

# THE FIGHTING 1 CENT

WORKERS OF THE WORLD  
UNITE!

# WORKER

Organ of the Revolutionary Workers League of the U. S.

Vol. 5, No. 20, Whole No. 66

December 1, 1940

Labor Donated

Price: 1 Cent

## Post - Election Drive For «National Unity» Smooths Way For Military Rule

Now that the 1940 presidential election is over we must take stock and find out what forces placed Roosevelt in the White House for the third term and what is ahead for the working class.

The outstanding factor that history will record is the intense war preparations under way by American imperialism. A Willkie victory would not have altered this. Both candidates were pledged to the same line of march for American Imperialism in its quest for dollar domination of the world. Roosevelt's aid to Britain "short of War", and Willkie's aid

to Britain to "defend America" only revealed a different method of carry out the same policy. In short it was a struggle between the two main groups of Capitalist rivals in the United States for the control of the state machinery for the next four years.

The extreme reactionary group of capitalists, the appeasers and those who want to come to an understanding with Hitler and Japan had no presidential candidate in the field. Neither did the Midwest isolationists, (who should not be confused with the other reactionary group just mentioned). So

both of these lesser capitalist groups trailed along behind Willkie with the J. P. Morgan controlled White Committee outfit. It made a strange group of bedfellows, but no stranger than what trailed Roosevelt. This right wing element considered it possible to get more results through the Willkie crowd than through the Roosevelt crowd, as did also many right wing Democrats.

### REFORMISTS TRAILED F.D.R.

The element that would make up an American form of the People's Front did not succeed in the

third party candidate, so they supported Roosevelt. All the muddle-headed, confused "anti-fascist" elements trailed Roosevelt—except John L. Lewis and the Stalinists, who at the last minute switched and supported Willkie. The Stalinists carried out their Willkie maneuver this time as they did the Roosevelt maneuver in 1936. They ran their own candidate but really supported Willkie through their trade union stooges. It was in reality a caricature of the Hitler-Stalin pact to suit the needs of Stalinism in the U. S.

Now that the election is over the big drive to foist through war preparations, in addition to the billions for war supplies, will be the campaign for national unity. It will not be the form of National Unity as seen in Europe, but more along the "safe and sound" two party system of collaboration with a loyal opposition against the ins, by the outs. It will be a vicious united two-party campaign against all outside of the two parties — against the working class and the oppressed masses. The draft and its accompanying internal passport system will be used as a power drive against the working class. Government contracts to carry on war preparations will be used, on the basis of patriotism, to smash what semblance of wage and hour rights exist. In the name of national unity and patriotism against "the fifth column" the working class will receive the real blows.

### FDR TO SQUELCH LABOR ACTION

The real meaning of the Roosevelt victory can be had by listening to Ambassador Kennedy when asked why he supported Roosevelt. He replied, "I supported Roosevelt because I feel he's the only man who can control the groups who have got to be brought along in what is ahead of us." On being asked what groups, Ken-

## HITLER TIGHTENS IMPERIALIST RING AROUND SOVIET UNION

### STALIN MAKES BIGGER CONCESSIONS TO GERMAN IMPERIALISM

November 20, 1940. — The recent conversations between Hitler and Molotov mark a continued stage of Stalinist capitulation to German imperialism. While the contents of the agreement have been shrouded in secrecy, this much is certain:

1—Because the Axis campaign against Britain has bogged down, Hitler is compelled to make further military moves in the Balkans and the Near East. This includes trying to forestall Turkey's entry on the side of the Allies, cooperation with Hungary, etc., and further aid from Stalinism. Stalinism wants a further breathing spell; hence Hitler puts the knife to its throat and demands, in return for not disturbing the status quo of Stalin's position, further and increased material and political aid.

2—Such aid means more Stalinist propaganda favoring Hitler, also, food out of the mouths of the

Russian workers for the Nazi war machine, and in addition undoubtedly includes plans for further coordination of Russian basic industry production with intensified "aid" from German technicians. Such "technicians" serve both to increase capitalist forms of productive technique and at the same time they are direct political agents of Hitler to deepen the base for the capitalist counter-revolution.

### GREATER CONCESSIONS TO IMPERIALISTS

3—Britain and the U.S. have been desperately trying to woo Stalin away from Hitler; but because of the precarious position of the British Empire, and the fact that Hitler's military position is in a position to strike against the Soviet Union, if finally necessary, the lack of material, real advantages from the Allies, and the mil-

itary threat of Germany, force Stalin to further subordinate himself to Hitler.

But of course Stalin has his price; undoubtedly the bureaucracy has attempted to come to terms with Hitler about a sea-base in the eastern Mediterranean, greater latitude in the Dardanelles, a larger share of Poland, a slice of Persia, etc. Hitler will promise as few of these as he can; but he can easily promise, for words are cheap.

The real significance, therefore, just as in the past agreements, is that Stalinism makes greater and greater material concessions to German Imperialism, but Hitler only makes larger and emptier promises for the future, which can easily be broken if he wins, and can never be kept if he loses the war.

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# Trotskyites Laying Basis To Support U.S. War Plans

Evidence piles up to indicate that the Trotskyites are moving further to the right, moving close to social-patriotism.

Let us review the latest evidence. At the September plenum of the Trotskyites, James P. Cannon, their leader, laid the political basis for the next steps. He said in part:

"They (the Social Democrats) said, 'You have no answer to the question of how to fight against Hitler, how to prevent Hitler from conquering France, Belgium, etc.'... Well, we (the Trotskyites) answered in a general way, the workers will first overthrow the bourgeoisie at home and then they will take care of the invaders. That was a good program, but the workers did not make the revolution in time. NOW THE TWO TASKS MUST BE TELESCOPED AND CARRIED OUT SIMULTANEOUSLY."

## "DEFEND YOUR COUNTRY"

In other words, Cannon now says that we must defend "our country" (be social-patriots) against Hitler, while at the same time fight for the revolution (in words).

There is, of course, nothing wrong in carrying out two or more simultaneous actions — all of

which naturally fit into a framework in which some of the actions are decisive and the rest auxiliary. But one cannot at one and the same time carry out "simultaneous" action to defend one group of imperialists and other action to overthrow capitalism.

To "defend ourselves against Hitler's invasion" today means to defend "our" capitalist country, capitalist army, capitalist state; it means to succumb to social-patriotism, of fighting for revolution at the same time that we offer our services to 'our country' to defend it from the fascist aggressors."

The Marxists always say, we are DEFEATISTS for our own bourgeois forces. We not only wish for but we work for their defeat, so long as the state is controlled by the capitalists and their puppets; we are defensists, we will defend our homes only after we, the proletariat, have seized state power and destroyed the capitalist state.

For Messrs. Cannon and company, the question of state power is now a distinctly secondary one. So long as there is the danger of Hitler marching further they are willing to defend "our country" even though it is still ruled by the capitalist masters. The distinction between classes is thus rubbed out in favor of defending the "lesser" of two capitalist evils, bourgeois democracy.

## Remember Lesson of 1914

In the process of defending capitalism (one international wing of it) in its present bloodbath" say the Cannonites in reality, "we will establish a Communist regime against war and against capitalism". One need not tax his memory too much to recall that the last word of the infamous and treacherous manifesto of German social-democracy in August, 1915, calling on the workers to defend "our" country, read: "Long live the proletarian revolution".

### SAME AS SPAIN

For Cannon and company this is the same line adopted in Spain — merely an extension of it. There too Cannon was for defending

"even rotten bourgeois democracy" against fascism, of giving it material aid, etc. This is now rapidly turning into support of the wars — imperialist wars — of bourgeois democracy, too.

At the Dewey committee hearings Trotsky stated he was for defeatism against fascist Germany but for "political opposition" against France should the Soviet Union be allied with France. Again, this too is the political forerunner of the present policy — support the U. S. plans with, if you please, "political opposition".

The point is already being translated into life. The Cannonites advocate conscription, so long as the trade unions can control the conscription.

Point number one of their Program, printed in every issue of their paper, says: "For military training of workers FINANCED BY THE GOVERNMENT (the capitalist government, if you please), under control of the trade unions."

Point two calls on the government to establish special officer training camps, "financed by the government and controlled by the trade unions, to train workers to become officers".

## SUPPORT OF IMPERIALISM IN ACTION

But significantly enough the program does not call for opposition to IMPERIALIST wars; it does not have a word of criticism of the social-patriots and social-patriotism; it does not oppose the present military conscription law, it merely confines itself to the methods of making that law "more democratic", putting the capitalist army under NOMINAL control of the trade unions.

## Roots of Centrist Policies

One should really not be too surprised at the new role of the centrist Trotskyites. Straws in the wind of this unfolding policy moving towards social-patriotism have been apparent for years. In 1934 Trotsky manifested a desire to UNITE with the social-patriots: "The fate of the proletariat, in this era," he wrote, "depends on the rapidity with which social democracy breaks from the bourgeois state", and he immediately sent his sections into the Second International. In 1935 he proposed support to a government of social patriots: "For a Blum-Cachin government". In 1936 he again proposed support ("critical") of a government composed of social-patriots: "For a Cabellero-CNT government". From 1936 on Trotskyism has favored direct material support to capitalist governments in certain places: the Peoples Front regime in Spain, the Chiang-Kai-Shek regime in China, the Hallie Sellassie regime in Ethiopia, etc. Now comes the position of not only "material aid (with political criticism)", but also "political aid" in the form of support of capitalism conscription and capitalist war plans, against the fascist - controlled capitalist states, (with, if you please,

some minor political criticism about how the conscription shall be organized — under the capitalist army generals direct or in an alliance between them and the labor fakers).

Cannon went to some length in his speech to give an "analogy" with the Russian Revolution. "In 1917, following February, the Soviets of Petrograd and Moscow were in control of the Social Democrats and the Social Revolutionaries, that is, men of the stripe of Lewis and Green, Hillman and Dubinsky; no better and no worse. In spite of that because the Soviets embraced the workers Lenin raised a slogan 'All power to the Soviets'... That's the way things to be conceived in this question also."

Cannon forgets only one "small" detail. It is one thing to support a Working Class Instrument, Soviets, Trade Unions, etc., even though it has a reactionary leadership; and it is quite another thing to support a CAPITALIST instrument, the bourgeois army, the bourgeois state, etc. EVEN THOUGH it may temporarily be composed of an overwhelming majority of workers or workers' representatives.

## Position of Shachtman

One must never forget that the position of Max Shachtman formerly with Cannon, now head of his own group of dissident Trotskyites ("Workers Party") is just as bad. In his latest arguments against Cannon on the question just raised, Shachtman presents some correct arguments. But on the position of defeatism, thesis on war and Fourth International, Trotsky's position on France, etc., the two groups agree. Likewise Shachtman holds the same position as Cannon on the question of material aid to bourgeois democratic states in the fight against fascism — Spain, Mexico, etc.

In other words Shachtman still clings to the basic errors from which Cannon's line today flows, but he has not yet RATIONALIZED them as far as Cannon. As an indication of his false line he proposes the completely reformist line that the capitalist government take over capitalist industry (and let the workers run it) — the same error made by the centrists in Spain; he still (more so) is for the pacifist clatrap about a referendum on "any and all wars".

The differences are therefore just one of degree not principle.

In times of stress, centrism inevitably moves towards social-patriotism.

**FIGHT FASCISM BY FIGHTING CAPITALISM!**

**PEACE IS POSSIBLE ONLY THROUGH THE REVOLUTIONARY OVERTHROW OF CAPITALISM!**

**DEFEND ONLY THE WORKERS RIGHTS AND INTERESTS!**

**THE FIGHTING WORKER**

Vol. 5, No. 20,

Whole No. 66

Central Organ of the

REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS LEAGUE, U. S.

(Affiliated to the Provisional

INTERNATIONAL CONTACT COMMISSION

For a New Communist (4th) International)

Published twice a month by

The Fighting Worker Publishing Company

1904 Division St., Chicago, Ill.

Subscriptions: FIFTY CENTS PER YEAR

**UNITY--SOMETIMES A PLAGUE  
SOMETIMES A BLESSING**

No word in the labor movement is so abused as the word "unity". With the victory of Franklin Roosevelt at the elections there are irrevocable signs that "unity" is about to be achieved between C.I.O. and the A.F. of L. It is necessary in advance, therefore, to understand whether such a unity will be a blessing or a plague.

Unity in itself can never solve any problems. The question always is: WHO is uniting, on WHAT program, and for what PURPOSE. To give an extreme example: unity "of the nation" as achieved in Fascist Germany, while it is a unity of the people, is the greatest plague the German people have ever experienced; it is the "unity" of both classes of society, under the complete control of the exploiters, for the purpose of maintaining under increasingly severe conditions capitalist exploitation.

**UNPRINCIPLED UNITY MEANS DEFEAT.**

"Unity" of the Hungarian Communists in 1919 with the Socialist (agents of Anglo-French imperialism) was the main reason for the defeat of the Hungarian revolution. On the other hand, rather than unite with the Social-Democrats in Russia in 1917, as proposed by Stalin and Kamenev, Lenin threatened to split from his own party. Such a "unity" would have undoubtedly meant the end of the Russian revolution.

Unity of the Stalinists and Socialists to form the French People's Front was the greatest blow to the French working class. It was the unity of the workers, through their leaders, and organizations with the French capitalists for the purposes of defense of capitalist interests.

Unity of the Lewis-Hillman bureaucratic, social-patriotic forces, with the Green bureaucratic, social-patriotic forces, will not advance the cause of the working class; it will be a big handicap in the struggle against war; it will consolidate the two large capitalist-agent structures (the labor faker bureaucracy) under the Roosevelt government control for the purpose of keeping the working class opposition to war in tow.

The Revolutionary Workers League is not for this kind of unity. The unity we are for is not the unity of the labor lieutenants of capital to strengthen their apparatus against the rank and file union members. Our unity is the unity of the working class against the capitalist class and their trade union agents. Our unity is working class unity against national unity for imperialist war. Our unity is the independent working class action for higher wages and less hours of work. Our unity is the unity of the rank and file trade union members in progressive groups to purge the union of gangsters and labor agents in our ranks; the social patriots who betray our class interests. Organize shop committees in every plant. Take the union out of the bureaucrats office and return the union to rank and file control under militant class struggle leadership.

**A FEW LESSONS OF THE  
ODELL WALLER CASE**

November 20, 1940. — The campaign to save Odell Waller from the electric chair is entering its decisive stage. The Provisional National Committee, through its Secretary, Edmund Campion, has issued thousands of leaflets and contacted many organizations to join in the struggle.

The Workers Defense League, Socialist-controlled defense organization, after weeks of delay in which it refused to enter the case unless it had complete control, has finally issued material and began to raise money. This was brought about by a joint statement of the Workers Defense League and Attorney Thomas H. Stone, Waller's lawyer. In accordance with the policy of the Waller Defense Committee, Mr. Stone has declared his readiness to sign any joint statement that will be of aid to Waller, and it is in this connection that his statement with the W.D.L. was issued.

The R.W.L., as a participating organization of the Provisional Waller Committee, has no objection whatsoever to the W.D.L. raising money through its own sources; but it must be pointed out that it is not in accordance with the facts for the W.D.L. to claim that it is the sole group in the Waller case. Attorney Stone's joint statement did not surrender power of attorney, nor did it liquidate the existing Waller Committee which originally took the case, and under whose auspices the case is still being fought.

**TROTSKYITES REFUSE TO CO-OPERATE**

It is significant that both sections of the Trotskyites have refused to co-operate with the R.W.L. or the Provisional Waller Committees, but instead have stated that they will work with the Socialist Party and the W.D.L. They infer that which they know is not true, namely, that the W.D.L. is a "large" organization with "great" resources. But it is the political strength of a class struggle defense, not numerical "strength" that is decisive. The fact that Trotskyites refuse co-operation in a class struggle defense, and offer paper support, but no action, to a reformist-controlled outfit, is indicative of their swing to the right.

**FUND, SUPPORT URGENT**

The R.W.L. welcomes the belated aid to Waller from the W.D.L., and hopes that the Socialists and Trotskyites will now give the defense of Waller their full support.

Funds, mass support and agitation for the Waller Defense Committee are urgently needed for the appeal to the State Supreme Court. Send all funds and mail to: Provisional Waller Defense Committee, Edmund Campion, Secretary, 1519 E. Main St., Richmond, Virginia.

**Help Free Odell  
Waller!****Hitler Stalin  
Discussions**

(Continued from Page 1)

This, in turn, means that Hitler is able to tighten the ring around the Soviet Union, to continue the policy of encircling the U.S.S.R. from the tip of Norway to the Black Sea and Dardanelles. This places the Soviet Union in ever greater danger.

**DANGER OF IMPERIALIST INTERVENTION MORE IMMINENT**

Having long ago stabbed the world working class in the back and entered the arena of power politics as a tail of one or the other imperialist blocs, with every passing day the position of Stalinism becomes more desperate, the continued existence of the warped Workers State under the impact of such blows from the bureaucracy, becomes ever more insecure. Every further concession to Hitler or other imperialist power (assuming that Stalinism again went over to the "democratic" bloc) is another chip out of the base of the Soviet Union.

Only the extension of the October Revolution in the imperialist nations and a political revolution against the imperialist-stooping Stalinist bureaucracy can save and regenerate the Soviet Union and end the imperialist war and capitalism.

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INTERNATIONALEN  
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14 Punkten der I.K.K.

Probleme der Deutschen  
RevolutionWenn Deutschland Gewinnt —  
Was Dann?Proleten Im Reich und in der der  
Emigration. Genossen der  
Roten Front

Brief Aus Deutschland

Kann Frankreich die Revolution  
Verhindern?**CLARIDAD PROLETARIA**El Imperialismo Americano:  
La Fuerza Principal Que Empuja  
a la Guerra

Las Lecciones de Espana

# PROFITEERS PROSPER — LABOR LOSES RIGHTS UNDER F.D.R. WAR REGIME

Behind the demagogic propaganda of "national unity for defense", all the hard won gains which the American working class has secured in eighty years of struggle are in the process of being wiped out by the Roosevelt government and Wall St.

The same kind of boss class policies and the same kind of labor-faker collaboration which tied the workers of France and Britain to the imperialist war machine are at work against American toilers. Let us look at only a few examples and draw the necessary conclusions:

## GOVERNMENT "REFORMS" BEING TAKEN AWAY

Many millions of workers have again voted for Roosevelt because they have been misled into believing that he is a "friend of the workers". They have been told about the advantages of the Wagner Act (NLRB), the Walsh-Healy Act, collective bargaining, etc. As we pointed out at the time, these governmental "reforms" were only minor sops thrown to the workers in order to prevent their further radicalization, in order to achieve labor "peace", in order to line the workers up for support of the war plans. That is precisely what is now happening:

a—Public Law No. 671, Section 5b, passed at Roosevelt's insistence, provides for the suspension of the 8 hour day, 40 hour week "in the interest of defense production".

b—Section 12 authorizes Roosevelt to suspend the time and a half pay provisions for extension of the 8 hour day, 40 hour week. It also provides for the suspension of payment of minimum wages on government contracts that are supposed to be set by the Secretary of Labor.

c—Section 11 of the same law provides that no worker who does not have citizenship papers can be employed in "defense" production.

d—Public Law No. 703, Section 5, provides that the government must train civilians for protection and use of "critical and strategic" items and materials of war production. This means that workers will be directly under government military training and control.

These laws were passed just before the election when Roosevelt was yelling loudest about his "friendship" for the workers! These laws have not yet been "officially used"; in the meantime new and more drastic ones are being prepared. These laws show quite clearly what we have been saying

for a long time: **the sops which Roosevelt and the bosses threw to the workers yesterday in order to squelch their militancy, are today being taken away.** They show that every government reform is a method of reaction, as De Leon said many years ago.

## BIG CAPITALISTS PROCEED TO SMASH WORKERS STANDARDS

But this is not all. Without benefit of "legal" provision, the Government has already violated its own law and, more important, smashed existing labor standards; it is giving a free hand and encouragement to the most reactionary big capitalists in their anti-working class measures:

a—Henry Ford has just been awarded a 122 million dollar government contract and more to come. According to Roosevelt's own laws, Ford is guilty of violation of the Wagner act.

b—The same is true of Bethlehem Steel which has engaged in the most vicious anti-war policies. They too are "guilty" according to Roosevelt's NLRB, and hence are not supposed to get government orders. But they and their affiliates have already received over a BILLION dollars in war orders.

c—and, of course, there are many others.

## "NATIONAL UNITY MEANS SMASHED WORKERS STANDARDS

When the bosses and their agents speak of "national unity" they talk of "sacrifice, greater effort", etc. But in reality, the workers do all the sacrificing and expend all the effort. "National unity" means longer hours, less pay, outlawing of strikes, smashing of unions, destruction of independent workers actions by the labor agents of the bosses. It means tying the workers to the boss class war-machine.

Profits in the first 9 months of 1940 are already 50% above 1939.

## FOR INDEPENDENT ACTION IN WORKERS INTERESTS

The workers in the Vultee plant in California, in Midland, Pa., and in another Crucible Steel plant have already pointed the way in the fight against national unity and war. On a purely economic plane they have struck (against the advice and pressure of their national leaderships) for higher wages and better conditions.

Such struggles may begin on the economic front in a simple trade union way; but they can only be successfully fought and won by broadening and politicalizing them against the whole concept of "national unity", fake boss class "democracy", F.D.R. sops, and labor-faker treachery. Only a widened and increasing political struggle for the overthrow of the bosses hunger-war regime and the establishment of a Workers Council Government based on Workers Control of Production for Use, can serve the needs of the working class.

## PAMPHLETS OF THE R.W.L.

The Workers Answer to Boss War Trade Unionism Today

Workers Rights or Democracy

Uncle Sam's Stake in the War

Stalin-Hitler Pact

American Imperialism—The Main Driving Force for War

Negro Slavery — Then and Now  
Where Shall the Jewish Masses Turn?

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## Post-Election War Drive

(Continued from page 1)

neddy replied, "I mean the have-nots (that is, the working class which has only its labor power to sell). "They haven't any stakes of ownership. They've got to take it in whatever faces us." (the exploiters and their agents who own the means of production — Editor's notes.)

The key to the understanding of the Roosevelt victory is not the labor "opposition" of the social-reformists nor the real opposition of the revolutionists. Rather in spite of any effective organized opposition it is the **objective class relations** that the most intense war crisis of decay capitalism has thrown to the surface that forces these alert imperialists to keep in check the proletariat with a regime like Roosevelt's.

## GREATER DICTATORSHIP

The breakdown of the third term tradition and at the same time the first twelve year rule of

the Democratic party for some time only reveals that the traditional forms of dictatorial rule are taking shape, taking shape under peculiar American forms. So long as there is the absence of organized independent working class opposition on a large scale, the Bonapartist form of rule, or a pre-fascist rule, will not develop.

Instead the Roosevelt regime can pass to more open forms of dictatorship for the interest of finance-capital in the name of the "forgotten man" and "democracy". They say a fool is born every minute. And we can say that the same bag of political tricks can be used over and over again by the exploiters. In the name of the "have-nots" Roosevelt can carry through the essential measure to continue the rule of the exploiters against the have-nots. The exploiters hope that when the masses wake up it will be too late for workers' victory — as it was in Germany, Spain, France, etc.

The government subsidies in the form of war orders to the exploiters amounting to billions, while crumbs are given to the unemployed, aged and needy, will carry with it greater hardship for the working class. The salve of "national unity" and "patriotism" will be used to soften the blows. "Inflation" or more exactly a lowering of the standard of living of the working class is inevitable no matter what the money wage will be.

Some reactionaries who fear Roosevelt, like the French reactionaries feared Blum—those who do not understand the real service these types of boss agents do in the name of the "people" for the handful of the greedy exploiters—say that Roosevelt will be the best president. But he will be the last president of a capitalist America **only** if the working class overthrow capitalism and establish their own Workers Council Government, with working class democracy, genuine democracy, and new leaders of a new society.