In Position." In this book he advocates that his system be explained to "all representatives of the White Race Family and... will see to it that no person on earth be permitted to possess a murderous weapon, except the White Race."

EQUALITY BEFORE THE LAW

In 1915 a 15 year old Negro boy, Sam Buckhannon, pleaded guilty to stealing a package of cigarettes. He was convicted and given a 2 to 5 year sentence on the infamous Georgia chain-gang. While in jail he was charged with stealing a violin, clothing and a Ford! No trial was ever held, he was just told he was guilty and his sentence changed to 14 years. Perhaps the fact that he refused to sign a false warrant which claimed that another Negro prisoner had been killed because he "was trying to escape" had something to do with his enlarged sentence. Buckhannon escaped from this living death and got to New Jersey; Georgia has a petition for his extradition back to sure death. The Attorney-General of New Jersey, who is aware of all the facts, maintains that Georgia's extradition request is "valid and sufficient on its face."

15 Negro soldiers, riding home on furlough had to ride from El Paso, Texas, to Forth Worth, a nine hour trip before they could get any food at all. The Stewards and waiters on the Texas and Pacific railroad refused to sell them anything, even in the jim-crow coach, much less permit them into the diner.

In Chicago, 30 Negro families were ordered evicted from their dwelling at 600 North Wells Street because the owner of the property believes in the "restrictive covenant" but had neglected to tell his agent that at the time he rented these apartments. The notorious Chicago Renters Court has upheld the eviction.

THE GOVERNMENT SPEAKS

Governor Johnson of South Carolina told the S. C. home guards, in a recent address there, that "if any outsiders come into our state and agitate social equality among races, I shall deem it my duty to call upon you men to expel them. Segregation is the only way to handle the race question... We cannot and will not tolerate the mixing of the races in our schools, churches and dwelling places." At a Governor's meeting this same spokesman for "democracy and the 4 freedoms" told newspapermen that "South Carolina was fully able to take care of the race question without outside interference; that the white people of his state had successfully run this

government for generations and that we intend to run it as we had done in the past."

In the Mississippi primary election for state officers, during August, the local boys made themselves very plain.

Former Governor Conner who introduced the sales tax to Mississippi (which incidentally must also be paid by the Negro population of the state) spewed forth his convictions that "the crackpots and meddlers in Washington... true to their communist doctrine, the same people are trying to force upon us political and social equality with the Negro. they plan to force us to let the Negro vote in Mississippi... I will fight them for state's rights and white supremacy as long as I breathe."

Lt. Governor Curphree states that if he is governor "neither the customs of the south nor the laws of Mississippi will be trampled on in race relations."

Lester Franklin, another candidate says "no matter what Congress may finally do with the infamous poll tax bill, the Negroes of Mississippi are not going to row up to the polling places and push away our white citizens."

And the final candidate asserted "Meddlesome foreign societies have sought to hamstring us in dealing with our own problems and relations in Mississippi and the south. I have more than once joined the fight against repeal of the poll tax in our own state legislature."

In June, every single member of the congressional delegation for that state voted for passage of the Smith-Connally anti-strike bill and the state farm bureau federation proposes that as sufficient reason for putting these men on the "honor roll." All four candidates for Governor firmly harmonize on the tune of "no Congressional action to knock out poll taxes in Mississippi or other states as a prerequisite to voting."

Race discrimination runs rampant in every industrial and administrative branch of the same government which flings forth brilliant promises of freedom and democracy. In the Army, Navy, Air Force, and in town halls, city halls, and the federal branches of the government it continues unabated and unchecked even by those who proclaim to find it distasteful. Now even another branch is being inducted into this jim-crow set-up—civil service. Unofficially jim-crow practices have been practiced, now to make it easier the civil service commission is planning to install a punch card system in the Washington, D. C. main office which will show not only the sex but the racial identity of the 3,000,000 persons working for the government.

Company men were permitted to run around the plant for a full 24 hours soliciting votes and spreading rumors against the "Negro Union"—so named by the CIO group because Banks is a Negro.

Role of the Labor Board

Fortunately the rank and file were able to gain a meager victory out of this whole mess, by a vote of 120 to 113, but it's no thanks to the Labor Board or any other government red tape agency. In reality the Labor Board merely acts as a supplement to the alliance of employer-police-labor fakers. By winking its eye it gives the upper hand to this unholy trinity, and by getting things tied up in endless red tape it tires the workers out to the point where

Progressive Program Wins In Buick Local 6

Nine of eleven candidates for delegates to the Auto Workers CIO Convention, running on a program of "rescind the no-strike pledge" were overwhelmingly elected at the large Buick Plant in Melrose Park, Illinois. The Local, No. 6, has approximately 3,000 members.

Prior to the election three separate group organized themselves for the test. An International organizer, a rank opportunist named Maize, put forth a slate on the program of "review" the no-strike pledge. The Stalinist-sympathizers roundly condemned the progressive caucus that opposed the no-strike pledge and demanded an "end to the secret caucuses and factionalists." Their program called for full support of the non-strike pledge, the incentive plan for increasing wages, keeping all CIO members on the War Labor Board and a "drive to roll back prices."

FIGHTING PROGRAM OF ACTION WINS

The progressive forces united at two caucus meetings to put forth a simple but attractive militant program. The printed leaflet of this group called for:

- 1—"Our delegates at the Convention vote to have the International Union withdraw the no-strike pledge, and thus protect labor's rights.
- 2—"Withdraw the labor members of the War Labor Board and back collective bargaining through straight union-management negotiations.
- 3—"Labor gave up the right to strike, gave up time and a half for Saturday and double time

for Sunday as such, but the Corporations went on a rampage, fired Union leaders, blocked grievances procedure, and made enormous profits. Congress killed the \$25,000 ceiling on salaries. Labor has been the only one to sacrifice! Let's go back to real union conditions. We are for rising scale of wages to meet rising cost of living.

4—"We are against piece work in any shape or form whether it is called incentive pay, or 'increased wages for increased production.' Piece work makes young men old and puts old men in the grave."

OTHER LOCALS RALLYING

This clear call to action snowed under the equivocating International group, which won two delegates, and the right wing Stalinist forces which gained no delegates at all.

This was the first instance in Chicago where a militant grouping in the trade union movement openly presented a program for rescinding the no-strike pledge. Already this step has been felt in other auto locals, where other militants are now presenting the same program.

The discontent of the mass industry workers and their disgust with the Union leadership offers an excellent opportunity to forge a large, powerful Shop Steward movement of militant and progressive all over the country, to fight the alliance of government-industry and the labor "leaders" who have placed labor in a strait-jacket.

For A Successful Revolution In Italy

(Continued from Page One)

Axis and Allied—the Italian working class today has the opportunity and the need to fight for its own interests, the interests of all the toilers: overthrow the ruling class, confiscate the land, wipe out the taxes, establish democratic rights, workers control of production and workers council government. The call of such a government truly representing the workers and peasants for the liberation of Italy, Sicily, Libya, Tunisia and all other occupied lands by all the imperialists, and for the right of these lands to self determination, will reach down to the lowest depths of the downtrodden masses of the world.

REVOLUTIONARY MARXIAN PARTY NEEDED

If as yet this goal is far off, the road is open today. Every other path only leads back to the old slavery and oppression. In taking this road, the first and major step is the building of a new revolutionary Marxian party. The party will help guide the revolutionary masses through the difficult terrain ahead, point out the pitfalls, avoid the mine-fields, storm the heights.

The party will organize the

labor faker (in this instance the Stalinists) can finish off the job of the employer and police.

The Central Pattern workers, to their credit, were able to beat this alliance. They will have to free their eight brothers who are up on charges in police court for disorderly conduct and they still have a contract to negotiate. But they have already shown the type of militancy and a correct estimate of the capitalist agencies, which will make victory possible.

masses, politically and organizationally, on an independent basis, so that the workers can "march separately and strike together" with the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie for their joint demands. A true Marxian party will lead the masses in their struggle against the Badoglio government and against the imperialists of both stripes. It will expose and fight the fakery of the Italian bosses and the imperialists should they attempt to palm off another capitalist government on the people. It will point out that even a capitalist democratic form of government in Italy today can only be a shortlived fraud, to demoralize the revolution; that even a government of the "Block of 5 Parties" means nothing more or less than the Italian version of the Kerensky government of 1917, or the People Fronts in France and Spain in 1936-38. Such governments are capitalist government whose job is to confuse the masses until a new dictator can be found to smash the revolution.

The Revolutionary Party will demand no support to all such governments and counterpose instead the demand for a Workers Government, based on workers councils, and production for use under workers control.

The revolution in Italy has begun. It will have many setbacks, many ups and downs. But all history is on its side. It will grow and spread to other lands. It spells the end of the war and the doom of capitalism.

Central Pattern Workers Win Election

The flimsiness of the National Labor Relations Board procedure was again illustrated in the recent election held at the Central Pattern and Foundry Company in Chicago.

The plant has been the scene of severe strife for a half year. Months ago Management tried to get rid of the leadership of the Local Union, the United Foundry Workers, because it had fought and gained 15c and 25c wage increases during the life of the last contract. First the Company fired the Union's President, Benny Banks.

Then it signed a backdoor contract with the International CIO Union to which this Local was affiliated. The Stalinist leaders of the Mine, Mill and Smelter workers, gladly came to the rescue of the Company because they had approached Banks to join the Stalinist Party and he had refused.

The upshot of the whole matter was an alliance between the Com-

pany, the Police and the International Union. Eight employees were arrested for attempting to take up a grievance with the Company. Bail was raised to \$19,000 at the request of the CIO International Union.

Forced to Secede

The Local Union was thus forced to secede from the CIO and as an independent Union to petition for a Labor Board election. After much wrangling an election was finally ordered over the protest of the Company and the CIO, even though the Independent Union showed by signed cards that it had over 85% of the membership.

The day before the election, however, the CIO leaders in the plant gave out \$1,500 of Company money in an attempt to buy votes. One CIO steward walked through the plant with a bankroll of \$500, offering women \$5 for a permanent wave if they could vote CIO, and giving the men similar gifts. In addition to that the CIO