

# The Fighting Worker

Workers of  
The World  
Unite!

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## SAMUEL KELLY FREED!

WELCOME BACK TO CLASS STRUGGLE

With this issue, the Fighting Worker welcomes back into the ranks of the militant working class a leader who has been sorely missed for the past year and a half. Samuel Kelly, a Negro Worker, who was sent illegally to the Virginia State Penitentiary at Richmond on July 8, 1943, (while his appeal was still pending on a trumped-up charge of larceny) is being released from that institution on January 11, and will come back to take his place once more in the fighting ranks of the workers. The Labor Defense Congress, the Samuel Kelly Defense Committee, and other groups which have fought for Kelly's release, are making plans to welcome him back.

### Kelly's Background

Kelly, up to the age of fifty, never had a charge of any sort lodged against him. For many years he was in the vanguard of the class struggle in Richmond, Virginia, and was well known through the South for his activities on behalf of the workers, regardless of race. This of course won him the enmity of the bourgeoisie, but in spite of several attempts, it was impossible for them to find any ground on which to arrest him.

### The Frame-Up

In March, 1942, however, the Richmond police found their chance. B. Lapkin, a former employer of Kelly's, who bore him a personal grudge, cooperated in framing Kelly on a false charge of the theft of several hundred dollars' worth of clothing from Lapkin's store. As a result of perjured testimony, Kelly was convicted.

Knowing his own innocence, and feeling sure that he would not be

convicted, he had not in the beginning made any appeal to the workers for support, but after the conviction, he asked the Labor Defense Congress to take up the fight, which was done. The case was appealed to the Supreme Court of Virginia, and finally to the Supreme Court of the United States. While the latter appeal was still pending, Judge Ingram of Richmond, committed the unprecedented injustice of refusing to renew Kelly's bail bond, although Kelly was prepared with a proper bondsman to give such bail. Judge Ingram instead remanded him to the penitentiary. Subsequently the Supreme Court upheld the conviction.

### The Fight for Freedom

Kelly's friends, however, never ceased the fight for his release and vindication. Though offered a parole or conditional pardon, Kelly steadfastly refused, (despite the fact that his health was failing under penitentiary conditions) and insisted on nothing less than complete vindication and freedom to fight once more the battles of the workers as he had always done. Even in the penitentiary, Kelly continued to carry on the fight, organizing his tier of cells into a club, and delivering lectures on economic and social conditions to his fellow-prisoners.

Ready for his release with renewed plans for carrying on the class struggle, Samuel will be again, as in the past, in the forefront of every fight for the rights of the workers and minority groups. On behalf of the workingclass the Revolutionary Workers League is glad to say,

WELCOME BACK, SAMUEL KELLY!

## STOP ALLIED COUNTER-REVOLUTION IN EUROPE

Humanity is witnessing one of the most treacherous events in all history. The Allied imperialist armies, which lyngly told the world that they were fighting for "liberation," are being used as a force of counter-revolution throughout Europe. The armies which were supposed to bring "four freedoms" to the oppressed masses of Europe are the spearhead of one of the most vicious attacks against freedom in history.

The matter isn't confined to just British imperialism, although the demagogic American State Department is trying to fill us with such nonsensical ideas. The British armies, it is true, are today shooting

Greek workers who are complaining against the tyranny of the Greek Monarchy and the hunger and starvation that Allied bayonets have brought into Greece. But the American armies in Belgium threatened exactly the same thing only two or three weeks before, during the general strike.

The Belgian partisan forces, betrayed by their Stalinist leadership, were disarmed. Today thousands of them are being slaughtered by the German armies as they counter-attack and regain Belgian land. Disarmed guerrillas are being rounded up and murdered by German imperialism — that was the price they paid for accepting the counter-revolutionary demand of Eisenhower and Pierlot.

### Civil War in Greece

All of Europe today is in a revolutionary ferment. Five years of starvation and approximate 20 million deaths, both civilian and military, have created a revolutionary situation throughout Europe. On the fringes of the European continent that situation has been converted into an actual revolution. As we go to press, December 21st, the Greek ELAS has just captured the R.A.P. headquarters near Athens. The Papandreu government is confined to about four square miles in the center of Athens; the rest of Greece is in the hands of the "rebels," as the civil war enters its third week.

A cloud of censorship is keeping vital information relative to Greece from the American workingclass, but we can be certain that Soviets, Red Guards, seizure of factories, and all the other signs of Proletarian Revolution are present in Greece today.

The Revolution is complicated by two major factors:

- 1 — The conspiracy by American Imperialism and the Stalinist leadership of the Soviet Union to destroy Britain's traditional imperialist control of Greece and thus endanger her lifeline to the orient.
- 2 — The treacherous role of the

Stalinist leadership within Greece, which is confining, or attempting to confine, the Revolution to the narrow limits of bourgeois democracy.

### America's Method

The recent remarks of Secretary of State Stettinius demanding that the Greeks, Italians and others be permitted to work out their own destiny, is one of the crassest pieces of hypocrisy in history. Why doesn't this scion of the House of Morgan permit the Cubans, the Porto Ricans, or any other Latin American country to "work out their own destiny"? Why did American Imperialism impose its aged and mentally decrepit stooge, Giraud, on the French peonatory demand of Eisenhower and Pierlot?

America can still hide behind a deceitful "humanitarianism" in its relations with small nations, because the U. S. has the vast power of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation organizations, the Red Cross handouts, the lend-lease loans, and other economic weapons TO IMPOSE ITS WILL ON THE PEOPLES OF EUROPE AND ASIA. But wherever these weapons fall to get the necessary markets and spheres of influence for Wall Street they will use machine guns and planes — as Eisenhower threatened to do in Belgium.

The United States is a class counter-revolutionary than British imperialism. Should the Greek working class actually establish a Dictatorship of the Proletariat the American armies would join with Britain and with those forces loyal to Stalin, in an attempt to smash that revolution. For the time being, however, Roosevelt is evidently convinced that Stalinism can hold the ELAS forces and the working class in general, tied to the bourgeois democratic apron strings.

Momentarily, too, it seems as if Stalinism is succeeding in this betrayal of the Greek masses. Stalin is attempting to utilize the Greek unrest for his own purposes. He

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## WHEN G. I. COMES MARCHING HOME

What is the chief military objective of the American soldier, the "GI"? He wants to go home! This fact is belatedly reported from the front lines in the daily newspapers.

When he finally does come "home" what will he find? The bosses of the American government are so afraid of this question they are trying to delay its answer for as long as possible. So desperately are they turning it into propaganda — like pop corn out of a machine — that they often don't have time to butter it. The airy words of a bright new world of scientific marvels are soon covered by hard kernels like the receipt announcement of bigger and more accurate rocket bombs being worked on in America for the next war, or the preparation for permanent military conscription, or the present mounting numbers of unemployed.

The prospect of millions of worker-soldiers returning home to a jobless, chaotic U. S., with the discomfiting habit of asserting their right to life by the organized use of arms, is a nightmare to the American boss class. The surest evidence that the bosses hope to avoid the nightmare is the extensive preparation being made not to demobilize the American Army.

In November Col. Lawrence Westbrook announced to the American Management Association plans for a

"large scale educational program" for "not less than two million" U. S. soldiers to be kept in Europe after the defeat of Germany. Extensive "world-policing" is being planned and the official estimates of the duration of the war against Japan get longer and longer. American soldiers now who return from two and three years of foreign duty find themselves back in soldier-swollen training camps with no end of duty in sight.

Thus at the war's so-called end, many soldiers won't be coming home — too soon.

### Shovels — Guns — Shovels

What awaits those who do? Mr. Roosevelt has just announced his chief plan — seven national watershed projects each modelled after the TVA. More and bigger national work projects to prop up America's floundering capitalism! From gun battalions to shovel brigades!

More immediate than these "post-war" work projects, which will take at least a couple of years to get under way are the plans for "reconversion." While the Baruch plan stands as an official statement of policy by one of Roosevelt's departments, each Mr. Moneybags and his associated gang have their own plans to fit their own interests. And from this chaotic clash of interests the returning soldier will once again

find himself walking the barren, jobless streets.

### From Chow Line to Bread Line

Even the "urgent" reconversion plans are concerned mainly with the transfer of ownership of factories, machines and patents, the re-issue of stock, the granting of subsidies, the lowering of corporation taxes — the whole pattern being essential to assure the big bosses their profits, and to "stimulate business." The millions of workers who happen to remain unemployed during this melee? Oh yes, some little relief or something will have to be found for them if they howl loud enough. . . . You have to keep them quiet you know.

On October 10th a New York daily newspaper revealed that the kings of the steel industry were insisting on an increase in steel prices. The increase asked for would result in 2½ times the pre-war profit, WITH PRODUCTION AT ONLY 50%, A NEAR DEPRESSION LEVEL! The production of this industry, so basic that it is a major factor in capitalist depression, is controlled not by needs or demands of the people, but by the steel monopolists who adjust the steel output to suit the level of their best profits.

"From the chow-line to the bread-line, soldier — we've got to have our profits," seems to be the theme of Wall Street.

### ALL AID TO GREEK REVOLUTION!

A United Front protest meeting has been organized in Chicago to discuss the events in Greece and present resolutions of protest at the role of the allies.

Participating is the Socialist Party, the Workers Party, the Young People's Socialist League, and the Revolutionary Workers League, with C. B. Cowan as its speaker. "The meeting is being held at Gracie Hall, 64 West Racine St., January 7th at 7:00 P. M. Wide publicity and leaflet distribution has been affected to insure a big turnout.

## Lenin

## Liebknecht

## Luxemburg

Twenty-six years ago Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, leaders of the German Revolution, were murdered by the German social democracy. Five years later came the death of V. I. Lenin. These three leaders of the revolutionary proletariat will long be remembered for their fearless struggles against the capitalist class.

Liebknecht's slogan, "The main enemy is in our own country" is the cry of the proletariat today all over the earth. Capitalism is out-moded, decayed. It can no longer even attempt to solve the contradictions that it has brought into this society. Now as the imperialists fight amongst themselves — in a war for markets, a war for power, a war in which the worker is forced to give up his life for his master — we workers must be mindful of the slogan of Karl Liebknecht.

Today the revolution is breaking out. In the months that follow it will gather momentum and spread like wildfire. We Marxists must be prepared for that time. Only a Marxian party can lead the revolution to success. Lenin said, "Have the will to build a party and all the oppressed will come to you." Lenin recognized the betrayals of the 2nd International and built a 3rd International. We, today, must build a 4th International in opposition to the present opportunists.

Let us heed the words and remember the spirit of these three great leaders, Lenin, Luxemburg and Liebknecht, in the period of civil wars that is on the order of the day.

## STOP COUNTER-REVOLUTION

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would like to gain a foothold in Southeastern Europe that can threaten the Turkish Dardanelles, and thus create another buffer between the imperialists and the degenerated Workers State. The State Department is quietly working along, because Wall Street and Stalin are both agreed on keeping British influence in the Balkans at a low point.

### The Struggle in the Streets

The working class in Greece rose up a month after British occupation, in an effort to get bread and land and peace. The same guerrilla forces which paved the way — as good Allied men — for the Allied re-conquest of Greece, have now become a major danger to the plans of Allied imperialism. They believed the demagogy about the right of self-determination and a "quart of milk for each inhabitant of the earth." They learned to use a gun in the underground and they are now using those guns to get what they were promised.

Unfortunately, however, the Greek Revolution starts with all the confusion and lack of clarity that all Revolutions have to begin with. The struggle in the streets of Athens today is actually a STRUGGLE FOR STATE POWER — not just for the change of one bourgeois government for another. The needs of the masses can be satisfied ONLY if the GREEK CAPITALIST STATE IS SMASHED AND A WORKERS COUNCIL GOVERNMENT (DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT) IS SET UP IN ITS PLACE.

### Compromise Means Defeat

But to the Greek masses that fundamental lesson is not yet clear. Stalinism has been able to place itself at the head of this Revolution — with its demagogy and reformist slogans — IN ORDER TO BEHEAD THE REVOLUTION. It has permitted the masses to take to the road of Armed Insurrection for the narrow and absolutely hopeless purpose of establishing Bourgeois Democracy in Greece. But Greek capitalism, and its British master, can no longer grant democratic reforms to the Greek proletariat. If they permit a "liberal" government and a "liberal regency" to exist for any length of time, it will only be in order to further neutralize the masses and to re-group the open Fascist forces for a final attack against the working class.

If the Greek workers make any compromise with British and Allied imperialism they will be treated to a vicious blood-bath. The very attempt by Stalinism to compromise with the British General Scobie shows that Stalinism and Britain despite secondary differences stand on the same CLASS PROGRAM — MAINTENANCE OF WORLD CAPITALISM.

### The Road to Power

The fate of the Greek Revolution is indissolubly linked with the Revolution in the rest of Europe, particularly in Germany and Britain. To achieve victory the Greek proletariat must find a way to adopt the program of Lenin and the Bolsheviks:

1—No faith in Bourgeois Democracy. Reject all compromises which aim at setting up "liberal" or "semi-liberal" regimes or regencies, or constituent assemblies. No post-war plebiscites — settle the matter now!

2—Continue the struggle till the proletariat actually seizes STATE power and smashes all the instruments of the bourgeoisie state.

3—Seize the banks and factories, organize Workers Councils and Red Guards based on those factories (plus

the returning soldiers and the peasants).

4 — Build a New Revolutionary Marxian Party in Greece — a section of the new Fourth Communist International. Without such a Party the masses will be easy bait for the Stalinists, Socialists, and other misleaders of the working class. The Greek Revolution can not succeed unless it is given the guiding leadership of a Marxian Party — that is a sine qua non of the Greek Revolution!

5 — Extend the Revolution to the rest of Europe and Asia.

### Class Solidarity

We workers in the United States have a task to perform too. The struggle of the masses in Athens, despite the misleadership of Stalinism, is OUR struggle. There, in Athens, is the most important struggle at this moment AGAINST FASCISM. The Allies are not fighting Fascism; in fact they will impose it upon the oppressed peoples of Europe, or at least pave the way for it. The Greek workers are fighting for a new world, a better world, a world without wars and unemployment.

WE MUST SUPPORT THAT STRUGGLE OR WE SHALL SOON FIND OURSELVES UNDER THE TYRANNY OF WORLD FASCISM AND THE THIRD IMPERIALIST WAR!

Not one penny, not one man, not one gun for the COUNTER-REVOLUTION IN GREECE OR ANYWHERE ELSE IN EUROPE! The American seaman and the American soldier on the scene must insist in action: HANDS OFF THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION IN EUROPE!

By demonstrations, meetings, strikes and other independent working class action we American workers must make our sympathy known to the Revolution in Europe. To do otherwise is to strengthen reaction.

ALL AID TO THE GREEK REVOLUTION! STOP THE ALLIED COUNTER-REVOLUTION!

WITHDRAW ALL BRITISH AND AMERICAN TROOPS FROM THE ZONES OF PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION IN EUROPE!

FOR A UNITED STATES OF SOVIET EUROPE!

## BRITISH GROUPS TALK FUSION

The Leninist League of Great Britain has entered into negotiations with the Communist Workers Group with the object of fusion. The Leninist League is the British affiliate of the I. C. C. and has been politically and industrially active for some years. The Communist Workers Group is a new group and comprises mainly ex members of the British Communist Party who have endeavored to lay the basis for a new Revolutionary Party in the left wing of Commonwealth. This they have recognized as inadequate; and attracted by the literature of the International Contact Commission, in particular the 14 Points, have approached the Leninist League for discussions. The discussions center around the application of the 14 Points to Britain. Collaboration in joint publication of literature has been agreed to and carried out.

## "INDEPENDENCE" — To Exploit Philippines

"MacArthur is marching back to Bataan." The crushed pride of American imperialism is being salvaged. The U.S.A. is "liberating" the Filipinos after three years of Japanese enslavement. Thousands of American and Filipino boys are being slaughtered for the sake of a few square miles on Leyte, Mindoro, and a number of other islands in the Philippines. The real significance of this new invasion is not to be found in the boss class press.

### Purpose of Liberation

If liberation were the mission of the American troops — then why did American imperialism wage open war for fourteen years with the Filipino independence movement? And why an added quarter century of coneealed war against independence? Why was the decision to grant the Philippines independence so carefully ringed with restrictions as to nullify all benefits to the people of the Philippines and give all the benefits to a competitive group of sugar capitalists in the United States? And what concrete pledges have now been made to the workers and peasants? Absolutely none.

American imperialism is in an embarrassing spot: it dare not lie too flagrantly about its aims. On the other hand it dare not tell the truth — that it needs the Philippines as a base for moving in on all of East Asia and the South and Mid-Pacific. It dare not tell the masses in the Philippines, in China and India that its real interest in driving out Japanese imperialism is only to bring back American imperialism, to extend it at the expense of its big rival, British imperialism, and at the ex-

pense of the so-called "independent" countries like China.

### Key to Independence

The key to the real independence of the Philippines lies not in bourgeois-national "autonomy," which merely serves as a screen for behind the scenes imperialist control (who will supply the military and naval guarantees of "independence" if not the American imperialists?); but in the unity of the workers and peasants in a struggle for the ousting of all imperialists, in the establishment of a Workers' Council Government, the seizure of all the means of production and their operation for use instead of profit.

Meanwhile it is indeed significant that no armed force of insurgents has risen within the Philippines to "aid" the Americans in the fight. There is nothing similar to the FPI, the ELAS, etc. The Filipinos are almost entirely apathetic to the "liberating" mission of MacArthur. They are not concerned with choosing between American and Japanese imperialisms.

But neither are they yet prepared for the next step, which implies a clear understanding, not only of their dissatisfaction with American as well as Japanese imperialism, but also of the correct political and economic road to the defeat of imperialism in open struggle. This is a many-sided struggle, involving the cooperation of the masses in the imperialist homeland of America as well as those in the Philippines. While the Filipinos are fighting for their independence, the American workers must back their struggle to get free of the imperialist octopus.

## WORKERS OF THE WORLD

### NO COMMUNISTIC CAPITALISTS IN FRANCE

A gesture, which under the circumstance seems rather amusing was made by the French industrialist Renault. The government having taken over his automobile works, he gave them to his workers in his testament. This may sound like a futile act of protest against government seizure. Yet it demonstrates very clearly the difference between the seizure of any part of industry by the capitalist state and steps toward socialism.

On the other hand a whole fuss is raised about the nationalization of the coal mines being a step towards socialism. But as soon as the new mining laws became known the National Federation of Mine Workers protested because the workers were given a purely nominal representation. They have 8 out of the 24 members of the consultative managerial committee. The consumers are represented by delegates of the railroad companies and big business. Big business runs the show, and the workers are given a few indecisive representatives in the hope they will be fooled into accepting this set-up. The bourgeois propagandists in all countries may rest easy, the French capitalist state will not let the workers take over any industries. That will be the task of the French Socialist State.

### OILING THE RAILS IN THE U.S.S.R.

The trial and conviction of a factory agent for bribery by the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. is a good illustration of the influence of Stalinist bureaucracy in the land where the Soviets used to be.

I. Popov had given 2 liters of cooking oil to a train dispatcher in return for expediting the delivery of two tankcars of oil for distribution among the workers of his factory. He testified that he had acted not in his own but in the interest of his factory, that delivery of supplies was so slow that without giving bribes you could not get anything on time.

### KEEPING HOLLAND PURE

The "liberation" of Holland by Allied armies bears all the earmarks of conquest. Not only do the American army authorities try to stop contact between their soldiers and civil population for fear that the spirit of revolt which is developing all over Europe will contaminate them, but the Dutch themselves warn their girls against associating with the conquering soldiers. Posters pasted anonymously on some buildings threaten haircutting and other reprisals for Dutch girls caught keeping company with Americans.

### SICILY PREPARES FOR THE IMPORTANT BATTLES

There definitely is no enthusiasm for participating in the Allied robbers' war among the people of Sicily. Students are demonstrating against the conscription of students of 19 to 22 into the Italian army. Eleven demonstrators were wounded at Catania recently when police fired into the demonstration. Public gatherings have been banned through Sicily.

At Palermo the "Committee For National Liberation" asked the demonstrating students to "emulate north Italy patriots who are continuing to make a great contribution to the partisan war."

In this respect the statement by a high Rome official is very enlightening. This official reports that a plumber of Italian partisan fighters in German occupied territory are drawing the conclusions from the experience of their Greek comrades. They are breaking up their units and burying their arms so as to be prepared for the really important battle which will be fought after the Germans are driven out of the country; in other words for civil war.

General Azzi of the Italian Army wrote an article suggesting that the army become national rather than royal, that the oath of allegiance to the King be eliminated and that the relations between officers and men be "democratized." For his recognition of the impending class revolts within the army as well as among the civilians General Azzi has been relieved of his post of command in the Lazio-Umbria-Abbruzzo district.

### GERMANY STILL SIMMERS

Despite the double censorship (German and American) news of riots in Germany trickles through every so often. From Switzerland the "Schaffhouse Arbeiter Zeitung" reports that 30 civilians were hanged in Cologne following a demonstration in which 6 high ranking Nazis were lynched. From Sweden it was reported that "riots" in Berlin following heavy air raids were suppressed immediately. The flame of revolt which burned high a few months ago is not dead and the possibility of its engulfing all of Germany and eventually Europe is a constant threat to Eiseman and Allied rulers alike.

Eisenhower reveals a bit more of the real allied aims. Eisenhower told the German workers that they would be allowed to have trade unions but strikes will be forbidden.

He knows that a union without a weapon, without the means to enforce its demands, is harmless to the capitalists. The allies have quite a bit of experience in undermining the militancy of the workers by imposing upon them a class collaborationist leadership. . . . And the workers are learning the high cost of such collaboration.

### INTERNATIONAL NEWS

Bulletin of the Provisional International Contact Commission

#### DECEMBER ISSUE

Military Principles and Capitalist Decay;  
Roots of Bureaucracy;  
International Notes:

#### JANUARY ISSUE

Imperialist War and Proletarian Revolution;  
The Nature of Stalinism;  
March Separately and Strike Together;  
International Notes:

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## Programmatic Highlights

- 1—Against the imperialist war — a war for plunder, profit, markets and spheres of influence.
- 2—For the Proletarian Revolution which will end imperialist war and defeat fascism.
- 3—For a new Fourth (Communist) International. For a new Revolutionary Marxian Party in the United States.
- 4—Against a Labor Party and all other forms of Popular Frontism.
- 5—For independent working class action on the political and economic fields. For strike action now — including the sitdown strike — to gain better wages and working conditions. No faith in reformists and Labor fakers.
- 6—For full equality for the Negroes, Mexicans, Chinese, Japanese and all other oppressed minorities in the United States. Against Jim Crowism and Anti-Semitism.
- 7—For Workers Defense Squads in the Unions and elsewhere to defend the working class from the Fascist inroads of capitalism.
- 8—For full and unconditional independence for the Philippines, Virgin Islands, Porto Rico and all other territories of the United States, including those islands and areas now occupied by American military forces. For the right of self-determination for all colonies.
- 9—For the defense of the Soviet Union against World Imperialism and Stalinism. Extend the October Revolution. For a political revolution in Russia to reestablish Workers Democracy and continue toward Socialism.
- 10—For a Workers Council Government in the United States and all over the world.

## Only Workers Can Afford Unity

Riots in Sicily. Crisis in Italian government. 20,000 demonstrate in Britain. Strikes in Belgium. Anti-DeGaulle demonstrations in France. Such is the "unity" of the Allied imperialist world.

For a while Britain and America could indulge in fanciful talk about bringing freedom from want to the masses of Europe. At that time there was no immediate perspective of occupying Italy, Belgium, France or Greece. The workers in these Nazi occupied countries were repeatedly instructed by the Allies not to rise against the yoke of the Nazis until so instructed by the Allies themselves. The masses stirred restlessly awaiting their "liberation." In desperation they took the initiative and rose against their oppressors. It was precisely at this time, of popular uprisings, that the Allies found it necessary to occupy these lands — in order to keep the masses in check.

The Allies have taken the major share of Italy. The question as to who was to have control of this unfortunate land was evidently settled in one of the many conferences held during the war. Britain was "given" Italy. (Only British approved heads of the government are allowed to take their posts.) But such "agreements" amongst the imperialists are worthless pieces of paper. America may have consented to making Italy (and Greece) a British sphere of influence in exchange for American domination of France, Belgium and Holland; but America is attempting and will continue to attempt to cut Britain out from under with her economic might. America will work quietly and behind the scenes to place a pro-Wall Street government at the helm. Each crisis will be utilized for that advantage.

After a year in Rome the masses are still hungry, still destitute. The government reflects this condition and a crisis develops. And, where necessary, a crisis can be propelled by withholding of food, etc. Thereupon the United States attempts to put its political foot in the door with its economic agencies; it attempts to foist its good puppet Storza to the premiership of Italy. Britain rebels at this and Churchill calls Storza many unfriendly names in parliament.

The same thing is repeated, with minor variations, relative to DeGaulle, Giraud, the Polish government-in-exile and others.

The imperialist world is NOT BEING UNIFIED. On the contrary it is cracking wide open. On the one hand, by its ruthless exploitation of conquered lands and by its adherence to a semi-fascist policy, the Allies are making it possible for the masses to clearly see the class differences in all occupied countries. ALLIED CAPITALISM (LIKE AXIS CAPITALISM) IS CREATING ITS OWN GRAVEDIGGER: THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION.

On the other hand, the divisions amongst the great powers themselves are coming directly into the open — so sharp is the antagonism between them. The Soviet Union recog-

An editorial, too left to create a public ripple a year ago, recently raised an unexpected tidal wave of attention. Appearing two months ago in the magazine "New Yorker," it has been reprinted since then in New York, San Francisco, and Washington, D. C. papers. An expression of the Europe-infested radicalization now sweeping the Atlantic seaboard, the editorial is a militant manifesto of the middle-class.

Summarized, it reads — We (the middle class) publicly "damn" you (the capitalist class) for raping society. You have dragged it down to a "disaster" from which it might never again "crawl back to life." Society demands the progress of science, you pervert science to butcher millions of youth. Down with insane wars! Society needs the leadership of "the young and the dreamers," you lecture us on the virtues of the "middle-aged and the practical." Down with sterile capitalist leadership! Society desperately needs world unity, instead, "you (the good capitalists) plan to police the bad." Down with a world economic prison! Fellow-members of the middle class! Out of the bowels of degenerate capitalism will come a new class and a new society "of magnificent proportions and undreamed of design." We, the middle-class, will build it. Prepare! "Federalists of the world, unite!"

In the cars of a shop-keeper, this mouse's squeak sounds like a lion's roar. While capitalists neither pity nor fear the protests of the frustrated middle-class, the working class sympathizes with the problems of its oppressed ally. However, class-conscious workers must carefully avoid such highly subjective unscientific thinking.

The middle class has illusions about itself. It is not a new class, but an old one; not a growing class, but a dying one; not progressive but reactionary. In the transition from

feudalism to capitalism, the middle class played a progressive role. Out of its handicraft womb the embryo capitalist class was born. Nurtured and schooled in a middle-class environment, the capitalist class eventually built the productive plant of the world. Since the turn of the century however, capitalism has been dying. It no longer builds, but destroys. To continue the progress of humanity a new society, socialism, must be built. A new class must build it, the new class is not the aged grandmother of capitalism, the middle-class.

The grave-digger of capitalism is destined to be the working class. The most productive and progressive section of society, the working class, is armed for its historic task by capitalism itself. As capitalist concentration of industry increases, the size and strength of the working class increases. Revolution, the locomotive of history, cannot drive forward without power to turn its wheels. This power must come from the working class. The middle-class our potential ally, must be prevented from dissipating its steam into utopianism. This steam can be used to drive the wheels harder. A wreck of the approaching European revolution can be prevented only if the working class leads the struggle against capitalism by placing a Marxist party at the throttle.

To the vague idealistic slogan "a new society of magnificent proportions" we counter-pose the clear economic slogan "a planned economy of production for use instead of profit." To the helpless pacifist slogan "Down with war" we counter-pose the militant call to revolutionary defeatism, "Turn the imperialist war into a civil war." Against the passive middle-class wish that "Federalists of the world, unite" we proudly proclaim our defiant class call to arms "Workers of the world, unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains. You have a world to win!"

## Workers, Soldiers; Fraternize! Organize!

Anti-insurrectionary maneuvers, recently staged by the National Guard in the Catskills, are being given wide front-page publicity by the east coast capitalist press. The maneuvers, which tested new methods in handling smoke screens, gas and machine guns to "wrest municipal buildings, telephone exchanges and electric stations from the control of armed insurrectionists," are being boastfully described as "brilliant," "highly successful" and "superbly effective."

This propaganda stew of fact and lie is typical of the capitalist press. That an organized capitalist state controls society is an admitted fact, but that it is a powerful anti-insurrection machine of proven effectiveness is a brazen

capitalist lie. History underwrites parasitic classes with no such insurance policies.

The capitalist state must use workers to shoot workers. This is the fatal weakness of all capitalist counter-revolutionary plans. When insurrectionary workers move into the streets, the machinery of the state is geared into motion in three successive shifts. First, the brutal poorly-armed police battle the workers. Later, the mechanized counter-revolutionary national guard takes over. If both fail, the heavily-equipped standing army rolls in.

Police and national guards cannot unaided smash a mass insurrection. Heroic masses of determined workers quickly overwhelm police (their arms are small) and soon neutralize national guards (their numbers are few). However, no insurrection can finally succeed without the destruction of the national army. Since unarmed workers are no match for any well-equipped army, the door to state power can no longer be forced open, it must now be unlocked. The key is fraternization.

The aim of fraternization in an insurrection is to split the army along class seams. Success depends on soldier morale. Willingness (morale) of soldiers (drafted workers) to obey their officers (middle class stooges of the bosses) is always low in capitalist armies. Officers must use severe repressions to prop up morale. Consequently, soldiers (doubly oppressed workers) are the most unstable section of the working class. A modern army is more vulnerable to insurrection than any other oppressed section of society. Insurrectionary workers, schooled in the tactics of Lenin, would not hesitate to fraternize. This tactic dooms an average army. An army hit by the social concussion of a workers' insurrection will, like the highly unstable chemical ammunition it carries, explode with devastating effect.

Class-conscious workers! The future of humanity is in your fists. Historical progress demands the extension of the October Revolution. History's greatest event — the World Working Class Revolution — is approaching. Prepare for it!

Oppressed workers of the world! Your main enemy is the capitalist system. This system (butcher system today, hunger system tomorrow) puts its property rights before your right to life. Defend yourselves! A clenched fist for the uniformed hoodlum, a fraternal hand for the uniformed worker. Organize! Fraternize! On to the World Communist Society!

## ATLANTIC CHARTER — "is you is or is you ain't"

"Amazing" things are happening in the imperialist war — the imperialists are showing their true colors. The Atlantic Charter which promised "no agrandizement, territorial or otherwise" and "no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned," was only an INFORMAL memorandum, says Mr. Roosevelt. Nobody signed it — it was just written to waste newsprint.

This stuff in the third point about respecting "the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live, and . . . sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them" — that was just a pious wish according to the President. Nothing binding about the business.

Somebody in the back row may want to know "then what the hell are we fighting for?" Not a bad question, either. The FIGHTING WORKER has been careful throughout the five years of war to point out that the Allies, as well as the Axis, are fighting for markets, spheres of influence,

plunder, and the unhampered right to rob and exploit all the oppressed workers and peasantry of the world.

The British intervention in Greece, the role of the Allied armies in western Europe, the repudiation of the Atlantic Charter, and dozens of other things certainly gives a clue as to what's going on.

But if further proof is needed we have only to look at the new appointments for the State Department. Liberally represented are the Houses of Morgan and Rockefeller. Stettinius, son of a Morgan father; Nelson Rockefeller, son of John D.; Clayton, biggest cotton broker in the world, etc. Are these the people who are going to give us economic freedom and peace? If you want to know what these gentlemen believe in ask the workers of U. S. Steel or Standard Oil, or any one of a thousand other corporations controlled by these owners of America. They are not for peace and freedom and security. These gentlemen are for CONTINUED EXPLOITATION AND ROBBERY OF THE MASSES.

These gentlemen are IMPERIALISTS, in an IMPERIALIST WAR, for IMPERIALIST AIMS!

# The 2nd Imperialist War FROM BOSS WAR TO WORKERS WAR

(Continued from December Issue of The Fighting Worker)

## PART II

### THE ECONOMIC ROOTS OF WAR

What is the background of this present war? If you know the past and present of any phenomenon, it is not difficult to predict its future. Before the "military" war there was a gigantic trade and political war between all nations.

Italy imposed a quota upon the products of all competitors. America signed trade treaties with various nations giving them "favored nation" treatment, giving one nation a break and excluding others. Tariffs shot up skyhigh. The Germans introduced a complicated barter system and its "aski" mark. Japan subsidized its shipping and other industries and was able to make constant inroads on the trade of other nations. It also introduced economic sanctions for the "outsiders" in Manchuria and on the Japanese mainland. Britain devalued the pound and strengthened her Empire system at the Ottawa conference, where the nations of the British Empire took steps to exclude the commerce of other nations — particularly of the U. S.

In every nook and cranny of the Earth, Standard Oil fought British Dutch Shell for the oil markets. The struggle took on not only diplomatic and economic but even bloody military forms. Many a political revolution has been fomented in the great struggle for oil. Aluminum, steel, banking and other trusts fought each other all over the globe. Uncle Sam following the first war slowly excluded Great Britain from the Latin American markets. In the thirties the Japanese and Germans were finally able — with government subsidies — to penetrate a little into those markets. Whereupon Mr. Roosevelt introduced his "good neighbor" policy and the trade treaties with Latin America, whereby the American government made loans and gave other subsidies to South America to keep the Western Hemisphere a Closed Shop for the colossus of the North.

Britain used its tin and rubber monopolies in the Far East as a weapon over everyone's head. It forced the prices up and kept artificial quotas. Germany fought this monopoly by attempting to develop synthetic products. America found itself in the position where it not only had a surplus of trade in finished products and in agricultural products, but also had surplus capital which it needed to export abroad. Under the "New Deal" the American capitalists decided to sacrifice agriculture exports and to introduce a giant subsidy campaign in the forms of loans to foreign powers, to keep American trade going.

### THE LIST IS INEXHAUSTIBLE

Competition is the heart of capitalism. The competitive arena becomes ever bigger and bigger, but the competition grows with it — and grows sharper and bloodier. But competition is itself only an effect of something deeper — the mode of production. And competition under capitalism is only one of the expressions of the basic capitalist contradiction: **SOCIALIZED PRODUCTION AND PRIVATE APPROPRIATION.**

### PRODUCTION FOR PROFIT

Capitalism is based on wage labor, and commodity production — production for a market, and for a profit. No wheel of industry, under the present system, turns unless the boss can make a profit out of production. People may be starving, may be without clothing or shelter, but that does not influence the capitalist production process. Commodities are produced only for a profit. The quest for markets to sell those commodities is a constant problem before capitalism, since the masses of proletarians throughout the world are paid only sufficient wages to cover mere subsistence needs. The surplus over and above that is appropriated by the capitalist. Unless capitalism can find markets or spheres of investment for the surplus, it suffers crises and depressions — and, of course, it eventually must go to war to **DIVIDE** the market that is left; steal markets, in other words, from its fellow capitalist powers.

All this isn't new. It was stated by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels in the famous "Communist Manifesto" way back in 1848, and it was stated with scientific precision. But the capitalist war makers **MUST** keep this truth from the working class. They must build the lie that capitalism is a healthy organism, that the only reasons we have wars is because we have "bad men" like Hitler (or the Kaiser), or we have "bad men" like the Bolsheviks, or "bad men" like the "Jewish Capitalist Plutocrats of England and America," or the "bad men" of the Hirohito dynasty. They must hide from us the fact that it isn't **bad MEN**, but a **BAD DECAYING SYSTEM** which causes wars. If you took all of the "bad men" in the world and drowned them we would still have imperialist wars; those wars are **INEVITABLE** so long as you have capitalism.

### CAPITALISM'S CRISES

Just take a glance at these brilliant words of the Communist Manifesto (written 96 years ago) and see if they don't tell the story of Capitalist contradiction better than all the lying "economists" that capitalism has ever passed off on a gullible public:

"The bourgeoisie cannot exist without constantly revolutionizing the instruments of production . . . The need of a constantly expanding market for its products chases the bourgeoisie over the whole surface of the globe . . . It is enough to mention the commercial crises that by their periodical return put on its trial, each time more threateningly, the existence of the entire bourgeoisie society. In these crises a great part not only of the existing products, but also of the previously created productive forces, are periodically destroyed. (Remember "plowing under" and killing pigs in the 30's?) In these crises there breaks out an epidemic that, in all earlier epochs, would have seemed an absurdity — the epidemic of

over-production. Society suddenly finds itself put back into a state of momentary barbarism; it appears as if a famine, a universal war of devastation had cut off the supply of every means of subsistence; industry and commerce seem to be destroyed; and why? Because there is too much civilization, too much means of subsistence, too much commerce. The productive forces of the disposal of society no longer tend to further the development of the conditions of bourgeois property; on the contrary, they have become too powerful for these conditions, by which they are fettered, and so soon as they overcome these fetters, they bring disorder into the whole of bourgeois society, endanger the existence of bourgeois property. The conditions of bourgeois society are too narrow to comprise the wealth created by them. And how does the bourgeoisie get over these crises? On the one hand by enforced destruction of a mass of productive forces; on the other, by the conquest of new markets, and by the more thorough exploitation of the old ones. That is to say, by paving the way for more extensive and more destructive crises, and by diminishing the means whereby crises are prevented."

### CAUSE AND RESULT

Crisis and wars are caused not by "bad men," not by "sun spots," not by a lack of printed money. They are caused by **OVER-PRODUCTION**. And over-production is an illness from which capitalism can not recover. In order to exist, in order to meet competition, capitalism must build bigger and bigger plants, bigger and bigger monopolies. It must force the small man out of business and later the small monopoly. All industry becomes subordinate to the big banks. The liquid surpluses of capital mount to threatening proportions — 20 billion dollars in gold in the Kentucky vaults, the biggest corporation reserves in history. Capitalism drowns in its own liquidity. It has **OVER-PRODUCED** — and not only overproduced commodities, but it has "overproduced" capital which is begging for investment elsewhere.

The anarchy of capitalism, the profit motive, the **INDIVIDUAL** rather than **SOCIAL** appropriation, forces the capitalist nations to constantly war with each other to gain markets for their surpluses.

The Second World Imperialist War (on the part of all nations except the Soviet Union), is just such a war. It is a war for markets, spheres of investment. The first shot may have been fired by Germany or Japan, but the **CAUSES** of the war lie rooted in something much deeper — Capitalism itself. And the guilt for the war does not rest necessarily with the nations who fired first, but with the rotten, moribund system which uses war to gain markets and spheres of influence.

Germany went to war to gain control of Europe, as a prelude to the fertile markets of the Near East and Asia. Unable to continue competing by "ordinary" means, i.e. economic and trade means, because of the superiority of the American production machine and the long ill-effects of Versailles, Germany took first to the war for conquest. America, with its enormous wealth and productive machine, could sit back and wait longer till becoming embroiled in the war. But the waiting was only a tactic. American Imperialism knew it was going into the war, as far back as 1920 in fact — when the **M Day** plans were first formulated. American Imperialism needed new markets and spheres of influence as much as Germany — far more, in fact, because America has far more liquid capital for investment. But America, with its proletariat not yet as "hard-up" or as close to Revolution, could afford to temporize, to wait till Germany, Britain and France exhausted themselves, (parenthetically we might say that "allies" in modern imperialist war, are not "friends," but nations whom our Wall Street master **TEMPORARILY** fears least).

### TWO KINDS OF ATTACK — MILITARY AND ECONOMIC

That nation which goes to war first is not necessarily the aggressor. On the contrary it is only the economic aggressions of American imperialism and the tight-fisted control of the Empire by British imperialism which forced the other less fortunate powers in the first instance to take counter measures, diplomatic, political and eventually military. The economic crises brought on by the fact that the "have-not" powers were unable to find markets for their surplus goods and capital, confronted them with the imminent threat of proletarian Revolution. The only temporary solution to their problems rests therefore in stretching out for military control of "new" markets — markets stolen from other imperialists.

"For example, when Japan and Italy reduce the cost of production so as to undersell Germany, England, France and the United States on the world markets, these countries are forced to reduce their cost of production (further lower the standard of living) to undersell Japan and Italy. This vicious circle continues until the workers and farmers of these countries, pressed to the wall, prepare for revolution, for the overthrow of their exploiters.

"But how do the exploiters and their paid agents prepare to meet this situation? They will not give up their "right to exploit" and its golden power. Why should they, when they can use workers to fight and shed blood for them? They try to stave off the revolution in two ways: either by the establishment of an open fascist dictatorship, as for example in Germany with Hitler, or by colonial conquest (the Japanese invasion of China or the Italian invasion of Ethiopia).

"Within each country 'free' competition gives way to competition between syndicates and trusts, in other words to finance capitalism. Monopolies extend competition within the nation to competition between nations. In the language of economics, the productive forces have long ago outstripped the national boundaries. Capitalism has created the world market to which all countries are subordinated. And no matter how hard the different nations try to pull their productive forces back within national boundaries, it can't be done. 'Organized' capitalism is a contradiction and a fake. The way out of this contradiction is not to retrace our steps, not to go backwards, but rather to eliminate the causes of this contradiction, to eliminate capitalism itself, to overthrow it, to establish a socialist mode of production which once and for all abolishes exploitation of man by man." (From the Workers Answer to Boss War.)

(Continued in Next Issue)

### WL HELD 17th PLENUM

The 17th Plenum of the WL was held last month in the midwest. A successful discussion period was concluded with the adoption of many important political analyses. For the major documents see the January International News.

## Workers Resist Sales Pressure

Are American workers really patriotic?

October bond sales were 695 million, but redemptions were 400 million. In October 1943 bond sales were 2½ times as much, and only 1 million dollars worth of bonds were cashed in. In the first seven days of November, 1944, sales of bonds amounted to 110 million dollars, but 109 million dollars worth were cashed in — making a net sale of bonds throughout the nation of only one million dollars for the first week in November.

Treasury officials are worried over the redemption of bonds and talk of making it far more difficult to realize cash for them.

Somehow or other — and despite all the advertising — American workers lack faith in these bonds. They remember all the campaigns after the first world war, appealing to people to burn their liberty bonds, has already started in some plants now! They know of the various insatiable moves of European and American governments since the first war and they are afraid that these bonds will have only a small portion of the purchasing power after the war that they had before the war.

It is significant that in a number of plants throughout the country workers have cut down on their bond purchases when they had a grievance against the Company. Instinctively the worker realizes the kinship between employer and the state — although he is not able to put it in words.

Bond sales to individuals have been a sore disappointment to the Treasury Department throughout. Only the swollen reserves of the insurance companies, banks, and big corporations have really made the bond campaigns a "success." This fact is a barometer of the uneasiness of the working class, its crumbling faith in bourgeois institutions, and its lack of real support of the imperialist war.

### CAPITULATION TO SAFETY

Thomas Harden, for five years a member of the Revolutionary Workers League has been suspended from the organization for disloyal acts and capitulation to the ultra-left Marlen clique. Harden developed his differences with the League only five or six weeks ago and refused to avail himself of the full opportunities of discussion opened by the organization. No other League member followed Harden in his defection.

**Workers! Join the Revolutionary Workers League!  
Help Build a New Communist (4th) International!**

**ONLY PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION CAN DEFEAT FASCISM!**