

## "Victory" Means Unemployment -- Counterrevolution -- More War

### BIG THREE CONDEMN EUROPE TO HUNGER

"In organizing the German economy," says the Big Three declaration at Potsdam, "primary emphasis shall be given to the development of agriculture and peaceful domestic industries." Reparations are to strip Germany of most of its industrial equipment, and for all practical purposes Germany will thus become — if the scheme works — an agricultural nation.

To most people the effect of such a change fails to register anything startling. After all Germany lost the war; she must now be reduced to a secondary power. But the reality of the matter can only be translated in terms of living people. And for the living people of Europe this simple sentence means that tens of millions of them are to be starved to death or reduced to unbearable poverty.

German industry has been the hub of European economy since the turn of the century. German coal supplied the large plants on the continent; German steel was the lifeblood of Europe's topsy-turvy economy; German chemistry and German inventions of a hundred different kinds maintained the European standard of living above that of Asia and Africa, and made Europe the center of capitalist civilization.

#### IMPERIALIST LOOT

Now, however, all that is to be changed. The poor soil of Germany, which never supplied the German people with enough food by itself, is now to be made self-sustaining. The population is to shift from the city to the land, in large numbers. Every last nickel is to be squeezed out of the hides of the German people. What is not being stolen today by the fake Allied marks, will be taken in the form of reparations. The gold supply and the riches of Germany are to become "spoils of war" — in simple American, LOOT, ROBBERY!

And who will pay for this? The German worker — the same worker who was starved and hounded by Hitler, will now be starved and hounded by American and British imperialism, aided and abetted by Uncle Joe Stalin.

Let us look at the thing more concretely. Reduction of coal and steel production means either elimination of farm machine products like tractors or an enormous increase in their cost because of lack of mass production. Reduction of chemical facilities means a similar fate for fertilizer and other chemical necessities of the farm. Increase of farm population means that most farms will have smaller acreage and therefore use less machinery and be less economic than big farms. Thus the cost of production on German farms will be considerably greater than say in the Ukraine with its gigantic threshing machines, its airplane seeding, and its large scale production and scientific development. It will mean much higher food prices and consequently a much lower standard of living for the German people.

And that is the intent of the Pots-

dam policy — reduce the German people to starvation.

We hope and expect that the German people will not permit the imperialists and their Stalinist accomplices to get away with this mass murder. We hope and expect that they will take the only course open to them and organize for proletarian revolution against their own capitalists and the red and white armies that now occupy the country.

#### RE-DIVIDE EARTH

The Potsdam declaration was a callous document in other respects as well. It laid the basis for re-division of the whole earth. A committee of five foreign ministers — British, American, Russian, Chinese and French — is to work on "peace" agreements with Italy, Bulgaria, Finland, Hungary and Rumania. Land and reparations are to be exacted from all these powers. The hollow mockery of the Atlantic Charter and the honeyed phrases of no territorial annexations made themselves quite evident during Potsdam. Sections of Germany were given outright to capitalist Poland, as well as sections given to the Soviet Union.

The German aircraft, arms and shipbuilding industries are to be completely stripped and all war "potential" industry (which can mean all industry, if interpreted that way) are likewise to be stripped. The

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### Divide and Rule Tried on Vets

The termination of military hostilities with Germany brought the worker face to face with the reality of a war economy and his position in it. Today, with the surrender of Japan, cancellation of war contracts to the tune of 31 billion dollars, the closing of factories for reconversion, the rehiring at lower wages and classification, brings shades of the old days of unemployment and privation.

The war solved none of the workers' problems, as the Revolutionary Workers League has stated from the outset of this imperialist war. The Imperialist World carnage was fought by the working class, but not in its interest. It was an attempt on the part of World Capitalism to solve its unsolvable problems. Big capitalist fish ate little capitalist fish; millions upon millions of innocent people were murdered and maimed, billions upon billions of dollars of profits were made by the bosses, but the worker is back where he started, with another epoch of unemployment and misery.

#### 8 MILLION JOBLESS

Let's face the facts: one and a half million workers were released when Germany surrendered and thousands upon thousands were put on part time work. It is estimated that two

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## ATOM BOMB WON'T END WARS

In the whole history of mankind there probably was never a more shameful incident than the paens of praise which greeted President Truman and the Armed Forces when the first Atom Bomb was thrown at Japan. That any human being could be proud of a nation or a science which shows how to kill 150,000 people in one minute is a blot against civilization and mankind that it will take years to erase.

And it is the most significant commentary on the decadence of bourgeois science possible. Two billion dollars in research and equipment, and the so-called best minds in physics were used to invent a diabolical bomb that can murder people at a more rapid rate than anything in history! Uranium 235 has the potential of replacing the coal, oil, electrical and other industries. Properly controlled it can heat all the homes in the world, run all the machines at only infinitesimal fraction of present costs. Properly utilized it could reduce the working day to far less than half the present working day and give mankind a leisure and a security that it never before enjoyed.

Did Franklin Roosevelt or his successor, Harry Truman, set aside a few billions for such research? No, they definitely did not. As the

outstanding agents of Wall Street their job is to get people killed; they have spent hundreds of billions on such "noble" work, but the job of keeping mankind alive and happy doesn't seem to interest them one whit.

#### SCIENCE IN THE SERVICE OF MURDER

The Atom Bomb shows once again that science must soon die under capitalism, along with the system that fosters it. Hitlerite Germany forcibly removed thousands of scientific masterpieces from library shelves because it did not fit in with the Nazi war program. American capitalism has not yet reached such depravity — although more subtle pressure is sometimes used for the same ends. However, in the direction it gives to science and in the restrictions placed upon science by the owners of and contributors to the great laboratories capitalism is killing science just as surely as did the Nazis. Science has become the handmaiden of death instead of the benefactor of life.

The Atom Bomb has scared even some capitalists. Here is an instrument they fear which can destroy the whole human race. The Pope seems to deplore its introduction. Some propagandists have even put forth the idea that the Atom Bomb

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August 14, 1945 — After almost six years of the most stupendous blood-bath in all history "peace" has descended on the capitalist world. America alone spent 300 billion dollars in wealth (more than three times the wealth of countries like Germany or Britain) and had well over a million casualties. Germany, Britain, the Soviet Union and France suffered infinitely more. At least ten or fifteen million people starved to death in India, China and in large sections of Europe. The cost in tears and suffering, in uprooted families, in broken dreams and vanished aspirations, is inestimable. In six short years a whole generation has been uprooted and dozens of millions of its members will never be the same again.

In six short years the imperialist world, aided and abetted by Stalinism and other reformist agencies within the working class, showed a callousness and a brutality that is hard to believe. The mass murder of defenseless children and women in thousands of towns, villages and cities, was hailed as a glorious achievement. Introduction of a 2½ billion dollar bomb which killed 150,000 people — thousands of small children, women and even unborn children, included — was paraded as the greatest event in history. Murder and destruction were ennobled by the very people who refused to spend to keep the sick and the unemployed alive during the depression. In all history there has never been a more insane period. Science was turned on its head and made into an instrument not for bettering the world but for destroying it.

And yet, humanity could have paid this price if at the end of the road there was real peace, permanent peace and economic plenty. But what a tragic hoax has been played upon mankind. For already visible on the horizon are the disturbing signs of new wars, unemployment, overproduction, scarcity, starvation, counter-revolution, and an endless period of misery.

#### INTERLUDE BETWEEN WARS

There is no cause for jubilation. This is no peace; it is merely an interlude between wars, a breathing spell to prepare for the next phase. Nor is it an era of jobs and plenty. On the contrary "peace" has a number of entirely different meanings:

1 — "Peace" means that the war will change its forms and content for a while. The next phase of the war will be a bloody attack against the working class of Europe and Asia by the troops of American and British imperialism (aided by the Stalinists and their cohorts). The European scene is fraught with revolutionary sentiment. In the next phase of this struggle we shall find American troops being used to shatter proletarian forces in France, Italy and elsewhere, just as British troops were used recently against the Greek revolution. Unless capitalism can defeat the forces of the working class it will have won no victory out of this war. And conversely, unless the working class can smash the forces of its own capitalists and the counter-revolutionary armies of the Allies, there can be no peace on earth — only more war in the immediate future, more hunger, more fascism.

2 — "Peace" means a short breathing spell for preparation for war against the Soviet Union. How much of an interlude, there will be before America and the Soviet Union cross arms cannot be foretold. But it will depend on such factors as how long Stalinism can keep the revolution in check throughout Europe, the internal conditions in the Soviet Union itself, and the internal conditions within the United States.

#### INFLATION AND UNEMPLOYMENT

3 — "Peace" means inflation in the United States. Just as after the first World War, the main inflation comes after the cessation of hostilities.

4 — "Peace" means enormous unemployment. Reduction of the 199 billion dollar economy to approximately half — since 100 billions were for war production — means an army of unemployed somewhere between 10 and 20 million. Even government agencies predict 5 million unemployed within 60 days.

5 — "Peace" means a stimulation by Wall Street of race hatred, vigilantism, growth of fascist hooligan squads, and pitting of veteran against civilian, in an effort to lower the living standards of the WHOLE American working class.

6 — "Peace" means a continuation of regimentation and giant steps toward Fascism in America and on a world scale.

In other words — there is no peace, MERELY A CONTINUATION OF THE CLASS WAR IN AGGRAVATED FORM AND A PREPARATION FOR NEW PHASES OF THE IMPERIALIST WAR!

Six years of war has proven again — if proof were necessary — that peace is impossible under capitalism. The very conclusion of capitalist "peace" confirms the thesis of the Revolutionary Marxists.

#### MORE WAR IMPENDING

Unfortunately the imperialists have completed two phases of their war without any serious interruption by the world proletariat. VJ Day is a greater defeat for the world working class than it was for Japanese Imperialism. After all the Mitsuis and Mitsubishi will eventually make their peace and become good subalterns to Wall Street; but the working class will find no peace so long as capitalism exists. Failure to halt the war through proletarian revolution means that hundreds of millions of

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## DIVIDE & RULE TRIED ON VETS

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and one-half million more will be released as soon as Japan signs the terms of surrender. But this is only the beginning. Army and navy officials predict that at least four million veterans will be released from the armed services before December of 1945. This means 8,000,000 unemployed before the end of this year.

An attempt will be made to get veterans jobs, and the manner to be used to achieve this will be one of the oldest tricks that the bosses ever used on the workers. The idea will be to give the veteran full seniority in any shop for the length of his service in the army. This will mean of course that he can bump any worker and instead of a veteran being unemployed a non-vet-

eran will be on the soup line. But the same number of total workers will still be unemployed. It is not our intent or purpose to deny the veteran a right to a job. The point we make is that this method of re-employment of the veteran on the part of the bosses is a deliberate attempt to establish hostility between the returning veteran and non-veteran workers. "Divide and rule" that is the oldest of formulas and what better excuse could be used than this?

### DIVIDE AND RULE

The returning veteran has every right in the world to a job and security, but the method that has been outlined certainly does not guarantee anyone any form of security. With the growth of unemployment, the inevitable result of this method will be a fight between the veterans themselves as to who was in the longest and who is more qualified and on and on, with the end result that every one will be on the short end of the stick. But while they are so busy fighting each other they have no time to fight against their real enemies, those who control the means of production and exploit the working class for their own profit.

This is precisely the time when the worker and the veteran must unite and fight for shorter hours and higher wages as an immediate struggle and with the perspective that only Workers Control of Production for use, not profit, can solve the problem of the working class as a whole regardless of color, race, creed, veteran or non-veteran.

RENEW YOUR SUB!

## The Meaning of "Victory"

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more lives are now placed in jeopardy; means that mankind must pay in more blood and more destruction for real peace, for real security.

To gain peace the working class must end all illusions fed them by Stalinism, Social-Democracy and the centrist tails (Trotskyist, Independent Labor Party, etc.) about direct or indirect support to a liberal capitalism. Peace can be gained only on the program of CLASS AGAINST CLASS. There can be no compromise with a system that can destroy 50 million lives in 6 years, than can obliterate a trillion dollars worth of wealth, that can plunge humanity into its worst darkness to gain markets, spheres of influence and profits. Class against class! Only the proletarian revolution can end war! No faith in, no support of bourgeois democracy! No more "popular front" or "labor party" panaceas!

### FASCISM OR COMMUNISM

The working class in Europe will soon be engaged in guerrilla fights against the Allied armies of occupation (counter-revolution). The masses will soon rise up in arms, build soviets and armed militia. Embryo Soviets, factory councils, and militia exist throughout the continent in great numbers. As the noose of the imperialist "peace" tightens around the working class of Europe explosions will occur.

This war — the civil war of the working class against capitalist oppression — can not be fought to a compromise. It will end either in the victory of the capitalist dictatorship and a new form of fascism, or in the victory of the working class and establishment of a Communist world.

For us, the working class, the war has only begun. Our war — Civil War — has only started. All efforts must be bent to give support to our brothers in Europe; all steps must be taken to stop the American troops from taking orders from Wall Street and acting as counter-revolutionaries.

There is no peace. There has been no defeat of fascism.  
Peace is possible only through proletarian revolution!

## ATOM BOMB WON'T END WARS

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is so terrifying that no nation will now ever dare to go to war.

Such foolishness!

The Atom Bomb will change the tactics and strategy of World War III just like the airplane changed the tactics and strategy of World War II. But it will not eliminate war as such. From being utilized as an offensive weapon U-235 will soon be molded into a defensive weapon. Properly manufactured as anti-aircraft shells it will blast all planes within a radius of miles from the sky; it will break up any formation of tanks over an area of a few miles; it will make long-distance rocket bombs and radio-controlled tanks and planes the major weapons of war; it will force the building of millions of underground homes and the use of oxygen tanks by most of humanity. But it will not end war any more than the great danger of poison gas ended wars following the first world cataclysm.

For the pious-minded it should be pointed out that there are far more subtle and far more deadly weapons than the Atom Bomb. For instance the weapon of starvation by which at least 8 or 10 million

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Chinese and British Indians have been starved to death in these last few years and by which millions are now starving throughout Europe. The Atom Bomb is a monstrosity, but it is only a product of a far greater monstrosity, Capitalism — and compared to the father, the son is a weakling indeed.

Unless and until capitalism is overthrown that is all we can expect — more Atom Bombs, more terror, more destruction, more death.

Only Socialism can give science a proper perspective, can give it an impetus to protect instead destroy life. Only the successful aftermath of Proletarian Revolution can find ways for utilizing U-235 to shorten the work day and make life happier. Only the Proletarian Revolution can end war and defeat Fascism.

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# » Trotskyists Bolster British Capitalism «

If there is one lesson that should have been burned into the hearts and minds of every worker and every revolutionist in these last thirty years, it is this:

That support of any reformist party or any reformist government means strengthening capitalism and paving the way for both war and fascism.

The number of millions that have lost their lives because the working class has not correctly estimated this lesson, is truly staggering — at least 100 million people in less than thirty years. Support of the socialist-Independent Socialist government in Germany in 1919 led to defeat of three revolutions of the working class and eventually to Hitlerism. Incidentally this "socialist" government of Scheideman, Noske, Haase and followers of Kautsky, was miles to the left of the present British Labor Party government, but it ended in a most brutal murder of Liebknecht and Luxemburg, and a military campaign against working class districts that cost thousands of lives.

Unification with the socialists and formation of a joint government with them by the Revolutionary Marxists in 1919, led directly to the defeat of the Hungarian revolution after a few months in power. Lenin correctly condemned this unity. And this was a government based on workers councils (Soviets); a dictatorship of the proletariat. Yet life proved that support of the reformists means death to the aspirations of the masses.

Support of the "workers and farmers government" in Saxony and Thuringia in 1923 led directly to the defeat of the 1923-24 German Revolution. Trotsky, at the time an outstanding Marxist, correctly con-

demned Stalin's support of the reformist forces which dominated this government. This too was far to the left of the present British Labor Party regime.

Support of the British Labor Party governments and the Labor Party machine 1926-30, led to the defeat of the British general strike and paved the way for Baldwin, Chamberlain and Churchill.

Support of Popular Frontism in Spain led directly to the defeat of the Spanish Revolution; and support of the Blum-Daladier-Thorez Popular Front in France in the middle thirties led to the victory of Pétain and aided the military victory of Hitler. It crushed the revolutionary potentials of the French masses — temporarily at least.

On the contrary, the refusal of Lenin to support the popular frontist, labor party regime of Kerensky in 1917 and his condemnation of the policy of Stalin and Kamenev which advocated rapprochement with Kerensky and the Mensheviks — this refusal to support reformist governments led to the victory of the Russian Revolution.

Such lessons should have been learned quite well by now, especially by people like James P. Cannon and Max Schachtman, the two leaders of the rival Trotskyist parties in the United States. Unfortunately, like Kautsky in the first world war, these two former Marxists have gone the whole hog in their conciliation of bourgeois democracy and reformism. Max has even taken the position that we ought to guarantee the American capitalists a 5% profit and a \$25,000 a year wage.

The victory of the British Labor Party, according to James P. Cannon's paper The Militant, is an "inspiring victory." "The British work-

ers have demonstrated the mighty force of organized political action. The Labor Party swept the professional Tory-capitalist politician out of office as so much chaff."

It is high time that the revolutionary workers swept James P. Cannon's theories "out of office as so much chaff," because the victory of the British Labor Party was a victory not for the masses but for the British capitalists. The British imperialists are faced with troublesome days, with discontent. Only their LEFT WING AGENTS — the Labor Party, — aided by Stalinism and Trotskyism (and, incidentally the rightist Chicago Tribune which hailed the victory of the British reformists as "a wholesome reduction in the influence of the aristocracy in government") — only the left wing agents of capitalism could keep the masses in check in this coming period. The Atlee and Bevins will keep the workers confused and divided long enough for the Fascist Moseleys to organize hooligan squads and attempt to smash the Unions and political parties of the working class.

The Cannonites state that the British workers "forced their leaders" (it should read MISleaders, Cannon) "to break the coalition with the capitalist politicians." As if Atlee, Bevin and Company are not capitalist politicians! As if the reformist gentry didn't support the imperialist war, didn't tie the masses to civil peace and class collaboration sell-outs! The victory of these capitalist agents is a well deserved reward GIVEN THEM BY BRITISH CAPITALISM for the services rendered during the war, in the hopes that those services will now be multiplied since Churchill is no longer able to carry the ball.

Cannon's editorial (Aug. 4, 1945) does not even call upon the workers to expose the British Labor Party, its reformist program and its reformist leadership. In similar circumstances in 1918-23 Lenin called for break with the reformists, expose them, oust them, refuse to support them. He wrote polemic after polemic against the Kautskyites (1918 Trotskyites) who called for unity and support of the reformists, who called for unity with the Scheidemans and MacDonalds.

But Cannon and Company have forgotten everything they ever learned about Marxism — if in truth they ever understood it. Unfortunately the tragedy is not with Cannon alone. The influence of these centrists is growing. As the masses move to the left they become prey first of the reformists and then of the apologists for the reformists, the centrists. Unless the Revolutionary Marxists can guide them against such pitfalls they become wrapped up in one confusion and one demoralizing situation after another; they do not increase their independent working class action, but on the contrary they are forced by their leaderships to give it up in favor of parliamentary cretinism.

To analyze Schachtman's position would be merely a duplication. To give the devil his due it must be stated that Max is slightly to the left of Cannon on this question — he at least spices his remarks with a few words of criticism of Atlee and company. But the essence of his position is the same.

Cannon and Schachtman are, of course, preparing for the next stage of their political and/or organizational liquidation. Just as the British Trotskyists supported the Labor Party and called for a Labor Party

(capitalist) government, so the American Trotskyists are also looking for a way to get on the Popular Front bandwagon in the U.S.

The American Trotskyists have already done yeoman's service for the cause of capitalism. The liquidation of the Workers Party in 1936 and the policy of the "French Turn" which led to it, reduced the American Marxists to a shell and permitted Stalinism to grow by leaps and bounds. Stalinists were enabled to gain complete hegemony of the unemployed movement, where prior to that the Marxists in the old Workers Party had dozens of thousands of supporters — equal at least to the Stalinists. All revolutionary-controlled mass movements became defunct — such as the labor defense organization and many, many trade unions. Instead of attracting many thousands of workers who were moving to the left (like the Revolutionary Policy Association in the Socialist Party), the French Turn capitulation to reformism repelled these thousands and pushed them either out of the movement or into the arms of Browder, Lovestone or Thomas.

American Trotskyism is continuing this Kautskyist policy. The hailing of the British Labor Party victory is only one limb of their centrist program.

For a successful revolution and for a successful development of the revolutionary Marxian organization, Trotskyism must be exposed as an apologist for reformism. All Marxists who are temporarily caught in this political den of iniquity should break with the centrists and join with the Revolutionary Workers League to build a Marxian Party in the U.S. and a New Fourth Communist International on a world scale.

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## Programmatic Highlights

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

## Stalin and the Pacific

We Marxists are realists. We know that there is a fundamental antagonism between the capitalist states and the warped Workers State. We do not consider that there is anything wrong with the Soviet Union jumping the gun on one of the imperialist powers and declaring war on it. Therefore we do not condemn the Soviet Union for going to war with Germany or with Japan; we know that the problems of humanity are solved, in the final analysis, only in terms of force and violence.

But the MANNER in which the Soviet Union declared war on Japan last month was one of the most shameful chapters in working class history. Instead of condemning all imperialism and stating openly that the Soviet Union wishes to incorporate Manchuria, Inner Mongolia, and Korea into its sphere of influence as a future protection against the United States and all other imperialist powers — instead of all this the Molotov statement says that the Soviet Union is going into the war "loyal to its allied duty."

It intimates that the Allies are peace-loving while Japanese imperialism is "aggressive." "The Soviet government considers that this policy (of entering the war) is the only means able to bring peace nearer, free the people from further sacrifice and suffering, and give the Japanese people the possibility of avoiding the dangers and destruction suffered by Germany after her refusal to capitulate unconditionally."

If ever a weapon were placed in the hands of Allied imperialism for their eventual attack against the Soviet Union itself, here it is. The Allies are palmed off as people who are fighting for progress instead of the loot-hungry imperialists they really are. When eventually Stalinism has to use the opposite propaganda it will find the change-over difficult; it will find that its policies have demoralized and confused millions who believed that the Allies really were peace-lovers, simply because the Kremlin and its puppets told them so.

One part of the Potsdam meeting undoubtedly played an important role in the declaration of war against Japan. China is living under an abysmal inflation, teetering on the brink of Revolution. A similar situation prevails throughout Asia — India, Burma, Malay and elsewhere. As a matter of fact these spots were infested with discontent even before 1939 and would probably have risen in revolt many years ago if it hadn't been for the war. One of the UN-

## THE "NEW" ROLE OF THE AMERICAN CP

The National convention of the "Communist Political Association" voted itself back into the "Communist" Party with a few strange phrases and a change of faces at the top. Foster is now number one boy to handle the oncoming rush of proletarian upheaval and Browder is retired in view of his "bearing a proportionately greater share of responsibility . . . for the opportunist errors and mistakes committed in the recent period." With the proper amount of breast-beating and self criticism for bureaucracy, revisionism, utopian economic perspectives, etc. etc. etc. ad nauseum, the main resolution proceeded to outline in much militant language how to continue being REFORMISTS, how to change a tactic here and there but keep the main line of Browder intact.

The following quotations are in the original text: (Our emphasis all the way thru.)

" . . . for the complete defeat and destruction of fascist Japanese imperialism. The winning of complete victory in this just war of national liberation is the first prerequisite for obtaining peace in the Far East . . . "

### SOCIAL-PATRIOTISM IS KEPT INTACT

" . . . supports the foreign and domestic policies of . . . Roosevelt as embodied in the decisions of Crimea and the Second Bill of Rights."

" . . . support for the San Francisco Charter . . . "

"Hence, it is of central importance to build systematically the political strength and influence of labor . . . to create that kind of national unity for the postwar period . . . to consolidate the broadest coalition of all anti-fascist and democratic forces as well as all other supporters of Roosevelt's anti-Axis policies . . . while forging the progressive unity of the nation, labor should cooperate with those capitalist groupings and elements who, for one or another reason, objectively at times, promote democratic aims."

### CONSTITUTION OF CP USA PROHIBITS REVOLUTION

The sickening patriotism of the adopted resolution; the call for national unity; the battle restricted to ELECTION CAMPAIGNING; for Palestine as a Jewish Homeland; for the continuance of rationing; for full reparations from Germany and Japan; for the long winded battle cry against their militarily defeated former ally — German fascism; the complete absence of the understanding of CLASS STRUGGLE or building organs for INDEPENDENT WORKING CLASS ACTION (which means INDEPENDENT OF ANY SECTION OF THE BOURGEOISIE, not tied to the

kite of one section against another) are all vile reminders of the same basic program of the just liquidated "reformist," "revisionist," "erroneous" "Communist" Political Association.

But the real tenets of the role the new CP is to play is to be found in their newly adopted Constitution.

**FROM THE PREAMBLE:** "The Communist Party upholds the achievements of American Democracy and defends the United States Constitution and its Bill of Rights . . . (It) carries forth the democratic traditions of Jefferson, Paine, Lincoln and Frederick Douglass, and the great working class traditions. . . ."

Article 4, Section 15. "All members eligible shall register and vote in the elections for all public offices."

Article 9, Section 2. "Adherence to or participation in the activities of any clique, group, circle, faction or party which conspires or acts to subvert, undermine, weaken or overthrow any or all institutions of American Democracy, whereby the majority of the American people can maintain their right to determine their destinies in any degree, shall be PUNISHED BY IMMEDIATE EXPULSION."

Article 9, Section 4. "Personal or political relations with enemies of the workingclass and nation are incompatible with membership in the Communist Party."

Clearly, from the constitutional provisions the CPA intends to keep itself pure from contact with anyone who verbally or otherwise rejects national unity in favor of class unity. Clearly too, its only associates legally permitted, will be the good capitalists in power and the good capitalists who aspire to power. Lenin's "State and Revolution" (which makes a distinction between the workingclass and "the nation") along with the Communist Manifesto and the rest of the revolutionary classics should be banned literature for CP members under the above article. Perhaps the CPA and the Catholic Church could agree on a prohibited reading list.

The bourgeois traditions readopted by the "Communist" Party have had their day. Bourgeois democracy is too decadent even to grant the reforms demanded by this new-old group of social-patriotic traitors. Social reformism is reactionary and can only lead to defeat. Social Revolution is on the order of the day! Only a program of INTERNATIONAL WORKINGCLASS REVOLUTION FOR A UNITED STATES OF SOCIALIST SOVIET EUROPE, ASIA, AFRICA AND AMERICA can GUARANTEE THE DESTRUCTION OF FASCISM AND A WORLD OF PEACE AND PLENTY . . .

## BRITISH LABOR PARTY A HALTER ON LABOR'S NECK

With the coming to power of the British Labor Party, the daily press said that socialism had been instituted in Great Britain and even went so far as to say that they now had a transition economy — a bloodless revolution had taken place. All this "anxiety" on the part of the press is either due to ignorance or they are purposely withholding the truth from the workers.

Great Britain has a transition economy? Let us examine it for a moment. A transition economy is one in which the workers have seized power and the means of production belong to the state (which is controlled by the workers) instead of private ownership. Have the English workers formed shop councils, seized the factories and do they control production by factory elections and representation i.e. control by the workers themselves? Obviously not. The capitalist state machinery stands intact with the Labor Party directing affairs for the boss class.

### GOERING WORKS

Several big industries will be state controlled. Is that socialism? Look at Germany. In Nazi Germany too, the capitalists nationalized some industries. For instance German iron ore was very expensive to produce. Since Hitler needed all the ore he could get he organized the Herman Goering Works, government-subsidized. The ore was then sold by the government to Krupp and Thyssen at a big loss — paid for by the taxpayers. Similarly under the Weimar Republic the banks — facing bankruptcy — were nationalized to protect the bankers from loss and to guarantee them a profit at state expense.

Nationalization of industry does not mean that indus-

PUBLICIZED concessions that Stalin gave to Truman at Potsdam was a promise of support against the Asiatic masses. Without such support the Stalinist entry into the war would only be a very negligible victory for Truman. But with this treacherous aid to imperialism, Stalin gives to Wall Street the kind of aid that can not be measured in terms of tanks, troops, planes and bases. It far transcends any such military aid. If successful it will help bring "law and order" (starvation and further dictatorship, in other words, to China and to the rest of the big continent.

For both these reasons — the Molotov statement and the secret agreement to help fight the Asiatic Revolution — the manner of the Soviet Union's entry into the war is a cause of shame to the banners of the October Revolution. We condemn Stalinism unalterably for this treachery and we proclaim that without a political revolution against Stalinism inside the Soviet Union, the defense of the first Workers State is impossible.

try is in the hands of the workers. There has been no expropriation of industry in England. For the industries that do become state controlled, the capitalists will receive bonds. That is the extent of the "expropriation" — the owning class will hold bonds instead of stock. In Great Britain the capitalist class still maintains firm hold on its state and the steel magnates themselves are to be in charge of nationalized steel industries. Are their actions going to have to be accountable to the workers in the factories? No, they'll have to account only to their state — the capitalist state.

In all this the Labor Party must play a despicable role — that of agents of capitalism trying to check the leftward movement of the English working class and channelize their energies down the path of parliamentary reform. The Labor Party is participating in the dirty job of sitting at the conference table and fighting for the spoils of the imperialist war for their masters.

### PROGRAM ON INDIA

And what will be the Labor Party actions with regard to the colonial holdings? Any talk about self-rule and independence can be nothing but talk. With revolts brewing in India, the Labor Party will be forced to quell them. The British Imperialists cannot afford to have disturbances on the home front to divert their attentions from their fight for markets and profits. The boss class will crack the whip and the Labor Party will have to jump at their commands.

By putting the Labor Party in power in England, capitalism will not be eliminated — it will eliminate the smaller capitalists, in favor of the big monopolists. This is no socialism — it is a step toward fascism, the open-dictatorship stage of capitalism.

It is significant to note that the stock market was only slightly affected when the Labor Party won the elections. The boss class knows that it needn't fear the Labor Party. But do the workers know it? Do they know that the Labor Party's role is to soft-soap the workers and stall for time while they attempt to reorganize the economy of scarcity for the capitalists?

### LEFT SHIFT

The elections in Great Britain showed the leftward move of the working class. It is a barometer of class relationships — nothing else. We must expose the Labor Party and its treacherous role. We must fight for workers control of production for use instead of profit. We must fight for working class control of the state by the elimination of capitalism. It cannot be done by the Labor Party's participation in a capitalist government. Only a Workers Council Government based on production for use and expropriation of the capitalists can bring socialism to Britain.

## Witch Hunt In Germany

Major General Hershey's statement that the armed forces would remain the same in the post-war period as during the war is debatable in view of recently released figures on the reduction of 7 million men in the army and navy. Nevertheless the fact remains that the world military police force that the United Nations intend to maintain is neither an exaggeration nor a myth.

The excuse used for the maintenance of such a force is that we want to preserve the forces of democracy and make sure that no dictators arise that will "force" us into another war. This is plain and simple...poppy-cock. These armies of occupation have one basic and important purpose and that is to guarantee for the Imperialist bosses their right to exploit the workers of the countries that they conquer and see to it that they don't revolt against the oppression.

### WITCH HUNT

Here is one example of the protection of democratic rights. Last month 500,000 American soldiers searched the homes of 15 million German people one week end. Every nook and cranny was turned topsy-turvy. 80 thousand people were arrested and thrown in jail. It can be a pretty good guess that the majority arrested were not Nazi, but workers who were protesting the fact that they were starving. It is also an established fact that when an order of this sort is made by a military machine, looting, raping and even shootings are not an uncommon occurrence. When Nazis do it — that's bad. But when Americans do it — that's "democracy." A plague on both their houses! It is equally vicious when it is done in the name of the Fuehrer or in the name of Uncle Sam.

This week-end escapade was one of the greatest, if not the greatest, witch hunt in all history, one of the blackest pages in American history.

### POLICEMAN OF THE WORLD

We are reaping the harvests of an imperialist war. The soldier who wants to come home is kept as a policeman against his fellow workers in a foreign country. The bosses have made billions of dollars of profits and they intend to keep millions of men in arms to see to it that their ill-gotten gains are protected and that their exploitation and robbery extends thruout the earth. The Imperialist War has gained nothing for the workers. Only the proletarian revolution can end war and gain security for the working class.

## Big Three

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Whole navy and merchant marine will probably either be scuttled or stolen.

Potsdam was singularly silent on a number of burning issues such as the Dardanelles and whether Stalinism will take them away from the Turks, the question of the Near East and Palestine, and many others.

Potsdam was another example of power politics, of imperialist skulduggery, of robbery and theft, of despoilation and mass murder, and of preparation for the next phases of the world bloodbath. The only concrete measures taken are those that rob and despoil people. The impoverished and starving world over are given pious wishes and pious phrases that they will get democracy and a better standard of living; but they get no real action to accomplish these tasks.

# Why the Revolutionary Workers League

You are a class-conscious worker. You believe that capitalism is a decadent system, that the only hope for humanity is the establishment of a socialist order. You are opposed to imperialism and its wars, its hunger, its depressions, its misery. You advocate an economic system based on production for use instead of for profit.

If such are your beliefs — then you belong in the Revolutionary Workers League, U. S.

We know, of course, that there are other organizations that proclaim the need for a socialist order. There is the Socialist Party, the Social-Democratic Federation, the "Communist" (Stalinist) Party, both sections of the Trotskyist movement, the Socialist Workers Party (Cannonites) and the Workers Party (Schachtmanites), and various others. How does one choose? Why not join the largest one and be done with it? The subject certainly needs study.

Capitalism is a gigantic enterprise. It has been in the saddle for three hundred years and it has perfected an enormous machine to keep the working class subjugated. At its service stands a police force of hundreds of thousands, an army and navy to be used in case of emergencies, and many extra-legal institutions like the American Legion, the Ku Klux Klan and others that fight Communism and uphold the so-called "law and order." If you're hungry and you take a slice of bread a policeman arrests you because you violated private property. He doesn't arrest the employer who laid you off and who violated human rights by subjecting you to starvation. Oh no — the capitalists have a fine piece of paper, called the Constitution, and they have millions of laws written by capitalist lawyers, which protect private property, which make private property the holy of holies. That's part of the machine.

There's more to it — the courts which defend capitalist property rights from the likes of you and I, the administration which spreads the tentacles of private capital all over the world and organizes its defense against the working class, the Congress which passes laws to keep capitalism in power.

### "HEAD-FIXING" INDUSTRY

These are the overt instruments through which capitalism rules. But there are even more important organs of rule. There is the giant "head-fixing industry" — the Church, the radio, the newspapers, the publishing business, the schools, the movies, the colleges. All these institutions are supposed to make each and every one of us patriotic and a believer in "law and order." Each of these institutions "protects" us from that horrible thing called Communism. It tells us fables and lies about how horrible Communism is and how good Capitalism is. It praises private enterprise and individual initiative to the skies and it condemns collectivism and Socialism. After twenty or thirty years of that kind of diet most people are pretty well conditioned to it.

Then too, there are the various escape industries, like the movies, the theatre, sports, etc. These industries help people NOT to think. They're supposed to — under capitalism — put you in dreamland, wishing you were Greta Garbo or Clark Gable or Joe DiMaggio, instead of just plain John Worker who must fight for a better REAL world.

And, if your mind can get through all these pitfalls, there is a final recourse that capitalism has: it utilizes agents within the ranks of the labor movement to betray the working class from within — agents like John L. Lewis, Phil Murray, Bill Green, William Foster, Norman Thomas, and a host of others whom we call REFORMISTS, people who are for the reform, not the overthrow, of the capitalist system. (As a sort of tail to the reformist kite there are the CENTRISTS, who speak of Revolution but who propose merely Reformist action. We shall deal with them later.)

### SOCIALISM AND SCIENCE

Can such a gigantic machine be overturned by pious wishes or disorganized activities? Obviously not. Can a social order which spends one trillion dollars for bloody war and kills off at least 50 million people every generation — can such a social order be "converted" without a scientific understanding of what makes it tick? No, it can not.

Socialism is impossible without science, Revolutionary Marxian Science. If you can not explain capitalism then you can not overthrow it; you will fall into one of its snares after another, you will become prey to the babblings of the reformists, the liberals or the centrists.

Now, what does make Capitalism tick? Why does it have wars and depressions? All that will tell us why we need a Revolutionary Marxian Party, why we must build the Revolutionary Workers League.

Capitalism is torn with contradictions, irremediable contradictions. It is based on the one hand, on socialized production where everyone shares in the making of commodities; but on the other hand the finished product and the profits are appropriated by a few greedy entrepreneurs. This fundamental contradiction of capitalism is the root cause of depressions, tariff wars, diplomatic wars, military wars, and fascism. Constantly capitalism is beset by depressions — each time growing longer and deeper. The decadent system of private capital is wracked with the disease of overproduction, of starvation amidst plenty, of idle men, idle machines, idle capital. Do we need any proof of this assertion? We saw it during the

depression of the thirties. We are now beginning to see it again. At the outset of the present imperialist war they told us there would be no more privation, no more depressions. But the very first announcements after the "end" of this second blood bath stated that even the government expects 8 million unemployed in six months, that billions of dollars of factories and machines are to be "retired" — are expendable.

Why? Is everybody clothed, sheltered and fed on a decent standard? Are the masses suffused with the luxuries that our economy can offer? Is there no more starvation? Why are the factories retired and its men and its capital made idle? Only the chaos, the contradictions of the capitalist system can explain this phenomena — starvation amidst plenty, an economy of scarcity. Capitalism is interested not in HUMAN rights, but in PROPERTY rights and PROFITS. Consequently it can permit such things to occur. No profits, no production. No production, starvation, fascism, war.

### WAR AND OVERPRODUCTION

Periodically the capitalists must go to war to get rid of their surplus produce, their surplus capital. They must find markets for themselves, but since the masses at home can not buy back all that they produce, the capitalists must look for markets elsewhere. Unfortunately the markets of the world have already been stolen and redivided a number of times and so the only way to get markets and spheres of influence is to steal them from other imperialist powers.

That's what the Second World War was all about. ALL the capitalist powers were in a crisis, some a little more, some a little less. There was no longer any room for six great powers. The three "have-not" nations, Italy, Japan and Germany had to take the initiative for the war because they no longer could stand the strains of overproduction as well as the richer and more bloated powers, like the U. S. and Britain. But ALL the imperialists were responsible for the war. Now that the present phase of the war has come to an end, it is easy to see just what the U. S. was interested in; it is plain as the nose on anyone's face that Uncle Sam was in this thing to gain control over Asia, to exploit the markets of Europe and Africa and Latin America. American "advisors" are in almost every country in the world, being backed by American military forces, stripping the nations and gaining markets. "Winning the war" has meant more booty for the rich imperialists — more markets, more spheres of influence.

### PERMANENT CRISIS OF CAPITALISM

But the crisis of American capitalism still exists. New technological developments in the course of the war heightened the contradictions of American capitalism. It developed an economy producing 199 billion dollars worth of goods and services. In 1929 America produced only 79 billions, and that was a banner year. With only four or five million more workers American capitalism was able to produce 2½ times as much as it produced sixteen years before. Where will this surplus be marketed? No one in Washington or anywhere else knows. Even the greatest optimists are only hoping for a national income of 125 billions. The number of permanent unemployed can easily be deduced from these figures.

The fact of the matter is that capitalism can produce only for mass murder, for war; it can not produce for peace and plenty. It is a system of society based on scarcity and slow (sometimes rapid) starvation.

Well, you say, we know most of that. But where does that lead? What has that got to do with the Revolutionary Workers League? The Trotskyites, for instance, admit the correctness of the above statements. Where do you differ from them?

LET'S GET IT STRAIGHT; CAPITALISM CAN NOT BE REFORMED, IT IS SICK AND DECADENT THROUGH AND THROUGH! That's the important starting point of our thesis. Capitalism can not bring one more good period to humanity. In fact it must not only reduce world living standards but it will even cause a great decline in science and culture.

Note, for instance, how capitalism spends 2 billion dollars to perfect an Atom Bomb which destroys 150,000 persons in one minute, but it can not spend such monies for the scientific research on misery and hunger.

THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS LEAGUE AND OTHER POLITICAL PROGRAMS IS THAT WE PROPOSE THE REVOLUTIONARY OVERTHROW OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM, WHILE EVERY OPPORTUNIST PARTY (SOCIALISTS, STALINISTS, TROTSKYIST CENTRISTS, ETC.) PROPOSES MERELY THE REFORM OR MODIFICATION OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM!

That's the nub of the whole problem! We state that any attempt to patch up the capitalist system leads only to confusion, demoralization and disaster — and the others, in varying degrees, state that we must modify the system first, we must compromise with it or its apologists before we can start the fight for socialism. We are opposed to class collaboration with the capitalists, in any form; we state categorically that only independent action of the working class can lead to emancipation of humanity from the capitalist virus.

(Continued in next issue)

**ONLY PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION CAN DEFEAT FASCISM!**