

MA 4 15L

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

Bulletin of the Provisional International Contact Commission

Volume 8 No. 3

10 cents

CONTENTS

**The Objective Situation
In The U.S.A.**

**Stalin's Speech Shows
Soviet Union's Danger**

**Tito's Atrocities In Yugoslavia
(EYEWITNESS ACCOUNT)**

M
A
R
·
1
9
4
6

Issued by the Revolutionary Workers League for the International
Contact Commission.
Affiliates

REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS ASSOCIATION OF GREAT BRITAIN
Central Committee of the Red Front of Greater Germany
Revolutionary Workers League of the U. S.

Mail address of publishers
DEMOS PRESS
708 N. CLARK STREET, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
Labor Donated

THE OBJECTIVE SITUATION IN THE U.S. INTERNAL CLASS RELATIONS

Though VICTORIOUS in the war for the world, American imperialism has been unable to solve its principal contradictions. As a result of the war we see that Fascism has not been defeated but on the contrary that new forms of it and military dictatorships have been instituted by the victorious imperialists. In its vicious efforts to crush the rising proletarian revolutions, the counter-revolutionary American imperialists have used the so-called "arsenal of democracy" to supply airplanes and equipment and parts to Franco and Peron, and to supply Britain with arms to crush the Javanese revolution. Arsenal of imperialism!

Behind this anti-revolutionary policy lies the most significant fact of the entire war from American imperialism's standpoint: the general crisis of capitalism which began for American imperialism with the 1929 crash, although its roots go back to the first world war, has not been solved at all. The war and tremendously expanded war production have not solved the problems of a shrinking market, of vast-scale unemployment, of depression. All the decaying sectors of capitalist economy and politics have continued to get worse.

The war did, moreover, accentuate the crisis of American imperialism in another way and, despite its victory, made its situation even worse. Now the U.S. is in every part of the globe except the Soviet Union. It has troops and financial and economic forces in key areas throughout the world. As a result, though it operates as the principal counter-revolutionary force on a world scale, it is also deeply affected by every happening in Java, China, Iran, Palestine, India and other areas. Imperialist expansion has only accentuated the contradictions of U.S.

As even the bourgeois economists admit, U.S. prices are world prices, a U.S. depression is a world depression. Strikes in the U.S. have their effects abroad. What they do not point out though is that the U.S. on its part is deeply affected by economic and political convulsions abroad and is increasingly subject to the fluctuations of world economy.

Three periods of development of American imperialist preparations and drives towards war should be assessed again before going into the main economic and political analysis of the class relations in the country.

PERIOD ONE was from 1933-41 in which the organization of the economy for war went on apace, while Roosevelt corralled the masses with crumbs of social reforms. By and large most of this was done with the full collaboration of the labor misleaders and social-reformists who became adjuncts of government policy. Roosevelt's entire role was to prepare for the coming war which American imperialism knew was inevitable.

PERIOD TWO was from 1941-45 in which decree government and force-imposed class peace (national unity) was clamped on the workers. An immense war production

machine was created. Considerable controls over labor, amounting to a virtual police state, were instituted. Preparations were carefully made to continue most of these controls in slightly altered form into the post-war period. Fingerprinting of war workers and of the military provided the government with some 70 million prints. Labor controls through conscription and US Employment Service gave the government vital statistics on the decisive sections of the population. Virtual internal passport system was introduced by use of draft cards, increase of social security cards, unemployment benefits cards, Form 100s for returning soldiers. Government incursions on individual expression and movement during the war has not yet ended. Considerable growth in plant guards, FBI and police forces has occurred. Preparations for large-scale political warfare (possibly a recurrence of the Palmer Raids and union-busting such as after world war one, but on a higher level, and with better organization) against the coming revolutionary political wave in the U.S. went forward steadily. Vast strides towards regimentation of all labor and the continuation of labor controls into the post-war period were made.

PERIOD THREE was from VJ Day, August 14 1945 to the present and the immediate future. Though Truman has lifted some industrial controls, he has not lifted most of the controls on labor. Under the impact of the workers strikes, national unity - class peace - achieved and imposed for a long while after Pearl Harbor in 1941, was dealt a death blow. Workers strikes in turn inspired the soldiers strikes and the highest level of political mass action against the government of any section of the working class was reached within five months after VJ Day. But though Truman retreats and is confused, basic preparations for continuing the control of labor go on. The role of the U.S. - to organize the entire world in the interests of American imperialism, to prevent and crush proletarian revolution and to prepare and lead the world counter-revolution - continues on the basis of continued dictatorial controls over American labor. Though the labor leaders and left-bourgeois elements will be utilized as stop-gap measures for the control of labor, American imperialism is taking no chances on not being ready for the next phase of the class struggle which will occur as the workers move beyond the limits set for their struggle by the government. Thus preparations for military dictatorship will continue. In this process there will come a destruction of whole sections of the small capitalists and the growth of fascist movements. The U.S. may see a short period of left popular frontism climaxed by attempts at military dictatorship to keep the country organized solidly behind American imperialism's continuing drive to dominate the markets of the world. A military dictatorship, possibly in its fascist form, may be instituted in the U.S. in not too many years.

PART I - THE CAPITALIST OFFENSIVE

Class relations in the U.S. in early 1946, the first period of war's aftermath finds the capitalist enemy on the offensive against the workers. In industry there has been a general reduction of production in the basic industries, reinforced by government protection and intervention on the side of the boss, and in payment of the carry-back provision of the excess profits tax law.

Politically government has stepped in repeatedly to control labor and threaten strikes by use of fact-finding, mediation, other legal delay mechanisms and military dictatorial weapons. Price rises have been and are being granted industrialists.

These factors, plus the internal reorganization and rationalisation of industry which has sped up production immensely during the war period of vastly increased production, have combined to drive the workers to take action to defend themselves against the capitalist offensive. It should be emphasized that the workers are still on the defensive, that the coming wave of political strikes and other mass actions has arisen only among the soldiers and will not arise among the workers until the coming postwar depression grows and deepens. Then violent actions, directed against the government, will occur and workers will begin to come to grips with the central problem of control, of state power.

WITHOUT CONTROLS CAPITALISM CANNOT SUPPORT A WAR

The peacetime economic system was incapable of supporting a modern imperialist war effort. Large government purchases and quick acquisition of the right type of war goods in the correct quantities showed the ordinary productive and distributive systems could not operate even reasonably well to produce the required economic mobilization. Centralized controls became imperative or the imperialist war could not have been conducted. Thus the Industrial Mobilization Plans were prepared well in advance, though they never calculated a war effort running into the 300 billion dollar figures.

It is important for showing the weakness in war (and in peace too) of the private profit system that over 80 percent of war production facilities - 24 billion dollars of new plant - were financed by government funds. Substantial percentages of private funds used for new plants and working capital were invested only on government guarantee of contracts which would assure recovery of the original investments. Thus, so-called "private" initiative and "free" enterprise refused to invest in something which was not "stable" and "secure" until government promised full profits, profits to continue at war levels for two years after the war, plants to be built at government expense - that is, payments from taxes, collected from the workers in the main. Already Truman is selling these immense government plant holdings at low, knockdown prices to large corporations. These war controls over production and distribution are not easily shelved, and have continued into "peace-time". We consider this more fully under Reconversion.

THE WAR COSTS

The national debt has risen to over 300 billion dollars, more than 10 times the 1939 level. The national income for 1945 may reach more than 180 billion dollars when final computations are made, highest in the country's history, showing what enormous productivity is present and what capacity is unused in peacetime. National production has risen to amazing heights, more than double 1929, the previous big period's peak year, and this with only 4 to 5 million more workers.

A comparison to world war one shows the U.S. spent 32 billion dollars by the end of 1918; total for all participants was 208 billion. In 1945 the total cost of the war to the U.S. alone was over 300 billions, more than the previous total for all participants. The U.S. has probably reached the outer limits of capital expansion during the war period. In the peace period, considerable curtailment of production will occur. The war shows the enormous difference in the whole approach of the American imperialists to the problem of securing world markets:

The U.S. was involved on a global scale. It hurled its entire economy into a vastly extended effort to consolidate a really significant military (and therefore, political and economic) grip on whole areas of the world. Thus by the time of the fall of Japan it could have real, decisive claims - "won by American blood" - to vast areas throughout the planet.

However a considerable price was paid for this tremendous effort. A great drain on the economy by this expanded war production effort seriously weakened important fields of the economy. As Ickes pointed out when Japan fell, the known U.S. supplies of many basic raw materials were dangerously low. Oil reserves were listed as available for 15 years. Possibly Ickes overstated the case. But the depletion of resources has been great. This destruction process is twofold: diversion of production to war is tantamount to dumping billions of dollars of wealth into the ocean; in the process of destruction, many war goods destroy other goods, e.g. a \$1,000 bomb could and did destroy materials worth even more thousands.

From the standpoint of strategic raw materials reserves the purpose in seizure of Pacific islands becomes crystal clear to anyone who wills to see: to insure unlimited access to strategic raw materials in Pacific and Asia. It also explains in part American imperialism's interest in crushing the Javanese revolution - in order to place the Dutch and British interests there in bondage to American arms, military supplies and naval assistance, and of course to crush the Javanese workers. The purpose in backing Chiang Kai-Shek is to get the upper hand in controlling China's raw materials (and her potential buying power) as a base for the control of the resources of Asia. The projected upper Yangtze Dam, to-be largest in the world, is to harness the country to American industry. Policy is evolving to produce materials right on the spot in colonial countries, as was permitted with the growth of steel mills in Brazil during the war, with control remaining in Wall Street. It is important to note that the export of capital is not alone the export of gold, other monies and bonds, but capital equipment in the form of machinery, finished capital goods such as tools, and even whole plants. Parts and replacements, of course, come from the U.S. Thus capital investment abroad is a continuous process of control of parts, replacements and the interest on investments by the American imperialists. The whole desperate lunge of American imperialism into world affairs shows how they have seized frantically on markets abroad as the last hope for American imperialism.

THE HUMAN COST OF THE WAR

Where American casualties in world war one totalled some 126,000 in world war two, the grand total of officially reported casualties was almost ten times that figure: over 250,000 dead, some 900,000 others. And this does not take into account the unknown thousands of psychological casualties who are not even listed as battle casualties by the army. Unofficial estimates place this loss as equivalent to the totals for dead, wounded, missing in action, prisoner, internees. Veteran disability is enormous. Workers are paying for the war continuously for years to come in disability. Thus the blank figures do not measure the real human tragedy.

In the population of those countries most affected by the war there will be two great gaps: one affecting the males is the gap in the war generation itself,

those who fought and will never return. The other gap affecting both males and females is the unborn. These gaps persist for decades. They are felt in quality as well as in quantity, for the cream of young manhood is slaughtered in war. Thus statistics showed that after the Napoleonic wars, the average height of Frenchmen fell by three inches. The U.S. has escaped most of this destruction by having only little over a million casualties. But it is affected by this process nevertheless. And on the other side, the U.S. has by being the main driving force for war, contributed to the destruction of millions of unfortunate workers and peasants in Europe and Asia.

WHO PAYS FOR THE WAR

The present generation of workers pays for the war. The real costs of war production and destruction of goods and human life must be borne at the time the war is fought. The costs of war cannot be postponed. Guns, munitions, ships and airplanes cannot be obtained from the production of 1950 but almost entirely from present production. Payment for these goods is at the expense of unproduced consumption goods. Money is a measure of the extent to which production is diverted to the war effort. Thus the costs of war are not so much in money as in terms of productive goods and services diverted from consumption by the mass of the population. Although the war program is expressed in monetary terms as requiring billions upon billions of dollars, money alone does not win wars. The state and economy which won did so because it had the trained men, equipped with weapons, at the right places and times. U.S. imperialism had about twice the manpower and munitions and supplies necessary at those places and times. (This produced enormous quantities of surplus products based on a considerable overproduction of war goods. Much of this is now being destroyed or sold at considerably reduced prices.)

Financial payments for goods were made during the war. Borrowing on a vast scale was begun. This resulted in a transfer of purchasing power from those who pay taxes (workers, largely) to those who own bonds. Lord Keynes' deferred spending theories are designed to force the workers to pay for the war and to defer their consumption of consumers goods, ostensibly to prevent inflation, actually in the class sense, to make them completely subservient to the imperialist war effort. Both borrowing and taxation on hitherto unheard of scales were utilised. Withholding taxes up to 20% of workers income were levied. Workers' saving deposits and tax payments provided a goodly portion of capitalist credit.

PRODUCTIVITY AND THE CLASS STRUGGLE

Increased war production drove the productivity index of American labor up to incredible heights. Wallace declares that if production were at the 1940 level, the U.S. would have 19 million unemployed. Production was well over two times the 1929 level, with only 4 to 5 million more workers. The war showed just how great was the difference in economic development of different countries. It explains also many previously unclear factors about the direction and development of the class struggle among this highly literate and industrially well trained proletariat.

In comparison to British workers, American workers are more than three times as productive.

No known figures are available for making a comparison to Soviet workers. But ...the 75,000 steel workers in the Chicago area alone produced more steel - 20,000,000 tons during each of the war years - than the entire Soviet Union at its highest point before the war. And the Soviet Union was producing far nearer its capacity than Little Steel was. (However Soviet productivity and total production are rising far more rapidly than American figures, even though, according to Stalin's pre-election speech, present figures for Soviet steel production are only 16,500,000 tons yearly.)

This enormous productivity gives some fascinating clues to future events. Firstly, these workers are highly organized and integrated by the very high level of industrial production itself. The internal organization or extremely high organic composition of capital in these vast plants produces a tremendously militant proletariat, one which cannot be controlled on the basis of class collaboration for any period of time. In addition, the over-organization of American imperialism which by a considerable specialization of function has reached a dangerous point in its development illustrates a fatal flaw in American imperialism's industrial organization: one tiny sector of economy can tie up, paralyze totally, whole areas, as occurred when 3,500 tugboat workers in New York Harbor halted production in the entire city. The entire American economy thus is based on this dominance over production of a tiny number of workers in steel and iron, coal and oil, power, transportation and building. These are the very heart of the revolution.

Secondly, efforts are being made to smash any moves to bring about unity of this powerful mass. The AFL and CIO are as far apart as ever (we deal with this later in more detail). Veterans are deliberately used by the government to replace non-veteran labor. Desperate moves to keep labor separated and fighting among itself are at the base of government labor policy.

Thirdly, the U.S. came out of the war the only country relatively unscathed and in a dominant position on a world scale. Its proletariat is virtually in a bribed position (that is, part of it is), or constitutes a bribed social stratum, living at a far higher standard not alone because of high productivity but because of relative American politico-economic-military strength compared to the rest of the world. Where British workers in part were bribed and lived at the expense of colonial super-exploitation, the U.S. workers in part may well live at the expense of the whole rest of the world. That is the trend or tendency, not the conclusion. Naturally, American imperialism has been bribing whole sections of skilled labor before, and will continue this process.

Fourthly, the U.S. proletariat is close to 45 millions, as large as the entire European proletariat including the Soviet Union (figuring that proletariat at over 20 millions). This vast force is the principal base of revolutionary action in the world today. Its tiniest move reverberates throughout the globe, is watched by the workers of the world. One strike here has its effects elsewhere. This enormous giant radiates considerable power. On the other hand, revolutionary uprisings and actions in other countries will now have even more effect on workers in the U.S. The interrelation between workers of America and workers of other countries is proceeding apace.

RECONVERSION AND THE ECONOMY OF SCARCITY

Capacity of much of industry was expanded to produce at a higher rate than in peacetime; while other large segments operated far below peacetime levels. Laborers have been shifted into industries which operate on a much lower basis when the war is over. Economy was unbalanced dangerously. Readjustment involves more than a reinstatement of the pre-war conditions. The old way of life is gone forever. Stabilization on the old basis is impossible. Virtual collapse of whole industries is occurring and may last for a time, as in airplane and shipbuilding. Shipbuilding has no reconversion problem; without another war, it is used to repair existing ships not to build new ones by and large.

Though developments in aviation and in explosives and other materials perfected by the war will lead to new demands and new industrial uses, still much wartime expansion is already deflated. Reconversion is on a much reduced level of production. The fall of production after VJ Day on August 14, 1945, was more precipitous than the collapse after 1929.

Government buying is pushed into the background as distribution channels are reopened on a totally new peacetime basis. Selling instead of government buying again assumes an important place. Rigid controls of supply, including rationing and priority are slowly being lifted. However, the struggle over OPA prices shows that the government is giving the big manufacturers higher prices for steel, coal, automobiles, meat, and other products.

As is commonly known, major wars develop depressions a few years after the end of the war and disastrous depressions some ten years after. These breakdowns are inevitable under capitalism. It is quite probable that the coming depression may break out sometime in 1947-48. It will reinstate the chronic depressed character of industrial production which - in final analysis - the war for the world did not remove or solve, but only postponed for a short while. Thus the general crisis of capitalism is still completely unsolved, even by America's victory in this stupendous military and production effort. Within this general crisis, however, we can and are seeing periods of cyclical rise and fall. At the present time, a period of relative upswing (of consumption goods, as compared to war production) can occur for several years.

The principal characteristic of reconversion is that production will be on a reduced level. On a world scale American imperialism has reduced the production of Germany, Japan and Italy to negligible factors in world trade. All Europe is on short rations. Within the U.S. now, we will see a return to the economy of scarcity. Let us remember that the principal purpose of monopoly imperialism is the monopoly stage of capitalism - is maintenance of an artificial scarcity in order to keep prices high. Social sabotage of production is basic capitalist policy.

INFLATION AND DEFLATION

INFLATION is caused by diversion of productive forces from consumption goods to production of war goods, with resulting scarcity of consumption goods, and an increase in the velocity of circulation of money (a general increase in the money demand for consumption goods). Tremendous overexpansion of capital has occurred with some 24 billion dollars in government plants and equipment being

surplus. Corporations do not have to pay for overexpanded capital, government having guaranteed to pay for it, or to make it available to corporations at knockdown prices. All this is paid for out of taxes milked from the workers and poor farmers.

OPA price ceilings are one of the classic jokes of all times. Truman's State of the Union speech declared price indices had risen from April 1943, date of the Rooseveltian "hold the line" order, to end of 1945, by only 3 (three) percent. Wholesale prices had risen, says Truman, only 2½ percent in the same period. Such is the ridiculous state of statistics presented to the workers. Actually the rise has been closer to 50% in that 2½ year period and in the entire war period from 1939 through 1945 is about 100%. Truman's figure is based on selection of goods which are scarce, were not present in the consumer market in any abundance, and are therefore readily controllable. Whole approach of Truman government is to permit corporations to gain extensive price increases, as in steel and auto, in order to compensate in full for any wage increases. These increases are being permitted with a show of interest in keeping prices down!

Allowed to run down precipitously in war years, housing is the principal shortage. The need for housing runs to some 5 millions dwelling units. If any real check of slum areas in larger cities were made the need would be shown to be double and triple the 5 million estimate. Clothing shortage is acute, is planned deliberately. Food shortage is growing.

Deflation reduces production by making it less profitable, as prices fall. Deflation is actually a greater enemy of capital accumulation than inflation, for a fall in prices may encourage consumption and discourage production. Inflation on the other hand, may eventually fail to restrict consumption, but initially it discourages consumption and encourages production. Deflation also has a highly adverse effect on the foreign trade position of a country, as was shown when France devalued the franc. America too will shortly have to devalue the currency so that the temporarily better bargaining position of countries who have devalued their currency can be offset. However, America will be able to outsell these countries for the industrial machinery in America is intact and can be and is being shifted to civilian production.

FULL EMPLOYMENT IS A FICTION

FULL EMPLOYMENT is a fiction under capitalism. It is not possible to organize the market under capitalism. Cannot get that degree of cooperation in industry. Need for an industrial reserve army of labor for use against working force and for use in expanding industrial periods excludes any elimination of unemployment. Only during war, and then only in part, can unemployment fall. It can never be eliminated. From economic point of view, unemployment continued at tremendous rate during the war, for 13 millions of soldiers and sailors WHO WERE NOT PART OF THE PRODUCTIVE PROCESS AT ALL, have to be considered as unemployed. Where industry in the war years was able to get along without them at peak production, how is it possible for industry at lowered production levels, to employ these millions? It is not possible.

Reason unemployment has not broken out on large scale yet is slowing up of discharges from armed services, and also from fact that servicemen who are not yet

back in the production process are not considered as unemployed. This is a serious mistake. He who does not produce is not employed is a good general rule.

For a short while unemployment will continue at about 3 millions, will rise slowly to 5 or 6 millions this year. When large-scale crash comes in 1947 or early 1948, unemployment will surpass 1932. Large demonstrations of unemployed are in the offing. Unions are taking more cognizance of the unemployed and unemployment as a problem since as business falls off they lose millions of members. Largest single reason for union weakening is unemployment, in many cases a deliberately induced measure to smash unions. A look at union membership during peak production periods and during lower production periods will show that wherever there is large-scale unemployment, union membership dips to precarious low levels.

INCOME AND TAXATION

In May 1940, President Roosevelt promised everyone: "Not a single war millionaire will be created in this country as a result of the war disaster."

By VJ Day, August 14, 1945, millionaires in the U.S. had increased from 13 to 43!

This is only a partial example of the disparity of income between capitalist and worker. But the enormous profits of capitalists can be gauged properly only by giving the official figures of OPA on the increase of profits. In its report OPA declares:

Taxation laws permit corporations whose profits fall in postwar years to have refunds of previously paid income taxes on excess profits during the war years. Meanwhile workers withholding taxes continue at the war time rate, whereas corporation excess profits taxes were reduced on January 1, 1946. Though workers' income was considerably reduced from the wartime level, no tax reduction was made. It is necessary to demand the end of the withholding tax for workers, and to raise the demand for a tax not on profits but on capital itself - as a move towards its complete expropriation.

ANTI-TRUST POSTPONEMENTS

During the war the various anti-trust cases against outstanding monopolies were postponed by the government ostensibly for the reason that such actions tied up corporation executives needed for war work. The courts had postponed indicting business men like the executives of Pullman and Alcoa who pleaded the pressure of war work. An agreement was made between the War, Navy, and Justice departments and the President under which if the War or Navy Department asked for a postponement and the Justice Department refused, the President could decide. Result - no anti-trust actions during the war.

Now at the end of the war, one is brewing against Alcoa. But even this one is not a blow at the trusts, like G.M., U.S. Steel, Standard Oil, and there will be no real smashing of the powerful trusts. Big Steel may like to weaken a competitor, such as Alcoa, but trusts generally are not weakened. Also, the

government has trust and cartel agreements in international trade, using certain corporations as "chosen instruments" (Pan-American Airways).

Why did the capitalist government call off its anti-trust actions? Principally because the imperialist war demanded centralized control and direction of production. Proof was again presented that private competition could not produce sufficient materials to conduct a major action such as a war. With all the propaganda spewed out about the productivity of private or "free" enterprise, it took the war years to show that private or free enterprise is utterly incapable of producing sufficient materials for the war for the world, and that in the interests of the preservation of capitalism, the capitalist government was forced to direct industry. In so doing production was pushed to more than double that of the highest pre-depression year - 1929. National income at its wartime high water mark was more than double the 79 billion 1929 high. But this is the outermost limit of capitalist organization, with the state openly directing whole phases of the basic industries and controlling consumers industries.

WAR PREPARATIONS CONTINUE

Occupation of Japan and Germany is only one aspect of the "super-concentration camp" policy of American imperialism. At present U. S. armed forces are occupying "friendly" countries. The Philippines are on the verge of revolution - more U. S. troops are present there than in Japan itself! Use of Marines in China for counter-revolutionary purposes shows main function of all occupation troops. Demand for withdrawal of all U. S. occupation troops from abroad has to be made again and again.

Conscription under the name of universal military training still stands a chance of passing Congress, though it was weakened by the soldiers' strikes which exposed entire army hierarchy as agents of imperialism and instruments of counterrevolution. It is necessary to denounce conscription as a scheme to control youth, split workers apart, use workers against workers in other lands, provide police forces to crush revolutions abroad.

Single Department of National Defense proposal shows switch to "theory of Offensive" using the atomic bomb threat and other devices to drum up sentiment for taking the offensive instead of waiting to be attacked. It gears economic and political structure to widespread imperialist intervention throughout globe primarily to prevent world revolution, secondarily to secure tight grip on world markets and sources of raw materials, and to have solid base for attack on only possible enemy country - SU. It coordinates industry into continued war production. Atomic bomb production is continued. Thus U.S. imperialism continues to be the main force driving for war.

Continued Next Issue

CAN STALIN'S ECONOMIC PLAN SUCCEED?

Joe Stalin in a speech on February 9, the day before the first Soviet elections in eight years, declared that the second world war far from arising accidentally or from errors of statesmen "arose in reality as the inevitable result of the development of the world economic and political forces on the basis of monopoly capitalism." Stalin should know. He and the Stalinists gave full support throughout the imperialist war to the very same monopoly capitalism he now says caused the war.

Before proceeding to show that Joe Stalin is not giving any real explanation of the imperialist war, it is necessary to note that the speech attempts to lay down the battle lines against the coming struggle with American imperialism which which Stalin recognizes as the principal enemy of the Soviet Union. Stalin's plan for production close to levels reached by American Imperialism at its wartime peak indicates how he hopes to build up industrial strength and military potential on the old basis, or in the old manner, without once mentioning the need for extension of the revolution, or of receiving aid from the workers of the world. In a way Stalin's speech is a colossal bluff which can fool no one. Pretending enormous power and still more enormous potential power, Stalin is unable to conceal the deep wounds of war, the weaknesses of the bureaucracy and of transition economy under his murderous rule.

CAN STALIN'S ECONOMIC PLAN SUCCEED?

The economic part of Stalin's speech calls for catching up to American imperialism in economic development within the space of three five-year plans! Steel, backbone of the industrial and war machine, Stalin wants boosted from 18,300,000 tons of 1940 to 60,000,000 tons. U. S. Plants reached some 95 million tons during the war, but have dropped considerably since that peak. Soviet productivity is expected to increase more rapidly than American. Pig-Iron production goal is 50 million tons, which is close to the 54 millions produced in 1945 by the U. S. Coal production aim is 500 million tons, compared to 575 million tons in U. S. in 1945. Oil production quota is to rise to 420 million barrels a year compared to the U. S. 1700 million barrels in 1945.

Important conclusions arise out of this planned increase of Soviet production!

First of all, American capitalism has reached its highest known level of production during wartime, and has already tapered off considerably. Without new markets to force an increase of production, there is not the slightest chance that in civilian production the U.S. can approach her wartime peaks, despite what Henry Wallace and his satellites among CIO leaders think of "full" employment and increased civilian or peacetime production under capitalism. Quite the opposite. Production will fall more and more as the general capitalist policy of artificially created scarcity within about two years or so will

lead to another cyclical crisis within the limits of the general world crisis of capitalism which the war has postponed but has not solved in the least. Widespread unemployment is here and is growing worse. The visible limitations of civilian goods production of American capitalism are apparent.

On the other hand, in the face of the world-wide capitalist decline in production, Soviet economy even under Stalinism, continues to expand at a rate of increase far surpassing capitalist wartime expansion. In the face of capitalist decline, this proposed expansion shows that transition economy, badly degenerated as it is, is a new and superior form of social organization. Already it can be seen that transition economy - freed of the deadly incubus of Stalinism - has unlimited production possibilities for outstripping known capitalist production levels. This is the tendency, though under Stalinism, the three five year plans Stalin's speech calls for cannot be realized for those sets of reasons:

- 1 - Transition economy in the Soviet Union is subject to the world market. It cannot obtain from advanced industrial countries the necessary capital equipment for this planned economic development and is forced to strip bare the industries of the industrially underdeveloped eastern European countries and parts of Germany, a fact which indicates the tremendous lack of capital goods in the Soviet Union. Unable to develop by itself, the Soviet Union, burdened by Stalinist bureaucracy and Stalin's fraudulent concept of socialism in one country remains subject to world economy in the long run, and cannot ignore this relationship.
- 2 - Loss of industries in the areas devastated by German imperialism is so immense that it will take years to rebuild. Loss of some 20-25 million lives in the war is no easy thing to surmount or to replace.
- 3 - The previous five-year plans were never realized in their entirety. The present plans will not be realized either and will lead to more confusion and more misdirection of economic effort. Already the Stalin speech continues the favoring of heavy versus light industries. This can only create enormous political repercussions among the workers and peasants whose standard of living will be deliberately kept low so that heavy industry can grow at the expense of light industry. The famine of 1932, the purges and the uprooting of millions of peasants in the so-called "bloodless" revolution of the 1930's will recur on a higher level. Restriction of consumer goods production and reduction of standard of living of the workers will be resisted bitterly. Meanwhile, the Stalinist bureaucracy with its inordinately high salaries and high standard of living, constitutes a serious drag on the economy. Its primary interest is in maintaining its rule, at the expense of the workers. To keep the workers weak it has to keep a stranglehold on consumer goods production and to continue the regimentation and restrictions on the workers of the Soviet Union.

Since the army of American imperialism is disintegrating because of enormous social pressure from the workers and the soldiers themselves, there appears to be no immediate danger of military intervention in the Soviet Union by American imperialism. However, should revolution break out in Europe or in the Soviet Union itself, the American imperialists will move quickly to reconstitute their naval, air and land forces for halting this revolution and of taking such an opportunity to smash transition economy, destroy the state

monopoly of foreign trade, destroy nationalized property and open up the Soviet Union as a vast market and colony of American imperialism. Meanwhile, though the military pressure on the Soviet Union has relaxed, the political pressure on all fronts has increased considerably. One of the aims of American political and economic policy is to prevent Stalinism from carrying out any of the five year plans, to hinder the growth of Soviet production which will endanger her economically and politically.

CAUSES OF IMPERIALIST WAR

Stalin declares that capitalist world economy proceeds "through crises and catastrophes" and that "the uneven development of the capitalist countries leads in time to sharp disturbances in their relations and the groups of countries which consider themselves inadequately provided with raw materials and export markets try usually to change this situation and to change the position in their favor by means of armed force."

This is no real explanation at all. It would make it appear that the so-called "have not" nations of Italy, Germany and Japan started the war. Such is not the case. They were forced to make the last overt moves which constituted the military phase of the deadly political economic and military competition between capitalist countries. But the larger and more prosperous imperialist powers, America and Britain, who froze the smaller imperialists out of world markets and kept them removed from sources of raw materials, were the decisive economic and political driving forces for war. All imperialist powers were responsible for the war. And it is precisely here that we part company with Stalin's pseudo-explanation.

For among the reasons for the start of the war is the infamous deal - the Hitler-Stalin pact of August 1939 - whereby Stalin gave Hitler the signal to launch the invasion of Poland. Anxious to conceal this rotten deal with one of these weakened imperialists whom he does not once mention as his one time partners for a short period, time partners for a short period, Stalin goes on to state that the second imperialist war was "radically different from the first in character"! Stalin performs unusual mental gymnastics to prove this by declaring that the main Fascist states before "attacking" the Allied countries had abolished bourgeois democratic liberties, established a cruel terrorist regime, destroyed sovereignty and freedom of small nations, embarked on a policy of seizure of other peoples' land, strove for world domination and spread of Fascism. Because these Fascist powers were such enemies of BOURGEOIS democracy, therefore.... "In view of this circumstance the second World War, assumed from the very beginning an anti-Fascist liberating character, having also as one of its aims the reestablishment of democratic liberties."

Either Stalin must have been drinking a good deal of vodka or he is covering up the sins of Stalinism, its vicious policy towards revolutions throughout the world and its support of both Japanese and German, and yes, even Italian imperialism for a time.

First of all, there is no basic economic distinction between Fascism and other imperialist governments. In no way are they "radically different." Both are based on the capitalist system of commodity production, of competition, of

monopoly which is the productive base of imperialism. Imperialism by its very meaning - according to Stalin's own book "Leninism" - means all imperialist powers strive to seize land, strive for world domination, spread their military dictatorial power throughout the world, use terror in their colonial policy and at home as well, destroy democratic liberties either gradually or by instituting Fascism.

Secondly, therefore, Stalin is wrong in calling the U.S. and Britain and other capitalist nations "freedom-loving countries." His own delegate to UNO, Vishinsky, denounces British murders in Greece and Indonesia! Marshal Zhukov denounces American hiring of Fascists in Germany. India is a monument to British "freedom-loving". Negro oppression is a monument to U.S. "freedom loving." Freedom under capitalism is freedom to be a wage slave, to be drafted into the armed forces. Stalin is wrong to call this a "war against Fascism." And he is ten times wrong to call this "war of the peoples." This was an imperialist war for the redivision of the globe between the contending imperialist powers.

Thirdly, Stalin himself in the Hitler-Stalin pact and the trade treaties with Japan has supported the very Fascist regimes he now denounces. Stalinism is also a vicious enemy of liberty in any form, particularly for the working class. Stalin's speech has as one of its primary aims to conceal the past support of capitalism in its Fascist form, in its bourgeois-democratic form, and its deadly opposition to workers revolution, even to the extent of using the Red Army to smash incipient Soviets in areas seized from the German imperialists.

IS THE SOVIET UNION STRONGER AFTER VICTORY?

No better clue to the real meaning of victory in a war to the death with German imperialism could have been found than in Stalin's speech. Says Joe Stalin: "There is one general conclusion...that even before the war was begun the enemy lost the war and we, together with our allies, were the victors."

Granted that by and large German and Japanese and Italian imperialism, being considerably less powerful than American and British imperialism (supported by Stalinism throughout the world) could not have expected victory. Why then did Stalin ever sign the Hitler-Stalin pact of August 1939 which gave Hitler the go-signal for jumping off into Poland? Why did Stalin continue his trade and political agreements with Japan until August, 1945? Stalin carefully avoids his past zigzag between the contending imperialist giants.

It is true that American imperialism won the war, by achieving precisely those imperialist gains which Stalin claims are true of "Fascism" only: seizure of land in the Pacific; stifling of democratic rights (not alone in the army of American imperialism) in Java by supplying the counter-revolution; smashing revolution in Italy and Germany by disarming workers' partisan groups and disestablishing incipient organs of workers rule; seizure of whole strategic areas which give access to principal sources of raw materials; domination of world sea lanes, air routes; seizure of new spheres of influence in the middle east, Africa and Asia which impinge on centers of power of other imperialist powers.

British imperialism though on the victorious side did not win the war. At best it has gained a pyrrhic victory. Its foreign trade is curtailed. Its standard of living has fallen to new lows. The desperate situation of British Imperialism is best shown by its need to utilize the Labor Party as one of its last bulwarks against workers revolt on at home.

What did the Soviet Union gain from the military "victory"? Stalin declares victory means three things:

"First of all, that our Soviet social system has won, that the Soviet social system has successfully stood the test in the fire of war and has proved its complete vitality." And "that the Soviet social system has proved to be more capable of life and more stable than a non-Soviet social system, that the Soviet social system is a better form of organization of society than any non-Soviet social system."

By and large, despite Stalinism, this is true. Thus the military victories over German Fascism are a tribute to the proletarian property relations which still exist in the Soviet Union, and under which, even with Stalinist leadership, the masses were better organized than German imperialism.

Secondly, "The war has shown that the Soviet multinational state system has successfully stood the test, has grown still stronger during the war and has proved a completely vital state system. Now we can say that the analogy with Austro-Hungary cannot be substantiated (NOTE: he means that the Soviet Union was expected by foreign journalists to collapse like Austro-Hungary), since our multi-national state has grown up, not on a bourgeois foundation, which fosters feelings of national mistrust and national animosity, but on a Soviet foundation, which, on the contrary, promotes the feeling of friendship and fraternal collaboration between the peoples of our state."

Here too Stalin has hold of only part of the truth. The Soviet foundation is proletarian property relations, the elimination of the capitalist exploiter. It has produced a multi-national state form. But this form has been so corrupted and weakened by Stalinism's all-pervading bureaucracy that the Soviet Union is on the edge of being forcibly converted back to capitalist property relations and state forms. Stalin's argument about Austro-Hungary shows in part his own fear that the national states within the Soviet Union would disintegrate during the war. That they did not is a tribute not to Stalinism, which ably supported one imperialist against the other, but to the workers of the Soviet Union who courageously fought the Fascist invader.

"Third, our victory implies that it was the Soviet armed forces that won. Our Red Army had won. The Red Army heroically withstood all the adversities of the war, routed completely the armies of our enemies and emerged victoriously from the war."

Though he has previously acknowledged that "together with our Allies" the Soviet Union was victorious, this is one of the clearest propaganda, election announcements in Stalin's whole speech. The Red Army proved far stronger than had been expected possibly even by Stalin himself. This is substantiated in part by the fact that Stalin was prepared to make last ditch concessions to German imperialism in order to forestall the impending war. But the armies

of the other imperialists played a role. And more important, the workers of the world helped slow down the Hitler war machine. Sabotage, strikes, slow-downs of production under the Hitler terror were widespread. The very workers whom Stalin had driven into the arms of Hitler by his criminal policies of the 1930's which found the Stalinists of Germany supporting Fascism against the Social Democrats, now came to the assistance of the workers of the Soviet Union. Again and again Stalin has underestimated the importance of the workers of the world.

WHAT THE SOVIET UNION LOST

On the surface it would appear the Soviet Union has come out of the war stronger, even though large areas were devastated, whole industries have to be rebuilt, hurried steps to strengthen Soviet power have to be made before another imperialist attack opens.

Stalin recognizes that imperialism has not been eliminated by the victory of the Stalinists and the Allies. He can see also that though German Fascism is destroyed as a powerful force, Fascism is flowering throughout whole parts of the globe. In Germany itself, Fascism is still alive. The "war against Fascism" as Stalin calls it finds the American imperialists - previously called "freedom-loving peoples" by Stalin - supplying airplanes and parts to Franco and Peron, retaining Fascists in posts in Germany, and preparing Fascist groups within the U. S. for the coming large scale battles with labor.

Worse still, where in the past the Soviet Union had the German Fascist enemy on its doorstep - a political entity relatively no stronger militarily than the Soviet Union - today the Soviet Union is confronted on virtually every frontier from Japan to China, from the Middle East to the Eastern and Central Mediterranean, and from the west in Germany and Austria, and even North in the Baltic by a vastly more powerful imperialist giant - the colossus of American imperialism, main force for counter-revolution in the world today. Strategically, with German and Japanese imperialism destroyed, Stalinism no longer has any room for maneuvering with second-rate bourgeois powers against the world's hugest first rate power, American imperialism. The issue between the Soviet Union and the principal counter-revolutionary force of American imperialism is very near the edge of the knife. Stalinism is in a steadily shrinking corner from which there is no escape through present or even past Stalinist policy.

Since the Stalinists established a whole system of buffer states, most of them retaining capitalist property relations intact, and did not enter the world arena as a political (and military) force to sharpen the class struggle and lead the workers' revolutions in Europe, the Stalinist bureaucracy will shortly find the gains in the Baltic, Poland, Balkans, and Iran will prove to be illusory and will be dissipated as imperialist pressure increases. Stalin's policy of socialism in one country has led to subservience to "power politics" (political maneuvering between big imperialist powers) and attempted neutralization of surrounding bourgeois states, and has placed the Soviet Union in a perilously weak position. The high point of Stalin's "defense" policy is the establishment of bourgeois buffer states. But buffer states are no defense against the atomic bomb! So low has Soviet policy fallen since the days of Lenin when its basic policy was spreading the revolution throughout the world.

Meanwhile American imperialism isn't sitting idly by while Stalin goes ahead preparing for defense against attack. They are preparing the way for war now before the Soviet Union can recover from the deep wounds of war. Thus Stalin's promise that the Soviet Union will have the atomic bomb shortly is not enough. With the newly developed concept of taking the offensive, politically, economically and militarily, American imperialists will never permit the Soviet Union to become more powerful, if they can stop her. That is the reason there will be no large size loan to Russia as was proposed for Britain. A loan to Britain gives American imperialism a tremendous wedge into British Empire economy. A loan to the Soviet Union which still has the state monopoly of foreign trade gives the U.S. no such wedge. It would be strengthening the Soviet Union at the expense of American imperialism. UNO is a political weapon of U.S. imperialism to line up capitalist states against the Soviet Union. American imperialism supervises elections in Greece, practically in Stalin's front yard; it has interests in Iran; it has, by agreement with British imperialism, thrust itself into Palestine; it has oil deals with Saudi Arabia.

STALINISTS SUPPORT CAPITALISM

Like the social-reformists who in August 1914 used all kinds of "left" sounding phrases to attempt to appear militant and retain some measure of support from workers, Stalin is attempting in a limited way to appear as a leader of workers. The use of Marxian phrases is no accident. Stalin realizes that without the support of the world working class, the Soviet Union is doomed. But he is incapable of coming out and demanding that support. As one of the very best agents of world imperialism within the ranks of the workers, Stalin and Stalinism has done the most to confuse, mislead and throttle workers' revolution wherever it raises its head. Even the new program of increased production to match and surpass imperialist America doesn't take the slightest cognizance of the needs of the workers for world-wide revolution.

Thus does Stalin pretend militancy and defiance. But the real social-reformist and at times counter-revolutionary danger Stalinism represents is only too clear to workers:

DURING WARTIME, the Stalinists supported the imperialist war and the capitalist governments waging war.

DURING PEACETIME, Stalin says he is for peace, but support of capitalist governments continues.

Basically Stalin is following the policy of the capitalists, though he is trying with little success to maneuver between the remaining two large imperialisms.

Throughout the world; the Stalinist parties will take their cue from Joe Stalin's speech calling for preparation for war of defense against American imperialism.

The Stalinists will be denouncing the Truman administration and other governments, but essentially the Stalinists will remain supporters of capitalism. In France they are part of the government and have come out against strikes. In Italy they are part of the capitalist government also. Their line of march in various European countries whereby they support one or the other capitalist grouping in a bourgeois contest for power within the limits of capitalist property relations, has disillusioned whole sections of the European proletariat who

had expected aid from the Soviet Union. Stalinist removal of machinery from Eastern European countries and from parts of Germany and Austria shows the desperate internal situation of the bureaucracy and certainly does not impress European workers with the power of Stalinism after the war. Already the disgruntled European workers are feeling the paralyzing influence of the Stalinist bureaucracy which had disgraced itself in the eyes of many European workers, as an instrument of capitalism against the workers revolution.

SOVIET ELECTIONS AND THE COMING COUNTER-REVOLUTION

In the Soviet elections it should be noted that of some 101 millions who voted, the capitalist press reports that some 1,638,000 ballots were invalidated. The existence of opposition by workers and peasants to the Stalinist regime is manifest.

History has drawn the battle lines more sharply:

Either the Soviet Union will be strengthened by an extension of the unfinished revolution of October 1917 beyond the boundaries of Russia;

Or the Soviet Union will be engulfed by the counter-revolution under the hegemony of American imperialism.

In that struggle, the workers of Russia will find the means to construct a new revolutionary workers party in the Soviet Union, to arm the workers, to reestablish Soviets in the political revolution to smash the Stalinist bureaucracy, and to link up with the struggle of the workers of the world to defend and extend the October revolution to all parts of the world.

CORRECTIONS TO THIS ISSUE

Page 9. Under "Income and Taxation" change paragraph 2 to: "By VJ Day, August 14, 1945, millionaires in the U.S. had increased from 12,500 to 25,302! Billion-dollar corporations had increased from 13 to 43!"

Page 11. Headline for Stalin's speech should be "Stalin's Speech Shows Soviet Union's Danger."

Page 18. Under "Soviet Elections and the Coming Counter-revolution" change paragraph 1 to: "In the Soviet elections it should be noted that of some 101,450,946 who voted, the Associated Press on February 14 reports 1,638,654 votes were cast against Stalinist candidates, and more than 380,400 ballots were invalidated, making a grand total of over 2,000,000 against Stalinism."

TITO'S ATROCITIES IN YUGO-SLAVIA

Coming out of the terror of the Tito regime is this impassioned and forceful letter of a revolutionary Marxist who is organizing revolutionary cells among Italian workers in Yugo-Slavia. The writer, though he makes several errors - comparing Tito's atrocities to events in the Russian revolution of 1917 (when no Cheka or OGPU existed); not clearly explaining what kind of state and economy are actually present in Yugo-Slavia which alone could clarify his comparison to Nazi methods in Germany; use of a concept of "totalitarian" which can mean all things to all people - gives a rounded, specific account of atrocities committed by Tito's Partisans. As part of the steps to reestablish international contact with the slowly reviving workers political movements in Europe the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Workers League (affiliated to the International Contact Commission) has already replied to this comrade in Yugo-Slavia.

Feb. 5th.

Dear Comrade,

I wrote to you about three days ago, and this letter will, I hope, clarify one or two of the points raised in that letter.

First of all, referring back to your letter of the ... - you stated that the way to fight the Tito regime is by the development of a real revolutionary workers party, based on Marxian principles. Quite some time ago I commenced the work of forming a communist cell among the Italian workers here - and we were held up for a while by conditions out of our control - now, however, we are going to forge ahead. The general idea is to form a communist cell - which I hope will enable us to secure a large enough number of adherents to open up operations on a large scale. One of the difficulties is in getting the support of the mass of the workers - for, in this town, communism of any form is feared - the population had forty five days under the Yugoslavian Reds and they were forty five days of fear and horror. Another disturbing factor is that there is a well organized communist party (Partito Comunista Giuliana) which is Tito controlled. However we have some support, including a newspaper - directed by a Socialist - which is more than willing to help us by printing the articles etc. that we wish to bring to the public. Now I want to ask you to do us a favour - can you send, to me, a few pamphlets dealing with strategy and tactics, and the general principles, etc. of the R.W.A.? One copy of each will suffice for I will have to read them to our members and none of them speak English.... If you send them by parcel post ... I will send you the money straight away. Any real handbooks or pamphlets would be more than useful to us - can you help us out?

One other point from your letter is that you said that you would like some contacts here - I can put you in contact with some of the more prominent socialists - that is about the limit, for the moment - except one communist of the underground movement who has had a large amount of experience of what the Tito regime is like. As soon as I can establish contact with the other clandestine movement in the hinterland, I may be able to get you more contacts there - but so far I have not been able to establish contact with them. The point is how will you manage the language problem - those people are Italians and can only write in Italian - have you anyone at your end who can translate the correspondence? If you haven't, I will do what I can - but it means some delay for I am snowed up with work - that is to say work on the political side.... If you will let me know just what contacts you want and the details of the translation side of the question and I will do what I can to fix things up.

Having got those two details off my chest, I'll get on with the main subject....

The area between Pola and Trieste is the Zone B, occupied by the Yugoslavians. It is principally with the B-Zone that I wish to deal - for I can find out with a fair degree of accuracy what goes on in that area - but what happens in Yugoslavia proper is very hard to find out with any degree of accuracy.

The political organisations here are the Partito Socialista Italiana di Unione Proletaria (the Italian Socialist Party of Proletarian Union) then there are the "Democrato Cristiano", and the Action Party, the Liberal Party and the Giulian Communist Party which, as I mentioned, is a Tito organisation.

There are, also, two underground resistance movements - Il Comitato Istriano and Comitato Clandestino di Liberazioni Nazionali - the first, the Istrian Committee publishes a clandestine newspaper "The Cry of Istria" - and operates all through Zone B. The C.C.L.N. which is based on the Committees of liberation which sprang up in Italy after the collapse of Sept. 8th. and which organised and directed partisan and guerilla activity against the Nazi-Fascist armies. This clandestine committee operates in the Rovigno area and publishes a paper called "Fuori che l'ora" - which is a line from Garibaldi's hymn. I have a well established contact with the Istrian Committee but none as yet with the C.C.L.N.

The displacement of the population in the three provinces is roughly like this, the Italians live mainly on the western seaboard Pola-Capodistria-Trieste with some elements in the internal towns. The Yugoslavs and Croats live mainly as peasants, i.e. dispersed over the agricultural areas and they too have some elements in the towns - more in the interior.

Under the present conditions, relations between the various national elements are far from being the so-called Italo-Slav fraternity. Race hatred is rife - the "Drusi" - i.e. the Croat and Slovenes detest the Italians calling them fascists. And the Italians affirm that the Communists of the Tito regime are worse than ever the Fascists were.

The Tito forces occupied this area on May 1st. - and the atrocities committed were pretty horrible. It would take a book to describe even a half of it - so in this letter I will give you just a few examples. Here are some testimonials from Tito's own nationals:-

"I cannot live in the Yugoslavia of Tito, I was with the partisans and we suffered terribly - sufferings that all should know."
(Ziukovic Ivan of Gospic)

"13,000 Chetniks have been murdered in a few weeks - many of them knifed to death. The methods of the Tito government are a hundred times worse than those of Mussolini, Hitler and Pavelic. No-one dare say what he thinks, the only cry allowed is 'Zivel Tito'. If the world wants an enduring peace it must rid itself of Tito and his satellites, or prepare for another war."
(Kosak Stevv of Zagabria)

At Teharje near Alje a priest who was giving the last benediction to the victims had both of his forearms cut off. He continued to wave the stumps in the sign of the benediction until he was thrown alive into the pit, and on top of him were thrown the bodies of those that were shot.

An Istrian, P... C... arrested at Pingente, although weak from hunger, was forced to walk to a place beyond the borders of Istria. About the middle of June he was sent to the concentration of Mitrovica, beyond Karlovac. In his deposition he testifies: "... here we had to work under a blazing sun, although we were weak from hunger. Anyone who fell to the ground were beaten. I myself was beaten up - because I was casually picked out for a boating by Partisans, all drunk on grappa. They threw me on the ground, and with a rope's end, beat me till the blood ran. One blow chopped off the lobe of my ear.

I recall that along the road the partisans shot at the prisoners; before we reached Karlovac, we had twelve wounded and two dead... After three and a half months I was allowed to return home - stripped of all my belongings - in exchange I was covered with lice, and weighed 35 lbs. lighter."

Another interesting deposition was from a priest, who testified: "... some of the boys had their hands bound with wire for fifteen days. They had to eat with their hands bound. They were not even allowed to move around, to a point that they even had to ease nature in this same place. One day the partisans tired of the spectacle and bayoneted them all to death."

There is, to my point of view, a strong similarity between these "incidents" and those that occurred in Nazi Germany. The methods of totalitarians do not differ very much. Even if we assume for the sake of the argument that all these prisoners were fascists and criminals - does that give us, or our allies, the right to adopt the worst fascist methods ourselves? I think not.

Another couple of incidents that bear out your remarks, comrado, are two that concern strikes. Trade Unions in all countries regard the strike as being the only way to settle some disputes - and Zono B is no exception - under a "workers' government" one, naturally, expects workers grievances to be discussed and settled amicably and with justice. Tito's regime does not permit this much liberty - a liberty which is possible under a capitalist state and yet is denied to the workers in a "Democratic Progressive Federation". Early this year the workers of the "Arrigo" works came out on strike because they had not been paid a Christmas bonus to which they are entitled - the factory was immediately surrounded by the O.Z.N.A. (Yugoslavian Gestapo) who forced the workers back to their machines under the threat of sub-machine guns. Some forty workers were

immediately dismissed (and they were more than fortunate to be only dismissed!) An odd kind of workers republic where the workers have not even the right to attempt to obtain their rights. A worse incident occurred at Capodistria last October. As a protest against the emission of a new currency by the Yugoslavian authorities - which they believed to be economically unsafe - the entire population of Capodistria - without any distinction of class, declared a general strike on the morning of the 30th. of October.

The strike committee presented a note to the local authorities requesting that measures be taken to avert this danger of economic ruin in Istria. Faced with this collective protest, with the workers in the van, the authorities took no steps to investigate their claims - but simply threatened to execute the strike committee as "reactionaries". For this the strike was called off after 36 hours.

On the 31st. October the U.A.I.S. (Unione Anti-fascista Italo-Slavo - a Tito organisation with a very negligible Italian membership) "invited" the peasants of Iscla and Pisino to go to Capodistria to demonstrate against the Capodistrian fascists (point: Fascists and Italians are one and the same things as far as the Titini are concerned!). These demonstrators - mostly drunk - before entering the city were supplied with pistols and hand grenades by soldiers of the N.L.A. Towards 2.30 the mob - already roused to a violent pitch of "anti-Italian" feeling by the agitators and orators, who stated that these strikers at Capodistria were the same as the fascists who burned down the houses in the period of Fascists atrocities - began to smash windows of houses and shops, breaking in the doors and looting. Piazza da Ponti, Via Caligaria and other streets had a sad air when the "expedition" had passed.

Many citizens were assaulted and beaten up, as an example, Fedola Giordani, workman - and seventy year old Anna Fondi who almost died of her injuries. But the criminal folly of this drunken - and deliberately incited - mob claimed some victims. A shopkeeper, Angelo Zorli - never a fascist, and not even a soldier - was first harangued and insulted by the mob. Then they burst into his shop - foolishly he attempted to seize a banner carried by one, which bore an inscription insulting to the Capodistrians - he was beaten, thrown to the ground and finished off with revolver shots. The same happened to Francisco Reichstein, a noted anti-fascist. He was murdered before the eyes of his wife - for refusing to sell vormal to the mob - a commodity that he did not possess.

During the following days two more families had members killed - the Coceani and Gardina families of S. Toma - and incidents also occurred at S. Antonio. In the Coceani family the two children, a two year old boy and one of eight, were locked in a room with the bodies of their parents - both of whom had had their throats cut.

These ultimate crimes were motivated by the fact that these people refused to assist in the sacking of Capodistria, therefore they were reactionaries.

Again this makes me recall the excesses and atrocities that occurred during the early days of the Hitler and Mussolini regimes - or are the Yugoslavs merely being historically correct by repeating the early incidents of the 1917 Russian Revolution - the atrocities of the Cheka and OGPU??

Well, comrade, that is as far as I can go at the moment - I'll write again as soon as I can. But if there is any particular angle or incident you would like information on, please let me know. We have heaps of information but the task is to know just what interests you most.

Fraternally yours,

J.S.

READ AND SUBSCRIBE TO

THE FIGHTING WORKER

Popular Organ of the REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS LEAGUE, U.S.A.

Affiliated to the INTERNATIONAL CONTACT COMMISSION

The Fighting Worker contains popular analysis of national and international events; featured articles on economics; and interesting columns of comment.

Subscription rates are \$1.00 a year. Single copies 5¢

Bundle orders of 10 or more sent to you postage paid at the rate of 1¢ a copy. SPREAD THE FIGHTING WORKER!

Order from DEMOS PRESS, 708 N. Clark St., Chicago, Ill.