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# THESIS ON THE "END" OF THE IMPERIALIST WAR

The present cessation of military hostilities offers a good opportunity for the Revolutionary Workers League to evaluate its record of six years during the imperialist War.

## 1- OUR PREDICTIONS

On our predictions and general line on the fundamental questions of the imperialist war, the League was proven correct:

a- The fundamental character of the war as a struggle for markets and spheres of influence, in other words as a struggle by finance capital to extricate itself from its contradictions - that prognosis was correct. Enormous investments and new markets gained by American imperialism, the destruction and stripping of Italy, Germany, France and Japan of their industry all testify to the correctness of this position.

b- The fourfold antagonisms during the imperialist war, between the various imperialist groupings against each other on the one hand, and between the whole imperialist world and the proletarian revolution, (including the Soviet Union), on the other hand, was also confirmed. This fourfold antagonism influenced every phenomenon of the imperialist war and will continue to influence every future phenomenon in the imperialist world. During the last six years the imperialist aspects of the war were dominant, but the revolutionary (and counter-revolutionary) aspects are now gaining ascendancy. The war is on the verge of changing both its form and content.

c- America's role as the main driving force for war.

d- The strength of transition economy in the Soviet Union and the ability of the Soviet Union to withstand the German legions. We predicted that the Red Army would be able to stave off German invasion at a time when every one in the world gave it no more than three months.

e- We correctly predicted that capitalism would not solve its contradictions as a result of the war, that Fascism would not be defeated but on the contrary that new forms of it and military dictatorships, would be instituted by the victorious allies, and that the crisis of capitalism would be continued even within the economies of the victorious powers. Life has proven these contentions to be correct.

f- On a number of many other points of a less fundamental nature the League was proven correct. For instance, we predicted in 1937 the coming of the Stalin-Hitler pact, and once the pact was signed, that it would be broken in a couple of years. We predicted that the Soviet Union would make an alliance with Britain and the United States. We predicted the Soviet Union's entry into the war with Japan. We predicted the march of the Nazi legions eastward. We pointed out during the early days of the war that both the Nazi and the Americans would attempt to reduce Europe to an agricultural status. And many many others.

The League was incorrect on a number of minor points. For instance, we predicted that Turkey would enter the war much sooner than it actually did. The Soviet's entry into the war against Japan was envisioned a number of years before it actually happened. But whatever the errors that the League made, these were

errors, in tempo not of any fundamental line and of these only two were really important.

a- We were wrong when we predicted that there would be a successful revolution before the termination of hostilities.

b- We were wrong when we stated that Stalinism would not outlast the military phase of the war.

Obviously these two prognostications were interrelated. Actual revolution occurred in at least three countries and innumerable revolutionary and pre-revolutionary situations developed. Unfortunately, however, not one of these was turned into a successful revolution. Had that been the case, of course, both of these predictions would have been fulfilled. Our error lay, therefore, in an over evaluation of the subjective strength of the proletariat, in what was, probably, too much wishful thinking for the growth of a Revolutionary Marxian party, in Europe. The inability of the proletariat in Greece, India, and Italy -- and France, Germany, Belgium -- to convert the revolutionary and pre-revolutionary situations into success, consolidated the hand of Stalinism outside and inside the Soviet Union and permitted imperialism to conclude hostilities unchecked by successful worker's revolt. Stalinism showed itself as the most treacherous agency of capitalism within the proletariat in the history of mankind, and was able to stave off political revolution inside the Soviet Union primarily because of the temporary effectiveness of this treachery.

But although we were wrong as to the tempo of these developments, we were not wrong as to the general trend. The proletarian revolution will manifest itself constantly in the coming period in Europe. And the crisis of Stalinism inside of the Soviet Union although delayed, is not averted. Although we are getting very little reports from inside the Soviet Union, we can rest assured that the struggle between Stalinism and the generals on the one hand, who will demand bourgeois concessions from the bureaucratic regime, and between both these forces and the armed proletariat on the other hand will increase rapidly in this period. This crisis can not be avoided. (This subject alone should be dealt with in a separate thesis following the convention.)

## 2- FASCISM AND REACTION

The "end" of the war gives additional proof to the fact that capitalism can not achieve even temporary stability except under its fascist form. We do not mean to imply that fascism must and will maintain its present forms. On the contrary, it can be anticipated that it will change its form radically in the direction of more brutality and more naked dictatorship. It is quite conceivable that capitalism will come up with reactionary forms of rule even worse than fascism. But there can be no stability under capitalism except for a short period under a naked dictatorship. The present bourgeois democratic period is definitely ephemeral and is only a short interlude until the imperialists can consolidate their structures, confuse and demoralize the masses and institute Fascism.

## 3- THE ATOM BOMB

The advent of the atom bomb indicates the callousness and brutality of the imperialist world, particularly American imperialism. While Germany had the ascendancy

of the air, America loudly protested the bombing of civilians in Britain and France. The atom bomb, however, which killed and maimed 430,000 people was peddled off as a liberating instrument. The dead children, women and unborn children testify to the callousness of the imperialist world.

The fond hope that the atom bomb will terrify the imperialist powers into ending all war is a childish utopia. It is reminiscent of the days of the first imperialist war when everybody thought that gas, tanks, and airplanes, would end wars forever. The atom bomb changes the forms of military strategy. Open warfare will become a matter of long distance television bombs, anti-aircraft atom bombs for defense purposes, rocket bombs, underground cities, cave cities, decentralization, etc. On the other hand, the increase of mechanization in warfare will offer a still greater opportunity for guerrilla struggle on the part of the oppressed. (Our position on guerrilla warfare is contained in the document of the last convention, which outlines our strategy relative to the guerrilla forces. That portion should be considered part of the present report.)

But wars themselves are a product of the imperialist world and finance capital. The contradictions of capitalism already glaringly manifested in Europe and to a lesser extent in the U.S. and Britain, must bring new conflicts, new struggles, new wars for markets and spheres of influence. The growing conflict between China and Britain over Hong-Kong, the condemnation by America and Britain of Soviet puppet regimes in Roumania, Hungary, and Bulgaria, the threat of civil war in China, the conflict between Greece and Yugoslavia, and other multitudinous struggles of this sort all indicate that new wars are on the horizon -- atom bomb or no atom bomb.

## 4- THE INNER IMPERIALIST RELATIONS.

The "end" of the war sees the liquidating of three major imperialist powers, Germany, Italy, and Japan and the weakening of two imperialist powers on the victors side, France and Great Britain. Only two world powers emerge stronger, the U.S. and the Soviet Union. This new relationship of forces means that there will be a new alignment of imperialist powers. The capitalist time-table moves to the next point on the clock, a sharpening of the antagonism between the decadent capitalist world, with the U.S. and Britain in the forefront, and the social revolution including the Soviet Union. Before the formal armistice papers were signed civil war was heightened in China and reared its head in Argentina and elsewhere. Incidentally, Chinese civil war which had been smoldering for a time was a major reason for the hastening of "peace".

The Anglo-American antagonism will become more intensified but difficulties with the proletariat and the unsettled world situation will postpone temporarily a final settlement of these difficulties. Power politics, however, will still be decisive regardless, United Nations conference, etc.

War has not been ended. Within a capitalist society the abolition of war is impossible because the CAUSE of war, exploitation of man by man and over-production, still remains. The end of the war has solved nothing fundamental as to the problems that caused war. The economic contradictions of capitalism make it certain that new tariff wars, new struggles for markets, new diplomatic and military

war, as well as new counter-revolutionary actions against the proletariat will take place in the immediate future preparatory to more military hostilities.

#### 5- ECONOMY OF SCARCITY

World capitalism has moved to the point where an economy of scarcity on the most grandiose scale in all history must be instituted. In Germany, Japan, Italy, France, etc, there has been a forceful retirement of the industrial means of production by the allied powers. Even in the U.S. the "end" of the war sees a retirement of about one half of the productivity of the nation, from a 199 billion economy to a prospective 100 billion dollar economy. America follows the pattern laid down for it by the fascist powers. Italy and Germany eliminated the Jewish and other minority forces from the social and political milieu in order to gain reforms for the remainder of the population and keep Germany in the capitalist vise. The American liberals condemned this policy repeatedly. The big allies, however, are carrying out a similar process on a far more gigantic scale. They are completely eliminating the beaten powers and others as industrial and finance capital units in the world economy. The Potsdam agreement condemns millions of people to an infinitely reduced standard of living and to utter starvation. We can anticipate within the U.S. as well, further elimination of the small business man and other sections of the economy.

#### 6- STALINISM

During the course of the imperialist war, Stalinism showed many and variegated forms. For instance, its role in China. As head of a government of 90 million people, it institutes national democratic reforms but treacherously keeps the sights of the peasant revolt down to this level instead of attempting to coordinate it with the proletarian revolution. Throughout Europe Stalinism got at the head of the struggles of the masses, in guerrilla units and otherwise, and betrayed them to the bourgeois state. In a number of instances in central and eastern Europe, the Stalinist armies and Stalinist parties played an open counter-revolutionary role in liquidating factory committees, soviets, etc. In western Europe and in the U.S. Stalinism played the role of a reformist loyal opposition, advocating capitalist reforms and supporting the imperialist blood bath. Today at the "end" of the war, the Stalinist virus manifests itself in at least four different roles.

- a. In Western Europe and America the Stalinists attempt to become part of the popular front governments.
- b. In the Soviet Union itself it will continue the same bureaucratic machine and the further liquidation of the remnants of October.
- c. In Asia Stalinism is struggling for hegemony over hundreds of millions of peasant masses, and
- d. In eastern and central Europe, in those countries that are in the Soviet Union's sphere of influence.

The present form of Stalinist control over countries like Poland, Bulgaria, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Austria, is only transitory and temporary. Eventually these nations will be absorbed into the economy of the Soviet Union as such, if Stalin's plans actuate, Stalinism is moving in that direction. There will, however, be a bloody battle before its wishes in that respect are satisfied. The opposition will come from two sources, the bourgeois forces within the Soviet Union and their

army generals, and the imperialist world on the outside. The present political forms in these countries, however, are already modeled after the political forms in the Soviet Union. Those forms are radically different from the forms which Stalinism would assume if it took power in countries like France, the United States, or Italy where there is no hope or intention of incorporating them into the Soviet sphere of influence. The League emphasizes the transitory character of the present regimes. In forcing Stalinism to accept capitalism for these areas, Roosevelt and Churchill laid the ground work for a future excuse for the invasion of the Soviet Union. Mr. Bevin's and Mr. Byrnes' attacks on the present regime in Hungary, Roumania, and Bulgaria shows that the propaganda wheels are already in motion for that purpose.

Within the Stalinist party too, the "end" of the war has seen a slight shift to the left, but within the framework of social reformism. Mindful of the leftward shift of the masses, Stalinism is attempting to accommodate itself to the sentiment of the oppressed and to get at the head of these movements in order to behead them, because this leftward movement is a threat to the Stalinist bureaucracy within the Soviet Union. Stalinism plays one continuous reactionary role, but on occasion it trots out the face of reforms, on other occasions it resorts to open counter-revolution and on still other occasions it utilizes hybrid forms.

#### 7. CRISIS OF CAPITALISM

The capitalist world is constantly trying to create the impression that there is no continuity between the first imperialist war, the depression and the present carnage. The atom bomb and the 1945 "victory" is being presented as a "turning point in history". This falsehood must be exposed mercilessly. The turning point in capitalist history occurred at the beginning of the 20th century with the ascendancy of finance capital, imperialism, and the beginnings of intensified capitalist decay. The high point of that early period was the Russian and related revolutions, which unfortunately were unable to destroy the capitalist virus. 1945 is merely an extension of that decay and the revolutionary situations which are developing now are merely extensions of the revolutionary crises in the imperialist world ever since the turn of the century. The first imperialist war ushered in the final stage of decay capitalism. This war merely reveals the deepening of this process, and the further expansion for the ground work for successful social revolution. This argument with the exploiters is not a play of words. It flows from two entirely different positions and concepts of the world and the economic development. As we predicted at the beginning of the war 1939, this war was the worst in destruction of men and material of any in history. The revolutionary wave that follows it will be longer and deeper than any in history.

#### 8. THE U. S. OF AMERICA.

The U.S. emerges out of the war as the most powerful nation in the world, equal to all the other capitalist nations combined in its military might. In this worst of wars England lost its naval position, its financial position, and other key position to the U.S. The U.S. is thus the economic and financial giant of the world, without any serious threat from any other power. Its only threat is from the social revolution (including the Soviet Union). America emerges out of this war in this first period without the difficulties confronting the continental powers and to a lesser degree Britain. The polarization of classes in the U.S. is nowhere as sharp but the working class will continue to move leftward.

This polarization will continue at an attenuated pace now. Unemployment can be expected to go to 15 million in the coming period. Possibly a million will be sloughed off by new industry but the idle men, idle capital in the U.S. will soon be greater than in any other country in the world. America, therefore, although the biggest victor in the war, will face the greatest reconversion and class problems of all. For a short period there will be a relaxation of decree government in the U.S. but the crisis of capitalism will soon drive America to an augmentation of decree government, and to great steps toward military fascist dictatorship. The struggle against proletarian revolution in Europe and Asia and the impending struggle against the S.U. demands that American capitalism consolidate its internal structure under Truman just as it consolidated its internal structure under Roosevelt in the 30's, for the next phase of military hostilities. We the proletariat, must attempt to disrupt every effort by the bourgeois state to achieve this task and prepare itself for more war.

On a world scale proletarian revolutions definitely are on the order of the day. We repeat again and again, the main immediate danger comes from bourgeois-democracy and its reformist and centrist apologists. The main bulwark of world capitalism is here in the U.S. Upon us of the Revolutionary Workers League and the working class in general is placed the task of smashing this bulwark of world reaction and establishing a socialized order in the U.S. and abroad.

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## WHAT NEXT IN THE TRADE UNIONS?

THIS DOCUMENT WAS BASIS FOR TRADE UNION REPORT TO EIGHTH CONVENTION OF R.W.L.

This report is a supplement to the various reports and discussions of the Plenums of the R.W.L. in the past year. It is necessary today to bring up to date the Marxian analysis of the trade union movement.

One of the important factors facing the trade union movement in this period is the question of reconversion. With the end of the war hundreds upon hundreds of war plants have shut down causing wide spread unemployment. The rationalization of machinery during the war period, industry will need far less working forces than was needed prior to the war to manufacture the same goods. We are face to face with unemployment, and reduction in the cutting of the take home pay of the worker. All these things are the beginning of the post-war reconversion period.

There have been demagogic schemes like the super-W.P.A. 60 million job scheme of Wallace, but basically the Capitalist class has no solution for the tremendous growing unemployment that faces the country and the world today. Certainly the G.I. bill of rights offers very little to the returning Vets, which we will deal with later in this report.

The workers are creeping out of their war time lethargy, to the point that they are striking for better wage and hour conditions. This is an important factor that we have to recognize. The workers see the handwriting on the wall and are making every attempt to break the "Little Steel" formula and demanding the withdrawal of the labor members from the war labor board. They are also fighting the war time regulations as to hours of employment. It is becoming increasingly more difficult for the boss-agents in the unions to hold the workers to the NO-Strike clauses in their constitutions. The best example of this is the current strike wave. Thousands upon thousands of workers are striking in order to break the straight jacket of war time regulations forced on them during the war.

There is a definite movement to the left in all trade union locals, but there is a need for leadership. The workers have been voting with their boots in the last five years. As a result of such negative procedure, they are raw in their attempt to fight the parliamentary bureaucracy of their war-supporting leadership. The Trade Union Educational League will have to be the instrument to re-educate these workers and teach them how to win victories.

During the war the use of the troops by the government to break strikes and threaten workers with draft into the army demonstrated the tremendous campaign of the bosses against the workers. In spite of these threats and actions, thousands upon thousands of workers have militantly carried thru their strikes. These actions of the workers forced the velvet glove off the War Labor Board, and their only answer was force and violence through the use of the armed forces.

VE day marked the beginnings of the post-war reaction and although the capitalist class was able to complete their Imperialist conquest of Europe without any setbacks by the revolutionary working class, the masses of the entire world are for-

cing concessions from their imperialist bosses through strikes and demonstrations. The general strike in Belgium where the Socialist Premier sent the troops after the strikers is a good indication of the left movement of the masses not only against their own capitalists but also their imperialist conquerors.

The returning veterans become an important problem. It is quite apparent that these men have to be re-employed and in a time of growing unemployment these men will be a part of the surplus labor market. The capitalists are trying to pit them against the workers by giving them overall seniority - pitting one section of the working class against the other. The class-conscious worker has to recognize this trick and fight together with the vet against these schemes. The G.I. bill of rights does not solve the problems for the vet. It is too full of legalistic loop holes, the clauses within it do not really guarantee the veteran any kind of security. For instance the clause on money to be loaned to veterans. The ex-soldier has to prove first that his business venture will be a successful one and then he has to have a co-signer to the loan. This is of course ridiculous. In the first place what guarantee has anybody that a \$2,000 business will be a success and if he needs a co-signer he could get that without a G.I. bill of rights. As for the educational clauses of the bill, the stipulations are so tough that the average soldier is unable to qualify for them. The colleges have been very reluctant to receive these vets on the basis that the entry is so wound up in red tape that it takes too much of their time to unwind it. Other features of the educational clauses have stymied the returning soldier in his desire to become educated through the G.I. bill of rights. These things along with many others are a good indication of what the veterans are going to face in their return to civilian life. It is our duty to point these things out to them and how it affects them in their relation to the rest of the working class.

Another section of the working class which will pay a terrific price in this post-war reconversion period is the Negro. In regard to the colored workers, the last one hired and the first one fired has become a common slogan. The bosses have used them in the war period when they needed them. They have granted minor concessions under Fair Employment Committees and other reforms to win the good will of the Negro masses. With the ending of the war these reforms will prove only temporary. The capitalists will go back to their old methods, pitting white against black to have them fighting among themselves and to channelize the class war. The black worker has to learn along with his white brother that the solution of the working class problems is not only trying to gain economic concessions from their bosses, but unitedly taking the means of production away from them and establishing Workers Control of Production for Use not Profit under a Workers Council Government. Then and only then will their gains be permanent.

When working within a union the Marxist is confronted with the agents of the bosses in all categories. First of all the constitution of almost every union in the country recognizes the right of private property. The old stooges of the A.F. of L. and the opportunist leaders of the C.I.O., through bureaucratic control, have managed to retain leadership. The ignorance of the rank and file worker in parliamentary procedure is used to stifle any attempt of revolt from below. When the going gets too hot they resort to thuggery of all sorts. These are the tactics that have been used in the past and doubtlessly will be used in the future by all bureaucrats of this ilk.

Then we have the Stalinist variety of blackguards who in this war period have operated as the worst sort of stool-pigeons, labor baiters and patriots that the Labor Movement has even seen. But there will be a change in the tactics of the Stalinists since the declaration from Moscow thru Duclos and its going to have its reaction in the trade unions. It is quite evident that the C.P. has to clean house and although they will still play the role of class peace and compromisers for national unity they will use the trade union as a threat to the American imperialists for a compromise with the Soviet Union. It is quite evident that the C.P. has to clean house and although they will still play the role of class peace and compromisers for national unity they will use the trade union as a threat to the American imperialists for a compromise with the Soviet Union. It will be evident that if the United States continues to lend money to the Soviet Union and remain on peaceful terms with her the C.P. leadership in the trade unions will not force any issues as to strikes or giving support to any serious demand of the workers. Only if it appears that the U.S. is sharpening its antagonism to the Soviet Union will the Stalinists use the trade unions as a whip against Wall St. But even then their strikes will be on a class collaboration line.

Of course the effects on the working class of such misleadership will be disastrous; disillusionment and demoralization on the part of the workers in regard to the trade union, and a good rationalization on the part of the Boss Propagandists to cry that our trade unions are under the control of foreign dictators. One of the main features of the change in the C.P. line is that they have not yet coordinated their new line in the trade union. It is almost impossible to predict their everyday tactics, but generally the above mentioned strategy is what they will follow.

We then have the Trotskyite tail-kiter, whose attitude has consistently been one of "let well enough alone". They speak in left phraseology, but when it comes to struggle they become legalistic and technical. Their whole attitude stems from their false concept of building a Labor Party. They are sacrificing the class struggle and the independent action of the workers. They are creating the false illusion that the working class can make gains by playing power politics. The Trotskyites ignore the Marxian concept that the workers main fight is against the bosses at the point of production and the independent political action of the workers by the establishment of a strong Marxian Party, whose main task it will be to overthrow capitalist society.

Today there is a tremendous revolt in the rank and file and it is crying for leadership. The only leadership that will do any good is one built through a Trade Union Educational League, in this period of rank and file revolt. The Trade Union Educational League, under the guidance of the Revolutionary Marxists is the only potential force which can further the class struggle. It will act as the vanguard which must channelize the left moving upsurge of the Proletariat in this post-war period. We have to throw our forces into the trade unions and work to build cadres of leadership as the beginning of our factory committees and Shop Units. This has to be one of our main tasks in the immediate future.

# CHINA: REFORM OR REVOLUTION

ELABORATION OF R.W.L. EIGHTH CONVENTION MEMORANDUM

## WHAT IS THE ROLE OF CHINA IN THE WORLD TODAY?

The capitalist world is a vast conglomeration of highly developed countries on the one hand and exceedingly backward countries on the other, with a whole series of smaller powers that combine both these phases. The bourgeois revolution was never a very orderly affair and the vast majority of the world has really never been touched by completed revolutions. It is only since the period of imperialism that the capitalist hand has penetrated to the remotest corners of the world. For the revolutionary Marxists this uneven and combined development creates a very complicated problem.

We recognize the fact that the struggle for national liberation, the bourgeois nationalist revolution would be a major step forward for the people of semi-colonial China, India, Ethiopia, and other parts of the world. In some of the colonial countries such nationalist revolutions have actually begun. Such is the case in China. However, in the period of imperialism--in the period of finance capital and monopolies--the struggle of the masses of any country for that liberation could not be completed except by and through the proletarian revolution. The dominance of finance capital over every country in the world is such that for the masses to attempt to divide the land and to institute other bourgeois reforms would lead to and does lead to imperialist invasion for exploitation and oppression. The major imperialist powers can not and will not permit any real democratic reforms.

The strategy of the revolutionary Marxists, therefore, must be a combined strategy. We must support the struggles of the masses of the colonial and semi-colonial countries for liberation, but it can only be a conditional support.

At the helm of every colonial country there stand today puppets for one or another imperialist power. No colonial leader, except a revolutionary Marxist can play any independent role. Support of such leaders as Chiang-Kai Shek, Nehru, Gandhi, or Haille Selassie means to support the imperialist powers that stand behind them. (We do not mean to imply that for a relatively short period any one of these individuals cannot straddle between imperialist powers and thus give the illusion of playing an independent role, but in the last analysis--as witness the case of Chiang-Kai Shek--he must play a role completely subservient to one or the other of these imperialist powers or blocs of powers).

## NATIONAL LIBERATION OR PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION

Since we cannot support these agents of imperialism but since on the other hand the struggle of the masses for national liberation is progressive, we have developed ever since the days of Lenin the complex strategy of "March Separately and Strike Together." It means that since our perspective is to continue the national phase of the revolution directly and immediately into the proletarian revolution, that we prepare the instruments of such proletarian revolution in

advance--instruments such as workers and peasants councils, militia, etc.: However since the peasantry, which comprises the majority of the population usually does not immediately go over in ideology and actions into a role subservient to the leadership of the proletariat but must learn through its experiences, we propose to strike together WITH the colonial puppet or agent of imperialism who fights for the national revolution, but we march separately from them with OUR OWN organization and instruments.

THE STRATEGY OF MARCH SEPARATELY AND STRIKE TOGETHER CAN NOT BE APPLIED IN ALL CASES OR IN ALL CIRCUMSTANCES, nor should it be so applied. It is a STRATEGY DESIGNED MERELY TO GAIN TIME FOR THE MARXIAN PARTY TO WIN THE ALLEGIANCE OF THE OPPRESSED MASSES OF THE COLONIAL COUNTRIES. IF SUCH ALLEGIANCE CAN NOT BE GAINED IN THAT WAY, FOR ONE REASON OR ANOTHER, THEN OBVIOUSLY THE STRATEGY SHOULD NOT BE USED.

If this strategy is feasible in periods of so-called peace or in periods when a colonial power is fighting against its "mother" country or another imperialist power, it becomes IMPERMISSIBLE IN PERIODS OF IMPERIALIST WAR. At such times the limited struggle for national liberation becomes engulfed in the major struggle for the redivision of the earth and our strategy must likewise be broadened on an international scale. We still refuse to support the colonial puppet, such as Chiang-Kai Shek, in any way shape or form, we still continue to build our independent organs of power with the perspective of moving toward proletarian revolution but we refuse in this case to support the front at all. We adopt the policy of revolutionary defeatism. It would obviously be ridiculous to call for defeatism on a sector of the front manned for instance by American troops, and call for defensism on a sector of the front a couple of miles away manned by Chinese troops, since the Chinese troops would be completely under the domination of the American Generals, aims, purposes, etc. In other words the isolated phenomena of a struggle for national liberation--such as the struggle of China against Japan from 1927 to the outbreak of World War II--becomes completely immersed in a struggle with far greater implications for the world proletariat, and our strategy therefore, becomes broadened.

The R.W.L. from its inception has maintained this strategy of march separately and strike together for all colonial and semi-colonial countries. We advocated such a policy in Ethiopia in 1935 even though we recognized the fact that in Ethiopia there was no proletariat at all. We proposed marching separately from but striking together with the forces of Haille Selassie against Italian imperialism. We pointed out at the time that the fate of the Ethiopian masses depended upon their alliance, primarily, with the Italian proletariat and the extension of their national struggle--with the aid of the world proletariat--into a proletarian revolutionary phase.

## ZIGZAGS OF C.P. MISLEADERSHIP

The situation with China, however, is not only complicated by the laws of uneven and combined development, but it is complicated by another material factor as well. From 1925 to 1927 in China there was a revolutionary situation and outbreaks of revolution throughout the land. Due to the treacherous role of Stalinism, which allied itself with Chiang-Kai Shek and which liquidated its independent working class organizations in Shanghai, Canton, and elsewhere,

that revolution in the major industrial sections was defeated. But the masses in the countryside reacting at a much slower tempo and being out of touch with the major industrial cities continued their efforts for liberation. Stalinism, having misled the workers to defeat now turned to a completely rightist policy (with of course, the usual leftist phrases) of organization purely amongst the peasantry and purely within the framework of the bourgeois revolution. For ten years from 1927 to 1937 Stalinist forces participated in and gave leadership to the seizure of land by the peasantry in quite a few areas throughout China. In that period the border regions, as these areas were called--were forced to wage ceaseless battles with the armies of Chiang-Kai Shek. In this struggle the boundaries of Red China were very amorphous and changed from week to week and month to month. In 1937 following another international zigzag by Stalinism the Chinese Stalinists abandoned the policy of organizing peasant Soviets, of expropriating landlords, etc. in favor of a more "moderate" policy of merely reducing rents and interest rates and continuing the old prevailing policies of landlordism. The landlords, of course, were considerably circumscribed in power and economic wealth. Expropriation of a number of large land owners continued and continues to this day, but the landlord structure still remains. Stalinism adopted the policy, instead of expropriation of all capitalists, of limiting their activities while guaranteeing them a profitable return on their investments. Instead of workers and peasant Soviets, Red China became a country with a bourgeois parliament elected on the basis of universal suffrage.

Nevertheless, despite the complete limitation of the struggles of the peasant masses to the bourgeois framework, Stalinism was able to maintain its hold upon an area covering about 130,000 square miles and with about 80 million people. To the largest degree this is the result of the fact that the Chiang-Kai Shek government became ever more oppressive so that literally millions of people were starved to death by this puppet of American imperialism.

We thus face a situation where a progressive movement of the masses, the movement of the peasantry for national liberation is dominated by a reactionary force, Stalinism, which limits these efforts. And by their refusal to further the struggle for national liberation toward revolution they will eventually betray those efforts into the hands of imperialism and its Chinese puppets.

#### SUPPORT OF RED CHINA

The situation is complex, but we cannot on that account take the position of refusing to participate in it. Revolutionary Marxists in such a situation would support the forces of Red China against those of Chiang-Kai Shek at all times and under all circumstances so long as the masses continued with their revolutionary struggle. But we do not on that account support the leadership of Mao Tse Tsung. On the contrary, we must attempt to overturn the regime of Mao Tse Tsung in the course of our joint struggle against the forces of Chiang-Kai Shek. Here again we utilize the strategy of march separately from Mao Tse Tsung, strike together with his forces whether against Chiang-Kai Shek or against the Japanese or against both.

we adopt such a policy--not a policy of defeatism for the border regions--even during the period of imperialist war, because here the revolutionary aspirations of the masses make themselves felt at every turn. Millions of peasants and

THOUSANDS of workers were organized into a peoples militia throughout Red China. The whole population was mobilized in the struggle against both the forces of Chiang-Kai Shek, (which deployed about a million troops from the Japanese front to surround Red China) and the forces of Japan which used frontal military measures against the Chinese people. The military tactics and resources of the peasants of Red China were ingenious to the nth degree. They developed guerilla tactics and organized an army and munitions manufactory that undoubtedly were more sensational than anywhere else in the world. The people in Red China were completely mobilized in the war against Japan.

#### CIVIL WAR IMMINENT

In the coming months we shall witness enormous political and economic changes in China. The existence of a Red China inside a White China cannot continue indefinitely. It is, in a very real sense, a state of civil war, and it means that either the forces of American imperialism with its Chiang-Kai Shek puppet will liquidate the armies and reforms of Red China, or the struggles of the Chinese peasants will be coordinated with and subordinated to the efforts of the masses in Shanghai and elsewhere towards proletarian revolution. Following the defeat of Japan hundreds of trade unions were immediately reorganized in the major cities and many political and economic strikes have and are occurring throughout the industrial areas. Stalinism in line with the Potsdam conference can do no more than demoralize and weaken the efforts of both the city proletariat and the rural peasantry. It must undoubtedly take the role of undermining even the border regions. The revolutionary Marxists on the other hand, while continuing the support of these border areas against Chiang-Kai Shek; while insisting that they maintain and extend their own independent organs, must, nevertheless in the present period tie it up with the major struggle of the Chinese people against all imperialism, against all imperialist puppets, and for the proletarian revolution throughout Asia.

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# GREECE STILL WAITS

## ELECTIONS CAN NOT SOLVE PROBLEMS!

Perhaps no country has felt the onslaught of the Imperialist war more than Greece. Every imperialist army that has fought in this war has occupied the country. First came the Italians who were driven out and completely repelled by the people. With the force of the mighty German Army, however, the Nazis took over and ruled and terrorized the country by the most vicious brute force. The Italians bombed a few cities and killed and looted; but the Nazis looted, bombed, and committed mass murders. Ratios of twenty to fifty Greek lives were established to every German soldier killed. The people of Pireaus, Athens Patras, etc. existed on a diet of soup six days a week and, perhaps, some meat on the seventh. Any sign of open opposition or expressions of freedom were immediately stamped out. From this situation arose the formation of the "peoples" organizations of resistance.

Greece being a hilly, mountainous, rugged country afforded good terrain for partisan organizations. Thousands took to the hills to flee the German Imperialist terror, starvation and brutality. In every city and village the organization of ELAS and EAM took place; the organizations of the Greek C.P. and the Socialists took the leadership in the struggle against the Imperialists. The Greek workers and peasants were overwhelmingly united in one solid block of opposition to the Germans; but the bourgeoisie were complimented by the Nazis for their fine cooperation. The result--as with the Italians--the people pushed the Germans completely out of the country. The Greek Revolution was threatening, the organizations to the left of the C.P. especially, grew in leaps and bounds. Nearly all the people belonged either to EAM, the political organization, or to ELAS, the Army. A condition of dual power existed for a period of two or so months at the beginning of 1944. The power was in the hands of the masses and their organizations did not take it. They could not take power because their leadership did not have a correct program.

### COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY FORCES VICTORIOUS

The Greek Revolution is not dead. The Civil War of December, 1944 was stemmed by the Imperialists force of arms and the reformism of the leadership of the Greek masses. The Revolution is not dead. It will arise and renew itself on the basis of its past experiences and mistakes.

Greece today is a scene of a reactionary victory and a working class defeat. Approximately 60,000 workers and peasants who participated in the December event with the forces of ELAS and EAM pack the jails. In the area around Patras alone 18,000 are imprisoned. No one dares to speak out openly against the present government without fear of being punished by one of the present Greek Government's military forces or informed upon by any of the numerous imperialist agents or Royalist sympathizers. The overwhelming sympathy of the people is against the

present Government and in support of ELAS and EAM. But the overwhelming power of arms and force lies in the one division of British troops garrisoned throughout the country, ready at a moments notice for action, together with the military and naval forces of the present Government.

Reaction has conquered, but the sober reminders of last winter's events remain, together with the present intolerable conditions. Whole sections of the town of Pireaus, the port for Athens, were completely demolished by British bombs. Throughout both Pireaus and Athens remain the broken window panes and damaged buildings, evidences of the gunfire that was exchanged by the two opposing forces. The blood and the slogans of ELAS, EAM, THE KKE on the walls of buildings, in the sidewalks and the streets may be erased but the odor and atmosphere of Revolution and struggle remain.

The city of Patras is controlled by complete martial law. Quartered throughout the town in key plazas and sections are the government troops armed and ready. Haughtily and arrogantly a squad marches down the main street of the town every evening at the supper hour, to the accompaniment of a fifteen piece military band for the changing of the guard. In addition to the troops quartered in small sections throughout the town is a large camp on the outskirts. In another section the British also have a garrison of several hundred troops.

### CONDITION OF THE MASSES

The living standards of the people are very low. Prices for food and clothing far outstrip the wages of the average worker. Wages average between 60¢ to \$1.50 a day (300 to 550 drachmas) depending on the work and hours. It is Government policy that wages do not go past this level. Strikes or protest are punishable by imprisonment in certain areas depending on how well the workers involved are organized. The need for clothing forms a great problem, especially for shoes. These may be had but the prices are far outside the pocketbook of the average worker. It is common amongst workers to go barefoot while working in order to save their shoes. A cheap pair of shoes may cost anywhere from 10 to 25 American dollars, a new pair of pants, 5 to 10 dollars, which in terms of the present standard of living makes it very difficult to obtain any commodities of this sort. Rationing of many articles is widespread. It is an agonizing sight to see hundreds of women, old men, and children, in Pireaus at one of the small market place squares, milling and pushing to remain in line to get their ration books stamped. All the grocery stores have canned foods imported from the U.S.A. through U.N.R.R.A.

When the Germans occupied Greece inflation grew to the point where 50,000,000 drachmas could just about buy a loaf of bread. Currency became valueless. When the British occupied the country, the drachma was stabilized at the rate of 500 to the American dollar. However, it is interesting to note that no coins or metal currency of any sort was reintroduced. All currency is paper.

### RULE OF BRITISH IMPERIALISM

The propaganda of the Bourgeois press notwithstanding, the British troops are not looked upon as "liberators" by the masses. They are regarded as another occupying force present to stem the tide of any real struggle for freedom and lib-

eration on the part of the masses. The events of last winter's civil war have not been forgotten. It is only the Royalists, the right wing reactionaries of the Church, all the counter-revolutionary elements and the present Government personnel, etc., who cater to the British. To the great mass of people they are regarded the same as the Italians and Germans were with a mild variation of attitude since conditions are relatively "better."

Churchill is looked upon as a Fascist. When the elections in the United Kingdom gave the Labor Party victory, great hope and confidence was placed in the new Attlee Government due to ideas imbued in the minds of the masses by EAM, the KKK, etc.; An immediate change was looked for in the policy of the British Government towards Greece. However, it has taken very little time to dispell this idea. The policy of British Imperialism has not changed. The military forces of occupation are being strengthened in even greater force in preparation for the coming elections in October. The old policy of British Imperialism remains despite the present Labor Party Government and its sugar coated promises to the working class. When the fraud of the coming elections in October (if they are not postponed) is revealed to the working classes, it is very likely that the events of last winter will be repeated with redoubled fury. This time it will be the "Labor Government" of Great Britain that with redoubled fury shall stem the tide of Proletarian revolution in Greece. The program of the KKE, EAM and all other reformist organizations in leading the masses to the ballot box instead of to the barricades, to disarming instead of rearming, to compromise with "Bougeois Democracy" instead of a fight to overthrow all forms of capitalist rule is channelizing, diverting, and wearing out the struggle of the masses for a real fight for power. Despite the present leadership, however, the needs of the masses and the objective conditions will further and renew the struggle and contest for power.

#### COMING ELECTIONS ARE FRAUD

One of the greatest frauds and treachery that could be committed is the confidence that the present organizations are giving to the October elections. Every one, everywhere, is waiting and placing all hope in them. The working class knows it is in the majority. But the false hope of obtaining their demands through the elections by ousting the present government and establishing a "Democratic" one can result only in disillusionment. On the contrary, the elections instead of giving the masses an opportunity to obtain their demands will only chain them all the more to the counter-revolution and further defeat unless the truth be realized by all. The election will exclude all female suffrage. Only males will be allowed to vote. Also all voters will be required to register. Everyone in the country is required to carry a Government identification card with one's picture, description, address, etc., vix., an internal passport (common throughout Europe today). But how many thousands who fled into the hills with the partisans, or those who fought against the British and the present Government hold legitimate identification cards? Will this not be an excellent manner of getting each individuals record and past history, to find out what his political position is? Instead of a democratic election this will be a reactionary sham to stem the tide of revolt. By using the promise of a "democratic" election, they instigated a method of checking up on everyone and of diverting the revolutionary energies of the masses into harmless channels. It can be seen how democratic the election will be by the preparations of the British Armed Forces. On the second week of September, 1945, a large group of R.A.F. men arrived to reinforce their present numbers. More troops, guns, tanks, and equipment

have been pouring into the country continuously. British Imperialism is prepared for the "democratic" elections. The Greek Royalists, the Church, all the counter revolutionary elements are prepared for the elections. But the masses under the leadership of the KKE, ELAS, EAM, the Socialists, People's Frontism are being prepared with the idea that there can be victory and a solution to their problems their oppression and their exploitation through this sham. When the crying need of the day is to carry out a struggle to the finish--for the proletarian revolution--the masses are led to compromise. When the need is for a regroupment of forces to begin the fight anew--the masses are told to wait for the elections, wait, wait, while the counter-revolutionary forces gather greater and greater strength.

#### AMERICAN IMPERIALISM IN GREECE

Although the British are the main Imperialist power in Greece, American imperialism is on the scene in the background, playing a very subtle role. The policies of the United States in relation to Greece are carried on mainly through the U.N.R.R.A. and the air fields being built by the army for future use by American Airlines. It is by no accident that the U.S. has an "Information Service" in the central district of Athens, distributing U.S. literature and propaganda.

When the Germans left Greece, they left it starved, nude and racked with terrific inflation. It was this condition that moved the masses towards the struggle for power. A successful revolution in Greece last winter would have been the signal for its spread to Italy, Yugoslavia, all the Balkans, possibly all of Europe. The Allied imperialists understand this problem very clearly.

There are two ways that the capitalist class has of dealing with revolutions, depending on the situation. First, by force of arms, secondly by "bribery", pretending to surrender partly to the masses only to stall them until they are ready to take the offensive and defeat them later on. Both methods were used in Greece and are still being used. The British because of their position in the Near East and Europe, and largely because of their poor financial position used the former method. American Imperialism, because of its superior financial and economic position uses and used the latter method. In this lies the treacherous role of American Imperialism. When the British marched into famished, ravaged Greece, to stem the tide of Proletarian revolt with guns, American ships, Swedish and French ships, followed with American wheat, American food, American coal, clothing and relief. "The British bring guns to oppress us and the Americans bring relief to help us!" reasons the average laboring man. "The United States is a Democracy. The United States will help us. President Truman is a good man, Churchill is a Fascist." This idea that the Americans are the liberators and fighters for democracy was exemplified when a group from ELAS asked a small contingent of American soldiers in Greece why they did not join forces with them to fight the British. It is American "relief" ultimately that has done as much as British guns to stem the revolution. It is bribing the masses into submission to demoralize them from continuing a true fight--against all the imperialists and exploiters. It is through the leadership of EAM, the KKE, and the Socialists, (the reformists,) that the Greek masses are duped into following the promises of American Imperialism and abiding by the decisions of the "Big 3"

## THE ROLE OF STALINISM

The Soviet Union also looms in the background. Greece bordering on its southern flank, holding one side to the approaches to the Dardanelles, and as an important springboard to influence in the Middle East, is a very important base for the influence of any of the Major Powers.

Since great numbers of the people are under the ideological control of the Greek Communist Party (KKE), they look to Stalinism for the solution to their problems. Through the strength of its victory against German Imperialism, through its reputation based on October 1917, Stalinism as a leader in the struggle for the needs of the masses has been able to gain a large following. It has the ideological control of the popular mass organizations. It carries on a program liason to the needs of Stalinism in the Soviet Union, a program of power politics and collaboration with imperialism. No greater treachery could be dealt the working class than the role the KKE played in the December events by compromising and surrendering to British arms and the Greek Bourgeoisie. It did the token work for the class enemy in corraling the struggle of the masses to defeat by compromise, false promises, and complete sell-out.

Greece is a small country with a total population which is less than that of the city of New York. It is backward, agrarian, with many semi-feudal carryovers. Nevertheless as a sphere of influence it is important to the Imperialists as well as the Proletariat.

The movement towards a successful revolution in Greece would spread throughout Europe. It would involve the entire continent and spread to the boiling kettle in the Middle East and Asia.

The imperialists understand this clearly. Britain has one full division in Greece for no other reason. American Imperialism hides behind its facade of U.N.R.R.A. - , promises of establishing democracy, etc, in Europe only in order to stem, demoralize and disorientate the proletarian revolution so these imperialists may continue their plans for the conquest of the World's markets.

The Greek masses are completely under the hegemony of the EAM, ELAS, KKE, and the Socialist's Parties. The lessons of last winter's struggle is proof enough that these organizations cannot achieve the needs and aims of the masses. Compromise with British Imperialism, slogans for Peoples' Fronts, Coalitions with their own bourgeoisie, surrendering of arms, kneeling to American Imperialism and Stalinism, orientating the masses behind the fake counter-revolutionary elections, this is their program. Such a program led to defeat last December. It will lead to further defeat this October.

The Greek workers have yet to learn that only by a complete break with the present system, only by the proletarian revolution can their aims be achieved. Only under the leadership of an independent Marxian Party with a program against all the imperialist powers and Stalinism, against all the bourgeoisie-no matter what their declarations may be can successfully lead the masses to a solution of their problems. There are currents towards the building of one within the Greek Anarchi Marxists, but as yet they have not come into the leadership. When such an organization is developed, and only then, will the struggle move to a positive solution for the masses---Toward the establishment of a Workers Council Government in Greece