

**Work for a Workers World;
Join the Workers Party!**

LABOR ACTION

JANUARY 5, 1948

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF SOCIALISM

FIVE CENTS

Form Government In North as Greek Civil Strife Grows

By MIKE STEVENS

Russia made its move in the imperialist chess game last week, when its agents in the mountains of Greece announced the formation of a "Free Government of Greece." The representatives of the United States immediately made their plans known by announcing that there will be a tremendous increase in the supplies of arms and ammunition being sent to the government in Athens.

These brazen moves by the two imperialist powers, despite what their stooges say, are not made for the freedom of the Greeks, who are caught in the middle of these two reactionary forces. For the Greeks these moves mean only more blood, more graves, more sorrow.

The guerrilla forces in the mountains of Greece number 25,000 to 30,000 active fighters. Among them are the noblest and finest representatives of the working and peasant classes of Greece. They are the people who have been hounded from their jobs and their homes because they are militant trade unionists, republicans, socialists and communists. They are in the mountains because to return to their villages and cities would mean certain death.

They have no confidence in the present Athens government when it asks them to lay down their arms and return home. When they hear Themistocles Sophoulis, the Premier of Greece, vow upon his lifetime of republicanism that his amnesty is an honest one, it makes no impression on them. For they know that Sophoulis is a captive in the government and has absolutely no power. Nobody has to explain to the guerrillas the intricate maneuvers by which Sophoulis was made Premier so that America could claim that the Athens government was a "broad coalition of many parties." The guerrilla fighter looks at the rest of the cabinet and sees the outstanding reactionaries in it who control it. The Minister of the Interior, who controls the agencies that have power of life or death in the villages and cities, is none other than Petros Mavromichalis. He is not only the direct representative of the wealthiest and most reactionary section of Greek capital, but is the former organizer of the fascist bands that called an "open season" on all militant workers and their organizations. Are the guerrillas to surrender to him? The guerrillas can also see the law recently passed by which a man can be put to death for going on a strike called by his union.

The guerrillas see all these things and of course refuse to surrender. In case they didn't see these actions of the Washington-supported government in Athens, you can be sure the Stalinist leaders of the guerrilla bands would point them out for their own purposes.

WHAT ARE RUSSIA'S AIMS?

This justifiable hate for the reactionary government in Athens by the guerrillas and the working class as a whole is what the Stalinists were banking on when they created the "Free Government of Greece." But what was Russia and its Greek stooges thinking about when they created this government? Certainly the "free" government (as free as the Bulgarian and Albanian governments) does not expect to win. If the "free" government had half a chance to win, then the United States would step in with enough arms and planes for a major war and, if it seemed necessary, even men. Russia knows this, but she is going ahead.

It is difficult at this stage to determine just what the diplomats of the Kremlin are up to. There is only one thing we can be sure of and that is that they certainly are not considering the thousands of human lives that will be lost. Russia and her satellites are arming, clothing and providing asylum for the guerrillas. The United States is arming and feeding the Greek army and providing officers for training. Russia wants to take over Greece for future imperialist ventures in Africa and Asia Minor and also to keep the United States from using Greece as a point for future military moves.

Russia's Balkan satellites have hopes of gaining certain northern sections of Greece, although Russia will be wise enough to keep these demands in the background for some time to come. The United States wants Greece for financial as well as military reasons. Greece is already bound hand and foot economically by the United States. Greece also serves as an excellent point of protection for American interests in North Africa. With Greece and Turkey "friendly," the United States does not have to worry about the Dardanelles.

There are hundreds of reasons why Russia and the United States want Greece. And every one of these reasons is exactly the opposite of what the newspapers of each power claims—and each is opposed to the real interests of the Greek people.

Textile Strike in Lodz Revolutionary Protest Against Stalinist Regime

By A. RUDZIENSKI

The strike of the Polish workers of Lodz, one of the most important centers of the cotton weaving industry in Europe, was not only the largest of all the workers' strikes against the Stalinist assassin regime, but the most revolutionary as well.

The strike broke out as a protest against the government decree that four looms be assigned each worker instead of two, as has been the case until now. The government argued that the productivity of the Lodz weaver was 35 per cent below the level provided for in the three-year economic plan. For this reason the factory administration ordered that each worker be assigned four looms. Whoever is acquainted with the textile industry of Lodz knows very well that the machines are old and that not only is it impossible to fulfill the government's decree, given the technical conditions of the industry, but that any attempt to comply with this decree exposes the health and life of the Polish proletariat to danger.

Besides, the economic situation of the Polish proletariat is desperate as never before. His wage vacillates between 3,000 and 8,000 zlotys, when a pair of shoes costs 5,000 to 10,000 zlotys, a suit of clothes 30,000 zlotys, and a kilo of bread 80 zlotys. Recently rationing was liquidated. According to the official organ of the Stalinist trade unions, Workers Review, the basic wage has practically disappeared, and has been replaced by piecework, premiums and overtime. Under the whip of inhuman exploitation, the badly dressed and poorly fed Polish worker does what he can to avoid death by hunger.

In Lodz, strikes had already occurred in the Crusche-Endery, JOHN

and other factories against the unfulfilled promises of the Stalinist administration and in order to increase rations. The new decree of the Stalinist satraps filled the workers with such despair that the day shift in the Posnansky factory, one of the largest, went on strike. Its strike action was continued by the night shift which numbers 6,000 workers. The workers occupied the factory all night. The Bezpieka (Polish GPU) surrounded the factory with a police cordon and proceeded to the arrest of the strike leaders, 80 being seized. In spite of this terror, unknown in Poland even in the worst days of the "Colonels reaction," the indignation of the textile workers was so great that in the course of the next few days, other important factories such as Bwehle, Biederman, Campe, Albrecht and other smaller ones joined the strike begun by the Posnansky factory. In spite of the arrests, the strike continued. There were direct struggles between the GPU and the strikers, in which there were many wounded and some dead.

The workers came to a silent demonstration, which was dispersed by the GPU and which, according to Polish sources, numbered 40,000 people. Half the textile workers participated in the strike. Fifty per cent of the Lodz textile workers are women. Due to the GPU terror, the strike was partially broken. But in spite of everything, the Posnansky factory maintained its action for several days, defying the Stalinist security police.

The Polish press hermetically isolated the strike from the world. Nobody in Poland spoke about the strike. The police surrounded the factories and maintained a surface

(Continued on page 3)

WE HAVE:

TWEEDLEDUM



TWEEDLEEE



IPP Rally Offers Calif. Labor Little

By CARL MILLER

LOS ANGELES, Dec. 17—Tonight's Shrine Auditorium rally for the Independent Progressive Party was a mixture of old-fashioned American political rabble-raising and elements of Stalinist totalitarianism. The meeting opened with the singing of the Star Spangled Banner. All the speakers pandered to the patriotic prejudices of the audience. All exploited to the utmost the conditions which, in a gathering of this sort, can always be depended upon to set voices cheering and hands clapping at every mention of Roosevelt's or Wallace's name. There was no serious political discussion. There was no examination into the purpose or methods of the IPP.

The principal speaker and the authentic voice of Stalinism was Eugene Connolly, American Labor Party Councilman in New York, who pointed to the ALP as the shining example of "independent" and "progressive" politics, the holder of the "balance of power" in New York, the force that makes the major parties choose "good" candidates and which runs candidates of its own to punish the Democrats and the Republicans when they don't. He left no doubt that the IPP aims to be a similar pressure movement, a blackmailing outfit hanging about outside the council rooms of the capitalist machine politicians.

This reporter took no poll of the four or five thousand who almost filled the main floor of the auditorium but he had little difficulty identifying these people or the organizations most prominently represented. This was an assembly of Stalinists and people under Stalinist influence. The unions most in evidence were Stalinist controlled. The only non-labor group represented was the Progressive Citizens of America, a Stalinist-dominated organization. There was no sign at this meeting that the IPP in the Los Angeles area had significant non-Stalinist following.

Yet this must not be taken to mean that this movement, shrewdly led, generously financed (\$15,000 of a \$50,000 budget for Southern California was raised at this meeting alone), widely advertised (the radio is being used extensively) may not have a powerful appeal for the masses of labor who may not understand that this is not the beginning of a genuine workers' movement but a Kremlin-inspired exploitation of labor's hopes in the interest of Russian diplomacy.

Wallace Launches Ticket For '48 National Elections

Henry Agard Wallace, in a nationally broadcast speech on Monday, December 29, declared himself a presidential candidate on a third party ticket, following by a little over a week the decision of the Progressive Citizens of America to nominate him.

Wallace, in his fifteen-minute address, blasted the Truman administration's failure to arrest its course toward war and the drift toward economic crisis. He also blasted the Republican record and very properly established that there was little difference between the Democrats and the Republicans. However, in stating the necessity of a choice other than Tweedledum Truman and Tweedledee Taft or Dewey, he merely offered the people a TWEEDLE Wallace. Because:

- Wallace's third party is not, cannot be and can only bring discredit on a Labor Party.
- Wallace's third party does not represent independent LABOR politics.
- Wallace's third party is the creation of the Communist (Stalinist) Party, with what few liberals the Stalinists still have in tow after the split in PCA over the Wallace nomination.
- Wallace's third party has no labor support outside of the unions under Stalinist domination, the more so as even such unions as were affiliated to PCA, like the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, have declared their opposition to his candidacy.

Experts agree that the new party will not amass significant independent strength. However, it may, if it lives that long, have an important effect on the next presidential election. With the American Labor Party in New York, despite its recent losses, the Independent Progressive Party in California and similar organizations in other key states able to poll a balance-of-power vote in a close election, Wallace's candidacy may lose these states for Truman. To the extent that Wal-

lace has answered the charge that he will aid Republican chances, he has done well—reiterating the fundamental similarity of the two big parties. So far as labor is concerned, therefore, the question is not: Will Wallace hurt Truman and help Taft? The question is: Will Wallace advance independent labor politics? And to that the answer is: He will not!

NOT A LABOR PARTY

In the coming months an attempt will be made to equate this third party with a Labor Party. However, the very labels indicate the difference. A third party is a party which, whatever its difference from the two big capitalist parties, however liberal its program, operates on the same level. In this particular case it happens to be a peculiar melange of a handful of New Deal Democrats committed basically to capitalism and a preponderance of Stalinists who are interested in neither Wallace nor the third party as such but have inspired this move as part of the war of nerves between Russian imperialism, their masters, and American imperialism. It is, in a sense, their answer to the Marshall Plan on the domestic scene.

A Labor Party presumes: (1) a class program based specifically and entirely on the needs of the working class; and (2) mass support from labor. The Wallace party has neither.

- Anti-capitalist servants of the Kremlin though they are, the Stalinists are not especially interested in the matter of program now, so long as it opposes Truman's foreign policy.
- And there is no consequential labor support for Wallace. The AFL, CIO and the Railroad Brotherhoods will have nothing to do with him. Unfortunately, not because the leaders of these organizations want to see a Labor Party, but because they are almost universally committed to supporting Truman and his brand of capitalism. (In a few cases, they will support a Republican candidate.) Nor do the ranks want Wallace.

MUST BE WATCHED

Nevertheless, despite the shabbiness of the support behind him (the conference, representing 18 states, which assembled in Chicago to applaud Wallace may have impressed him, but few others), the Wallace move is of considerable significance and importance. It is clearly a Stalinist invention without hope of benefitting labor or the people. Limited as it is in support today, it might, however, appeal to those many, many thousands who are fed up with riding the endless merry-go-round of Democratic and Republican politics.

While calling it a third party, the Wallace supporters will try to boom it among labor as the equivalent of a Labor Party running that dangerous species, "friend-of-

DO WE WANT? TWEEDLE



labor" candidates. Many workers, seeking a way out of the impasse of capitalist politics, may back it, or at least view it as demonstrating the potentialities of a Labor Party.

The Wallace movement must therefore be watched—and opposed. Not because we fear that it will contribute to a Republican victory. We have no use at all for the DEADLY reasoning of the "lesser evil" (which is what motivated Kingdon in resigning from PCA) for it paralyzes labor. We are, however, concerned with developing a REAL party of labor, a class party. And we must therefore see to it that the Wallace movement does not obstruct that goal.

Win Freedom for James Hickman

Thousands Rallied to Support of Ghetto Victim Who Lost Four Children in Chicago Firetrap

CHICAGO—James Hickman, whose case won wide attention and support, walked out of Cook County jail on December 16, a free man. Realizing that there was small chance of persuading a jury to fix the death penalty on Hickman, the state's attorney's office agreed to drop the charge of murder and recommend a sentence of two years' probation if Hickman would plead guilty to manslaughter. Rather than subject him to another murder trial, Hickman's attorneys accepted the proposal.

As previously reported in great detail in LABOR ACTION, James Hickman is a Negro worker who came to Chicago from Mississippi. Unable to find decent lodging, Hickman moved his family of nine into a ghetto attic, without lights, water, gas or toilet, unfit for human habitation—giving the landlord an additional \$100 on the promise of an apartment. However, he faced loss of even this miserable shelter when his landlord, who was exacting a rent several times above the value of the room, sought to make Hickman and other tenants move.

The landlord threatened to set fire to the building if the Hickmans would not move. And a fire did break out—a fire in which Hickman lost his four youngest children, who could not escape from the firetrap building. The loss preyed on Hickman's mind. Convinced that the landlord had executed his threat, Hickman murdered him. Hickman never denied that he had killed the landlord.

A defense committee immediately formed to support Hickman as a victim of Chicago's slums and Jim Crow jungles. It attracted the support of almost all the union and liberal organizations in Chicago and many nationally. Prominent people, including the actress, Talullah Bankhead, and novelist, Willard Motley, actively aided his defense. Willard Motley wrote a brilliant summary of the case (published in LABOR ACTION), in which,

like many others, he argued, "perhaps I too, or almost any man, would have done the same thing as he had done, given the circumstances."

There is absolutely no doubt that the loud clamor for Hickman's release did much to influence the state's attorney. In fact, speaking to the representatives of the defense committee, he called attention to the mass of communications from individuals and organizations, which had come to his desk, all of them asking

for Hickman's release. Moreover, it is reported that in the first trial the jury was divided seven to five on conviction, and it is considered unlikely that the state could have assembled any jury of human beings to convict Hickman of murder. Defense Attorneys M. J. Myers, Leon Despres and William Temple handled the case superbly.

Throughout, the defense committee called attention to the wider issues involved—housing, racial segre-

gation and all those multiple conditions which condemned the Hickmans to a firetrap ghetto and the tragedy which followed.

In announcing the completion of its work on Hickman's defense and its plans to turn over the balance of its funds to the Hickman family, the defense committee declares:

"We hope it has served to indict the powers that be for crimes against the people, in refusing to provide adequate and safe housing."

Buffalo Rent Boost Threatens

Rent Control Board Hearing Makes It Easy for Landlord Interests

By S. BOOTH

BUFFALO, Dec. 17—Another crack in the already leaky dike of rent control made its appearance to the people of Greater Buffalo last week. Through a public announcement, the Rent Control Board made it known that a public hearing to determine whether a 15 per cent flat increase in rent throughout the city should or should not be slapped on all the rent paying citizens of the community would be held.

In an "impartial" way befitting a Rent Control Board, the time set for the hearing was Wednesday, December 17, at 2:00 p.m. in the City Council chambers. The board was seemingly unaware that most tenants are "slightly" occupied this time of day trying to make a living. This policy of "impartiality" was further revealed by allowing the landlords to present their case the first half of the three-hour hearing.

That the powerful landlord interests are past masters of effectively presenting their case was clearly shown by two tactics they employed. First, the burden of the landlords' arguments (that is, speaking in favor

of a 15 per cent increase) was carried by small landlords—owners of one or two private homes. The second tactic was a negative reply to the question, "Are you in favor of lifting all rent controls?" Not only the small owners, but also the big real estate men, with tongue in cheek, answered no to this question. The big real estate operators, aware of the genuine problems facing the single home owners, cleverly used them as a front for their own greedy desire for higher rents which are not warranted. By disclaiming any intent to see rent control lifted completely, the big boys are trying to sell the public the justification of a 15 per cent increase now.

Speaking against a 15 per cent increase were representatives of trade unions, liberal political parties, veterans' organizations and Negro welfare organizations. In short, any organization representing labor or any low income group, presented a spokesman. The veterans claimed they were promised a rosy future—while the fighting was on—only to return in most instances to no houses at all, or dwellings with exorbitant

rents. Many married GIs find they are unable to take advantage of their educational rights because \$90 a month is insufficient today to meet the soaring cost of living.

Several organizations expressed sympathy with the small property holder since many of their members are themselves small owners of property. However, the real fight is not between the little owners and the workers but between both of these groups and the big monopolists in all fields who are responsible for the present inflation. It was pointed out that a 15 per cent increase would be little more than a drop in the bucket toward solving the small owners' problems.

Negro representatives opposed the increase since it would cause tremendous hardship on tenants who live in restricted areas where high rents exist today and who find it impossible to find lower rental homes elsewhere. The claims that service and repair rates have increased in these restricted areas are a farce. Most of these homes have not been repaired for better than twenty years!

Real Third Force Is French Labor Need

By MAX STERLING

PARIS, Dec. 15—During the evening of December 9 the National Strike Committee of the CGT (French Labor Federation) gave the order to 200,000 striking French workers to return to their jobs. The strike had lasted almost a month but no more was gained by it than the terms offered at the beginning of the strike by the Schumann government. The CGT had demanded a 25 per cent immediate increase in wages, a minimum wage of 180,000 francs a month and a re-examination every three months of the minimum wage and the wages of the workers in relation to living costs. As against this, the workers were compelled to accept a 1,500 franc increase, about half of which was payable immediately. No compensation was given them for the time lost while on strike. In previous strikes this was usually granted. The rest of the government's offer consisted of promises to fix a new minimum wage and to grant increases in family allowances.

The strike was a heavy blow to French economy. It is estimated that there was a loss of 2,000,000 tons of coal, 400,000 tons of iron ore, 175,000 tons of steel besides heavy setbacks in production in many other industries, losses of foodstuffs and raw materials blocked in the struck ports. The monetary cost of the strike is estimated at 170 billion francs.

It cost the government 24 billion francs to call up 120,000 reservists for the purpose of smashing the strike. This compares with 26 billion francs to take care of the 1,500 franc increase granted to the workers. In the comparison of these two figures is revealed the government's determination to smash the strike and to deal a heavy blow to the Stalinists. Considering the economic and financial losses the government could have more profitably granted the workers their demands but it preferred to make the strike a showdown and to smash it at all costs. One must admit that it has succeeded.

BLOW AT MARSHALL PLAN

One must also admit that the Stalinists succeeded in dealing a heavy blow to French economy and to the Marshall Plan. Anyone who knows anything about Stalinism knows that this was its major aim. The Stalinist leaders delivered the goods to their Kremlin masters. That the outcome of the strike set the French working class back of little account to them. From the beginning they led the French workers into an adventure which has left them in a dispirited and confused state. It is difficult for them to understand why they had to face hunger and hardship for their families for a whole month in order at the end to come out with an immediate gain of 800 francs and debts many times this amount.

If the strike was an adventure to the Stalinist bureaucrats it was not to the French workers. The cost of living has risen 300 per cent since the liberation. Prices have increased 56 per cent since last January. Food prices alone have gone up 33 per cent between July and October while in November the rate of increase was even sharper. Wages have never bought so little, not even during the depths of the occupation. Now, after the strike, prices of industrial goods are expected to go up 35 per cent.

The social tensions in France have reached the point of crystallization into two extreme social and political camps, with the "third force" trying desperately to maintain an ever unstable balance in the middle. De Gaulle, the aspirant dictator of all the reactionaries, assumed a waiting role during the strike. The Schumann government and the Socialists did their work for him. With the working class weakened and confused, he now moves forward to the workers' centers themselves. Next week-end he intended to put forward his social and labor program at St. Etienne, traditional militant point, where the striking workers won over soldiers sent against them and marched together with them to take over the railroad station from the police.

The de Gaullists are publishing a paper called Workers Spark, which they hope will aid them in estab-

lishing de Gaullist cells in the factories. The aim of these cells is to create a corporative trade unionism tied to the state, that is, another edition of Mussolini's corporative trade unionism. De Gaulle's plan does not even have the merit of originality. It is the fascist way of replacing the independent trade union organizations with a docile instrument dominated by the fascist state in the interest of the employers.

The failure of the strike gave corresponding strength to the de Gaullists and has increased their boldness. The extreme reactionaries are moving forward into what was formerly forbidden territory. They are preparing not only their bid for power but the social bases which will guarantee it. What and who can stop it?

CRIMES OF THE STALINISTS

It is in the posing of this question that one can measure the true depth of Stalinist criminality. The alternatives are de Gaulle and his fascist plans or the proletarian revolution. For what else can stop the de Gaullist advance except the proletarian revolution? It does not mean that tomorrow one sets up barricades against de Gaulle but it does mean that the battles which the workers wage must prepare the decisive battle against reactionary dictatorship.

In the face of the utter helplessness of the French state to grant any satisfaction to the increasing misery of the workers, the Stalinists never have posed before the workers the problem of workers' power. Just the opposite. They hypnotized them with their rabid nationalism and chauvinism, their French republicanism. They disarmed them, exalted the generals, urged them to go back into the factories to produce, produce, produce, and sabotaged and misled their strikes when the workers saw no relief except through struggle.

This is what happened before the "left" turn of the Stalinists. With the new turn the latter sharpened their attacks on the government, demanded their reentry into it, attacked the Marshall Plan, the pro-U. S. party (the Socialists), hurrahed for Russia, clamored for INDEPENDENT French republicanism and threatened the government with strikes.

After the municipal elections and the upsurge in the National Assembly, political tension sharpened all over France. At the same time the CGT was drawing up its list of demands to present to the government. When the Ramadier government resigned, elementary trade union tactics dictated the presentation of these demands to the Schumann government and preparation of the working class and public opinion for the expected rejection of these demands by the government. Had this been done the issues would have appeared with greater clarity before the workers and people of France. However, with their new "leftist" line and their zeal to wreck the Marshall Plan, the Stalinists decided to precipitate the economic struggle around incidents in Marseille and in an atmosphere of confusion and suspicion.

SOLDIERS AIDED STRIKERS

Just before the resignation of the Ramadier government and the formation of the new Schumann government there were clashes in Marseille between Stalinist and de Gaullist politicians which resulted in some deaths. The occasion was used by the Stalinists to bring all of Marseille out on strike. An indication of the depth of the social crisis was revealed in the government's dismissal of three companies of soldiers in that city because of their sympathy for the workers and their unreliability to the government. The St. Etienne experience was another indication of the mood of the soldiers.

Between November 10, when Marseille was struck, and a month later, 2,000,000 dockers, miners, railroad, metal, gas and electricity, power-house and auto workers, besides teachers and other categories of workers joined the strike movement. Layers of workers were called out piecemeal by the Stalinist bureaucrats, which resulted in exhausting the workers, giving the government time to pass its draconian strike-

breaking laws, mobilize its armed forces and allowed, at the same time, the reformist strike-breakers of the "Force Ouvriere" tendency in the CGT to sow demoralization and to break the solidarity of the workers by their organization to back-to-work movements.

If the government acted with firmness it is because it could count on all this and because it knew that the Stalinists would never go beyond their guerrilla actions, which were destined to failure. L'Humanité, the Stalinist daily, treated the charge that the Stalinists intended to organize a general strike as a lie and a provocation.

Apart from the Stalinist conduct of the strike, two other positions were possible. One was the position taken by the reformist CGT tendency, "Force Ouvriere." It attempted to prevent workers from joining the mass strike movement. It appealed to the most conservative side of the workers and demanded secret strike ballots under the "protection" of the police with the hope that the workers would vote against the strike. Most of the militant workers refused to vote under the aegis of the police and the registered vote reflected a greater proportion of the conservative-minded, confused and demoralized workers. The failure of the strike has undoubtedly brought many workers over to this tendency but the militants who refused to follow "Force Ouvriere" regard it with bitterness and consider the role it played as shameful.

The other position that was possible was to go along with the workers' struggle, to be the best fighters in it, to propose the most efficient mobilization of the mass movement and in the circumstances this meant the general strike. Against the Stalinist piecemeal calls for strike, bureaucratically organized and lacking any preparation and perspective, it was necessary to counter with a bold policy, uniting the workers, generalizing the struggle, organizing it democratically and posing before it the question of workers' power.

FRENCH TROTSKYIST ROLE

This indeed was the tactic of the French Trotskyists and had they followed any other they would have been irremediably compromised before the workers. Naturally, as a small party with minor influence in the trade unions, their intervention could not alter the course of the strike. But those workers who did hear the criticisms, explanations and slogans of the PCI listened with respect and dozens of the best Stalinist militants were recruited by the party. Not only that. The policy of the PCI drew closer to it the Socialist Youth and the left wing under Dechezele, former vice secretary-general of the SP, which has just broken with the SP.

Thousands of militant workers have become disillusioned with the Stalinist party and their leaders in the CGT. These had looked to the Stalinists for a responsible and bold policy, for revolutionary inspiration and firm and united organization of the working class in struggle. The bureaucratic, dilatory, Moscow-motivated tactics of the Stalinists have left the workers sullenly suspicious of them. For the revolutionary left to have imagined the Stalinists capable of a revolutionary policy would be possible only by a flight from all previous experience. The danger of Stalinism coming to power never existed. The Stalinist bureaucrats never dreamed of entering upon such a perspective and never dared to organize the general strike, which would have posed such a perspective. Their cynicism never went beyond the desire to re-enter the government as ministers in the service of Moscow.

SPLIT IN UNION RANKS

If the bold policy of the Trotskyists could not succeed, for lack of forces, in turning a predestined defeat into a victory, it had the merit at least of earning for them increased respect and prestige from many militants among the strikers and has helped them to draw some valuable lessons which should aid in a new regroupment. It is only too tragic

that "Front Ouvrier," the Trotskyist tendency in the CGT, lacked the physical forces to compete with either the Stalinists or the reformists. Had it been otherwise it would have been possible to close the ranks of the working class and the struggle would have been carried over the heads of both the adventurers and the strike-breakers. The fighting unity of the working class would then have been assured and the workers would have emerged from the struggle with renewed spirit and morale. Nothing like that happened, despite the best efforts of the Trotskyists to make it so.

The unhappy result is now before us. The workers are demoralized and divided. If they go from the Stalinists to the reformists, as they are doing in substantial numbers, though not in a majority, it is on the basis of conservatism and confusion. A split in the CGT is now a fact, under the leadership of the reformist chiefs. The trade union movement in France will be a divided one. The working class front has been breached. It is hoped that out of all this division and confusion the workers will be able to digest the damage inflicted upon the labor movement by the two treacherous wings, Stalinism and reformism, and will construct a third force within it which can give honest, revolutionary leadership.

TRUMAN ACTION DOES NOT GRANT AMNESTY

NEW YORK—President Truman's action in pardoning only 1,523 of the 15,805 Selective Service violators was criticized as "in no sense an amnesty" by the Rev. A. J. Muste, chairman of the Committee for Amnesty, of which Mrs. Dorothy Canfield Fisher is honorary chairman.

In a statement issued here, Mr. Muste said "The pardons granted by President Truman to only 10 per cent of the violators of the Selective Service Act and only 20 per cent of the conscientious objectors and Jehovah's Witnesses according to the Justice Department's own standards is in no sense an amnesty. In addition to excluding men classified by the President's Amnesty Board as willful violators, Mr. Truman's action excludes those who are conceded to be sincere objectors but who are not religious in the narrow sense of the word, and many objectors who during the war protested injustices in the civilian public service camps and prisons.

"By definition, amnesty is a general clemency applying to an entire category of political prisoners. Amnesties have been granted to millions of persons throughout the world since the end of the war. It is a cause of shame that the United States government should grant such a pardon clemency. The Committee for Amnesty will continue to press for a general amnesty for all objectors to war and conscription."

Why Is Socialism Necessary?

Speaker: **STANLEY GREY**
Friday, January 9, 8:30 P. M.
"BASIC PRINCIPLES OF MARXISM"
—CLASS—
Third Session: "The Economics of Capitalism"
TUESDAY, JANUARY 6, 6:00 P. M.
114 West 14th Street, New York City
Sponsored by:
**Manhattan Unit
Socialist Youth League**

DETROIT MEETING:

"The Future of Europe—What It Means to the American Worker"
EMANUEL GARRETT
Editor of Labor Action
12 Horsemen Civic Center
John R and Erskine
SUNDAY, JANUARY 11
3:00 P. M. Admission 25c

FIND NEW CLUES ON HIS MURDER



Will Commemorate Fifth Anniversary Of Tresca's Murder

NEW YORK CITY—Fresh clues in the Carlo Tresca murder case are being investigated by the Tresca Memorial Committee, its chairman, Norman Thomas, said today, in announcing preparations for the fifth annual commemoration of the Italian anti-totalitarian editor's death.

"Two leads to information about this unsolved killing which may be vital have lately come to us," Mr. Thomas stated. "Both point in the same general direction. They come from sources that we regard as trustworthy. We will investigate them thoroughly in the hope that they may provide a basis for action by the District Attorney's office against those who arranged and carried out this atrocious slaying."

Friends of Tresca will gather to pay tribute to his memory at the crime scene, Fifth Avenue and 15th Street, on Saturday, January 10. Short speeches by prominent labor union officials and other notables will begin at 1:00 p.m. If the weather is unfavorable, the meeting will be held in Rand School Auditorium, 7 E. 15th Street. But for five years the weather on that date has been good.

Athos Terzani, anti-fascist seaman whom Tresca was instrumental in saving from the electric chair or prison in 1933, is to be present. Terzani was falsely accused of an Astoria murder actually committed by a member of the Khaki Shirts, a fascist organization centering in Philadelphia. Tresca organized a committee which not only acquitted Terzani, but uncovered evidence which put the real killer in Sing Sing and brought about the break-up of the Khaki Shirts.

Tresca was shot down in the 1943 dimout, beneath the windows of the office where he edited his monthly journal, *Il Martello* (The Hammer). The case was in newspaper headlines here again in September when Carmine Galante, paroled convict and first Tresca inquiry suspect, was arrested with three others on a federal charge—possessing alcohol-making equipment. But that arrest had an angle of coincidence which the press failed to notice, the Tresca Committee pointed out today.

"Months later the police found the garage in which the escape car had been kept, a stone's throw from where Galante was picked up. Its proprietor, Frank Nuccio, also denied knowledge of the Tresca killing. He was released on bail after several weeks, and in following months was twice arrested on bootlegging charges.

"The noteworthy point in the September development was that one of the men arrested with Galante, Joseph Di Palermo, 246 Elizabeth Street, lives only a few doors from Nuccio's home, and close to the garage location. We draw no conclusions from this set of facts, but they combine to make at least a curious coincidence."

On Sunday night, January 11, at 9:40 o'clock, exactly five years after Carlo Tresca's murder, devoted friends will gather to drop red carnations at the spot where he was killed—and to speak briefly, in both English and Italian, about the significance of his life and work to the labor movement and to society as a whole.

500 at Regal Shoe Vote Strike Against Wage Cut, Open Shop

By MIKE STEVENS

More than 500 workers employed at the Regal shoe factory in Whitman, Mass., voted unanimously at their union meeting to go on strike immediately against a company-announced wage cut and open-shop policy. The Regal shoe company operates several factories and a nation-wide chain of retail stores. At its Whitman factory it has 632 workers, all of whom are members of the Brotherhood of Shoe and Allied Craftsmen.

Earlier in the week, John J. Daly, president of the company, announced his new policy. He declared that an open-shop policy will prevail in the future and that he was cutting wages. He added that he would institute a profit-sharing arrangement under which the workers may make more money. He would keep the books, of course, and the workers would be told at the end of 1948, or thereabouts, if there were any profits to share.

THE WORKERS' ANSWER

The workers' answer came fast. The shoe cutters walked out on strike on Friday, and the same evening at the union meeting the rest of the workers voted to go out. The workers voted not to return until the company agrees to negotiate with the Brotherhood.

This is the first time the Brotherhood has been in the news for some time. It is a legitimate independent union, in the Brockton area. It is one of the last of the larger independent unions that existed in the shoe field prior to the rise of the CIO. The Brotherhood has dickered around with the idea of joining the CIO, but

the plans have fallen through every time. The membership has attempted time and again to force unity of their union with the CIO, but the leadership of the Brotherhood has been able to defeat these moves by maneuvering, appealing to the strong "local-control" sentiments of many members and by pointing out at various times the not-so-hot policies of the United Shoe Workers of America, CIO. Nevertheless, the Brotherhood should be in the CIO. Its problems are not "back-yard" problems and therefore it should be part of a national union, as the present Regal fight will show.

But the leaders of the Brotherhood are still thinking in terms of the "back yard." The papers announce that John F. Burke, vice-president of the Brotherhood, called on a former local boy, Cardinal Spellman, Archbishop of New York, to ask him to intercede. It seems that the Cardinal was a playmate of the company's president, John Daly. In addition, Daly received the Knights of Malta medal from the Pope last year, and perhaps the former boyhood chum who is now Cardinal had something to do with that.

KEEP PICKET LINE

Boyd chums. Cardinals and Knights of Malta medals never won strikes. Knowing Mr. Burke, we are sure that he did not call the Cardinal into the picture to expose the hierarchy as chumming around with union-busters. Let Mr. Burke ask the Cardinal for aid. The workers will study the results later. In the meanwhile, keep the picket line active and the plant idle, until the company comes to terms with the union.

Buffalo Meetings Contrast Workers Party's Socialist Line and Wallace's Politics

BUFFALO, Dec. 15—Both Henry Wallace and Max Shachtman, national chairman of the Workers Party, spoke in Buffalo this week on the same topic: The world political scene and the Marshall Plan. The two meetings provided an excellent study in contrasts for anyone who attended both of them.

The Wallace meeting sponsored by the Progressive Citizens of America (PCA) was attended by well over 3,000 people, who were treated to cheer-leading style introductions by stage actor Canada Lee, a demagogic appeal for funds by Frank Kingdon and finally a full-fledged, all-out attack on the Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan by Wallace.

Everything that Wallace said about the aims of American imperialism was correct, but a tremendous vacuum existed on two matters:

(1) What about Russian imperialism and lack of democracy, and (2) How can we stop the coming war and solve our economic problems? The famous Wallace threat to the Democratic Party of forming a "People's Party" if new and better policies were not forthcoming, was wheeled out. The last word uttered, Wallace responded to the photographers' "hold it please" with his well known instantly managed smile and up-raised right arm, while the audience politely applauded and went home, not one bit more informed than before.

A leaflet entitled "Wallace—Politician of the Half Truth," was passed out by Workers Party distributors.

before the meeting. It correctly forecast the type of speech Wallace would make and exposed the fraudulent nature of this approach. There were no attempts by any organizations to interfere with the meeting in any way.

Present at the Shachtman meeting in Labor Action Hall were 50 people who were offered an entirely different approach. The speaker pointed out the failure of capitalism, given 300 years of opportunity, to make it possible for people to live in security and prevent devastating wars. Further faith in such a system is really utopian in relation to the possibility of achieving socialism, which is the only practical way out today.

With much wit, Shachtman outlined the practical effects of the Marshall Plan in relation to the actual needs of the peoples of the world. However, and here is where Wallace stops, Stalinism offers no alternative to Marshall. If anything, this brand of totalitarianism has an even blacker record than the "democratic" capitalist brand of imperialism. The only solution is for labor to take the leadership of the nation at home and abroad and reorganize society on a rational basis with production for use and not for profit.

There were no vacuums in Shachtman's analysis. "Neither Washington Nor Moscow" was the title of his address. Such is the contrast between the socialist approach and the Stalinist-oriented freak politics of Henry Wallace.

Garrett, Shachtman Tours

As announced in last week's issue, Emanuel Garrett, editor of LABOR ACTION, and Max Shachtman, National Chairman of the Workers Party, will open speaking tours, designed to cover all branches of the Workers Party from coast to coast, on January 8. Comrades Garrett and Shachtman will speak at public meetings and branch meetings.

City	Dates
Buffalo, N. Y.	January 8, 9, 10
Detroit, Mich.	January 11, 12, 13
Chicago, Ill.	January 14, 16, 17, 18
St. Louis, Mo.	January 20, 21
Cleveland, Ohio	January 23, 24
Akron, Ohio	January 25, 26
Youngstown, Ohio	January 27, 28
Pittsburgh, Pa.	January 29, 30
West Virginia	January 31, February 1, 2
Baltimore, Md.	February 4, 5
Roading, Pa.	February 6
Philadelphia, Pa.	February 7
Newark, N. J.	February 8
New York	February 9
Boston, Mass.	(To be announced later)

City	Dates
Seattle, Wash.	January 8, 9, 10, 11, 12
San Francisco, Calif.	January 15, 16, 17, 18, 19
Los Angeles, Calif.	January 21, 22, 23, 24, 25
Chicago, Ill.	January 28
New York N. Y.	January 30

LABOR ACTION will carry announcements of all public meetings held, and will report the progress of the tours.



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New Entries Push Drive Toward Half-Way Mark

By YETTA BARSH, Campaign Director

DECEMBER 29—This week the lead has been taken by Connecticut, which jumped ahead of Buffalo by accepting its quota and entering the Drive with a \$60 contribution, all in one breath. Connecticut now heads the list with 20 per cent over-subscription of its quota. Good for you, Connecticut! But remember, Buffalo is right behind you, hot on your heels.

New York Misc. made its first contribution this week and hit the 100 per cent mark. That puts it in the company of Indiana and Oregon—the 100 per centers.

Six new units entered the Drive this week: Connecticut and

New York Misc. (both mentioned above), Akron with its first \$95 contribution; Detroit with its first \$90 contribution; West Virginia—\$15; and Youngstown—\$75. That leaves only five more units still not in the race.

The 10 per cent general gain was made possible by the following additional contributions this week: Cleveland—\$66; National Office—\$615; New York City—\$143.98; Reading—\$10; Los Angeles—\$37.50.

Our West Virginia comrades sent in their first contribution with assurances that they will be able to hit the 100 per cent mark before the end of the Drive.

Our newly organized Pittsburgh Branch promises to go over the top. We have heard from Seattle that they have already sent us another sizable contribution. San Francisco informs us that their next contribution (which is already in the mails) will bring them up to the 50 per cent mark. Youngstown promises that we will hear from them again this week and Akron too promises to hit the 50 per cent mark this week.

We can and will hit the 50 per cent mark, the goal we set for ourselves a couple of weeks ago, if we receive this same sort of cooperation from the rest of the units in the Drive. Los Angeles, New York City, Newark, Chicago and Detroit: let's get going! Your full cooperation will insure the 50 per cent fulfillment this week!

Branch	Quota	Dec. 22	Pct.
Connecticut	\$50.00	\$60.00	120
Buffalo	400.00	490.00	115
Indiana	50.00	50.00	100
New York Misc.	20.00	20.00	100

Oregon	50.00	50.00	100	
Streator	20.00	18.00	90	
Baltimore	100.00	81.00	81	
Philadelphia	400.00	275.50	70	
Boston	60.00	40.00	67	
Hibbing	5.00	3.00	60	
National Office	3,500.00	1,715.00	49	
Reading	75.00	29.00	39	
Youngstown	200.00	75.00	38	
Los Angeles	500.00	172.50	34	
San Francisco	1,000.00	312.70	31	
Cleveland	500.00	149.00	30	
New York City	4,000.00	1,190.48	30	
Newark	400.00	100.79	25	
Akron	400.00	95.00	24	
Chicago	1,500.00	328.00	22	
Seattle	400.00	50.00	12	
Detroit	800.00	90.00	11	
West Virginia	150.00	15.00	10	
No. Carolina*	200.00	00.00	0	
Pittsburgh	25.00	00.00	0	
St. Louis*	60.00	00.00	0	
San Pedro	100.00	00.00	0	
Manhattan SYL	30.00	00.00	0	
		\$15,185.00	\$5,613.97	39

*These quotas have not yet been accepted and are therefore subject to change.

Readers of LABOR ACTION: Do your share! Help us hit the 100 per cent mark early. Send us your contribution immediately.

WORKERS PARTY 4 Court Square Long Island City 1, N. Y.

Enclosed find a \$..... contribution to the \$15,000 fund drive.

Name..... Date.....
 Address.....
 City..... State.....

A Year-End Economic Survey

Collapse or Prosperity?

By JACK RANGER

"Why, I was better off on WPA, bad as that was. The family had better food, and I had a car. Today, I've got my job and more dollars, but no car. We seldom have meat on the table. If the old refrigerator should give out, don't know what I'd do..."

Many, many times in the past three months I have heard the above words, or quite similar ones, uttered by workers, by white collar employes, by urban middle class people.

Here we are. This is the radiant post-war prosperity that Big Business promised would follow the "war to rid the world of dictatorship."

How do you like it, fellow worker? Let us see what has happened and what is in the cards for 1948.

You'll find only two predictions in this survey. The first: Prices will continue to soar. The second: In X years there will be a tremendous bust, that will make the last depression seem like good times.

WHAT ARE IDEAL CAPITALIST CONDITIONS?

First, for a few concepts that will help us understand the present state of the American economy. Let us in the beginning try to define what are the best possible economic conditions for capitalism. Such a state would include the following factors:

- 1. A low national debt, one that is easily manageable at a fairly high rate of interest.
2. Plenty of elbow room for expansion, that is, for the investment of surplus capital in new industries, new regions.
3. A reasonably satisfied working class, disinterested in ideas of change, either unorganized or organized in unions with a safe capitalist-minded leadership acceptable to the ranks.
4. The chance to more or less freely exchange goods with foreign countries without hurdling high tariff barriers. A peaceful and solvent world.
5. Absence of monopoly, which takes its toll from all the rest of industry.
6. The chance for young men on the make to start up new businesses unhampered by patent pools, licensing restrictions, monopoly, or political discrimination.
7. A farming class with an assured domestic market for most farm production, and an assured foreign market for any surpluses; low land values on the farm, low transportation costs for agricultural commodities and for farm machinery, reasonable prices on the manufactured commodities which the farmer buys.

These are just a few of the conditions which one could abstractly posit for an ideal capitalist system. Almost all of them were present in the American economy from the end of the Civil War up to 1900. Almost all of them are absent today. The capitalist system has grown old. Its arteries have hardened into monopoly. Its heart has slowed down and can only be revived by periodic massage through military adventures. Its blood has difficulty flowing to the extremities. The whole system is dying on its feet, as an honest examination will confirm.

The second concept it is important to keep in mind is one of chronology: Where is the system today in relation to the past?

Capitalism in the U. S., developing under the very most favorable conditions for the system for over a hundred years—an immense territory without an inner tariff barrier, a continent richer than some in natural resources, an inexhaustible labor market through immigration, absence of a European-type militarism, absence of a class system of political parties—even this U. S. capitalism has been periodically shaken by crises, beginning with the first one in 1819, the next significant one in 1837, and thereafter one every nine or ten years, up to the First World War. Then came the post-war crisis of 1921, then a period of great prosperity (a period, however, in which one-fifth of the industrial plant and equipment was idle), and then THE crisis in 1929, the sharpest and most devastating in the history of capitalism, which began in agricultural areas such as the Balkans and Latin America, swept with terrific and growing fury across the earth and finally rolled up on the shores of this country in November with an impact that gradually numbed trade and production, doomed tens of millions of workers to unemployment, shattered the morale of the capitalist class and called into being the New Deal government of Roosevelt in 1933 to save the system and buy off the growing mass sentiment for revolutionary change.

THE NEW DEAL FAILED

From 1933 to 1940 the New Deal administration strove, WITH TOTAL FAILURE, to restore the functioning of capitalism in this nation. Leaning on the theories of economists Keynes and Hanson, the government sought to spend the nation into a state of prosperity. Relief or WPA jobs were given to millions—not to all who needed them, but to millions. The depression gradually and slightly lifted by 1937, and then again in 1938 the system again fell flat on its back. In 1939, when the Second World War broke out in Europe, there were STILL more than 10,000,000 unemployed here, and a nation-wide strike broke out that year over the question whether Congress should give \$700,000,000 or \$1,100,000,000 to WPA. Think? Over a matter of a piddling \$400,000,000—what Truman shoved to the Greeks and Turks this year, a tiny fraction of the hundreds of billions which America's Sixty Families were shortly to spend on world-wide destruction.

Roosevelt's policies failed to rescue the economy, as had Hoover's before him. But the war which he and the other capitalist politicians and bankers and industrialists encouraged, temporarily revived the dying patient. Capitalism came back with a bang once the war really got going. But it was an artificial recovery, just as our present so-called prosperity is bogus, artificial.

BUT PRODUCTION IS UP...

Back in 1933 the Brookings Institute in Washington published a study entitled "America's Capacity to Produce," a work which created considerable interest and which was quoted frequently by socialists to substantiate our contentions that this nation, given an over-all economic plan and workers' control, could turn out goods in much greater abundance than capitalism had ever done.

The study indicated that from 1925 to 1929 available plant was used between 80 and 83 per cent of capacity. If this unused capacity, rendered useless by the idiosyncrasies of capitalism, were put to work, annual productivity would have increased by approximately \$15 billions, or from the \$81 billions realized in 1929 (the peak productive year up to then) to about \$97 billions.

The actual production of 1929 was accomplished on an industrial work week which averaged close to 51 hours (before the CIO, remember?) and the potential 1929 production was predicated upon the same week of 51 hours.

Today we are producing at a rate far beyond that hopefully envisioned in the Brookings report. In the third quarter of this year, the Department of Commerce reported that the gross national product, which is the total output of goods and services, reached an annual rate of \$232 billions. Even making allowances for the depreciation of the dollar since 1933, this is well beyond the 1929 production, and the work week is actually at an average of about 45 hours compared with the 51 hours used in the Brookings study.

Not only is production way up. So is employment. Henry Wallace's "dream goal" of 60,000,000—savagely attacked as visionary by big business in 1945—has been attained and bettered. By late June the number of civilian jobs had risen to a record high of 60,055,000, surpassing even wartime employment.

...AND PROFITS UP TOO

Profits are "out of sight." The period since the end of the war has been an endless banquet for big business, and the food gets richer with each course. Net corporate profits—after taxes but before tax rebates—in 1946 were at a record high of \$12.5 billions, \$2 billions over the previous peak set in the wartime year of 1943. Corporate net dividend payments to stockholders last year totaled \$5.6 billions, an increase of 20 per cent over 1945.

In 1947 profits rose yet higher. The number of American corporations with assets of one billion dollars or more reached an all-time high of 45 in 1947, compared with 20 in 1927, and 28 in 1937. The assets of these 45 corporations total more than \$103 billions. Of the 45 companies, 19 are banks, 12 are insurance companies, and six are railroads. The fact that more than two-thirds of the 45 billion-dollar corporations are banks and insurance companies should surprise no one familiar with Lenin's analysis of the role of the banks in the period of finance capitalism.

Time magazine reported in August that U. S. corporations were making a fabulous \$33,000 a minute. The Department of Commerce estimated that for the first six months of 1947 profits were at an annual rate of \$29 billions before taxes, up \$8 billions from last year and \$4.5 billions above 1943's previous all-time high. Estimated profit after taxes this year would be \$17.4 billions, up 28 per cent over last year.

As company after company released its second-quarter earnings reports, it was noted that profit increases of 100 to 300 above the very profitable 1946 period were not uncommon. Of 342 companies surveyed, 237, or more than two-thirds, showed bigger earnings, and 67 showed decreases. For the third quarter of 1947, a survey by the Wall Street Journal (see October 31 issue) showed 149 major companies in 15 industries "raked in earnings of \$446,147,392, a spanking 42 per cent above last year's third quarter. Earnings for all 1947 up to the end of last month unquestionably added up to the highest ever recorded for such a period."

Nor is the prospect for big business in 1948 less sunny. "A bright New Year for U. S. business is being predicted at the 52nd annual congress of American industry of the National Association of Manufacturers," recently reported the Wall Street Journal, adding that "delegates wandering through Peacock Alley and chatting in the grand ballroom of New York's Waldorf-Astoria Hotel are facing up to 1948 with little of the pessimism recorded a year ago. ... With a year of near-peak record earnings behind them, businessmen think the New Year will be just as good—maybe better than 1947."

DOES IT SPELL PROSPERITY?

So we have production at an all-time high, employment at an all-time high and profits at an all-time high.

Does all this spell prosperity? Viewed from the ruling class summits, it undoubtedly does. But viewed from the sunless economic canyons where dwell the masses, the picture is startlingly different.

It is a strange sort of prosperity, when prices are relatively so high that automobile workers cannot buy the cars which they produce, when workers in household appliance factories cannot afford to purchase those goods for their own use, when coal miners earning \$65 and \$75 a week cannot afford to buy the meat with which to keep up their health and strength.

Elements of the situation are reflected in recent headlines in the nation's financial press:

- VETERANS CASH LEAVE BONDS SIX TIMES FASTER THAN BONUS WAS IN 1936.
BUYERS BORROW, TIGHTEN BELTS TO KEEP AHEAD IN LIVING COST RACE.
COST OF REARING A CHILD RISES 50 PER CENT IN DECADE.
WHOLESALE FOOD PRICES UP 160 PER CENT SINCE MID-1939.
INGERSOLL DOLLAR WATCH BACK IN 1948; NEW PRICE: \$2.50.
REAL WAGES NOW UNDER 1939.

The situation may be summarized through a recent release of the Department of Labor's Bureau of Labor Statistics, in which the Bureau estimated that today it requires from \$3,200 to \$3,600 for an average worker's family of four to maintain a "modest" American standard of living, "without frills." In October, 1947, the average for factory workers stood at \$50.97 a week, or roughly \$2,650 a year IF EMPLOYED FULL TIME THE YEAR AROUND. That's from \$550 to \$950 less than the minimum budget.

(Continued next week with a detailed examination of today's "prosperity")

WORLD POLITICS

The Division of French Labor

The defeat administered to the French working class has already had a major consequence that will affect the development of French labor for many years. By the deliberate action of its right-wing leaders, who openly played a strike-breaking role during the recent strikes, the CGT (General Confederation of Labor) has been split wide open and a new trade union center established. The leader of the new center is the notorious Leon Jouhaux, long an organizer of disasters for the French working class. Along with him in this plot to split the ranks of French labor are involved various syndicalists, Socialist Party trade unionists, conservatives and open reactionaries of various types.

It must be recognized, of course, that this split could not have occurred without the basis for it having been laid by the Stalinist leaders of the CGT. The atmosphere of hostility and profound disgust with the Stalinist misadventurist leadership could not be channelled by the socialist and revolutionary wing of the CGT due to the latter's weakness in size and influence. Instead, much of this has flowed into the reformist path opened up for it by Jouhaux and his associates. The Stalinists led the workers of France to a resounding defeat, but they were concerned first and foremost with accomplishing their pro-Russian political aims in the strike. The ruling class of France is now trying to rub home this defeat and, thanks to the aid provided by its supporters in the new trade union center, has succeeded in splitting the labor movement. Where unity was essential to ward off the aggressive attacks of the government of Schumann, where a common front was vital for the defense of the workers, there is now a deep split. From the point of view of French capitalism, what could have been more desirable?

JOUHAUX WORKED WITH STALINISTS

This split, in itself constituting an adventure since it plays so lightly with the real needs and interests of French labor, was organized by men who until a few weeks ago worked hand in glove with the Stalinists. Since the end of the war, Jouhaux has been joint ruler of the CGT together with the well known Stalinist leader, Frachon. These people never opposed nor organized an anti-Stalinist movement. When Stalinism was riding high and could compromise with these small-minded bureaucrats, they followed humbly along and were silent about Stalinism's crimes. When Stalinism plunged into its wild adventure and met inevitable defeat, these Stalinist labor Quislings of yesterday hastened to desert and join the strike-breaking government forces. Instead of remaining within the CGT and combatting the Stalinists openly, organizing a united force to drive the Stalinists out of union leadership, they fled to the comforting embrace of the government, thus adding confusion and dismay to a situation already overburdened with this. The hesitation of Jouhaux to split indicates the doubts of this hardened old bureaucrat about the wisdom of the maneuver and his realization of its adventurist character. There is plenty of reason to view the future of the new federation with skepticism.

What is the situation of French labor now? Clearly, there is the utmost of confusion and demoralization. The CGT has hitherto claimed six million members. The new federation claims between one and one and a half million members (no doubt exaggerated), but more significant than numbers is the type of unions it claims. Gov-

ernment employes, teachers, printers and other craft trades, railway workers, etc. That is, with the exception of the railway workers, those sections of the working class not belonging to the heavy or basic industries. At the present writing, it appears that the coal miners, iron and steel workers, metal trades, dockers, etc., are remaining with the old CGT. There are, of course, hundreds of thousands of workers who will, for the moment, drop out entirely from trade union membership. But, and here is the important point, when they inevitably return to trade union membership and activity, will they return to the conservative, government-sponsored and strike-breaking unions of Jouhaux, or to that union center still holding the majority of the militant workers of the heavy industries, the center with the class struggle tradition? Unless in the interim there will have been a tremendous shift away from the CGT to the new center, the answer is self-evident.

Today the French workers are split into roughly three categories: Those who stick with the CGT in its hour of defeat, despite the Stalinist leadership; those who, out of conservatism and legitimate disgust and disillusionment, have gone to the new center; and those who, having quit entirely, are watching and waiting to see what will happen. This is the unfortunate fruit of defeat, for which the Stalinists and the splitting reformists, each in their own way, are equally responsible. Nothing is more revealing of the true character of this split than the haste with which it is now trying to merge with the notoriously reactionary Catholic Trade Unions of France, composed of the country's most backward workers.

WHICH PATH TOWARD REUNIFICATION?

Lacking detailed information and facts, it is impossible to comment upon what would be the best course for a revolutionary movement to adopt in these circumstances. We are against the split, and we should oppose any and all efforts to make it worse by splitting unions not yet affected. We should start immediately the long and difficult work, among rank and file workers who always suffer the most from such situations, of educational and propaganda work for reunification of the labor movement. Once before, for a long period, French labor suffered the consequences of a divided labor movement. The breach must be healed as quickly and effectively as possible, and only the masses of workers in BOTH centers can do this.

In this respect, we must fight against both the Stalinist leaders of the CGT, the originators and prime criminals in the split and who, for their own political reasons, will only accept a reunification that keeps them in power; and against the pro-government union bureaucrats who have set up their rival federation on the basis of support to the government and social peace, and who, in turn, will oppose any reunification that would mean democratic unions, EQUALLY independent of pro-Russian Stalinist influence and pro-government "union sacrée" influence; unions, in a word, that pursue a class struggle policy in the interests of French labor. The problem of what to do in various unions and industries is a difficult problem that only those on the scene and able to judge in which direction the best interests of the workers lie, can decide. It is largely a matter of which federation the masses of workers in the particular union or industry will support. There we must be, to work for the essential reunification.

Henry JUDD.

International Socialist Notes

PARIS—At the national conference held December 7, the left wing group known as Revolutionary Socialist Action decided to break with the SFIO (French Socialist Party of Leon Blum). The conference adopted the following resolution, from which we publish extracts:

Assembled on December 7 at Paris in national conference;

Considering that the attempt to reform the Socialist Party undertaken at the Congress of August 1946 has completely failed;

That the Executive Committee elected at the Congress and the new general secretary of the party have continued and even aggravated the policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie practiced by Daniel Mayer, the parliamentary group and the Socialist ministers;

Considering that, far from disciplining the systematic violations of the decisions of the Lyons Congress, Guy Mollet and the Executive Committee have called off the extraordinary Congress which was to be held at the end of November and have officially adopted as their own the reactionary policy of Ramadier and Co.;

That they have become the champions of the so-called "Third Force," that is, of a "Labor Rally" without laborers, and that they have covered up the monstrous collusion between socialist and RPF (de Gaulist) candidates;

Considering that the leadership of the party has decided for socialist participation in the Schumann government, which represents a coalition of all the forces of reaction;

That in the course of the grandiose struggles undertaken by the working class in defense of its conditions of existence, the Executive Committee and the Socialist parliamentarians and ministers have become docile instruments to carry out the will of the bourgeoisie, seeking to break the strikes by every means, and participating in the vote in Parliament for criminal laws directed against trade union liberties and the right to strike;

Revolutionary Socialist Action decides in these conditions to break all relations with this party and calls upon all militants who remain loyal to socialist doctrine to join its ranks.

ANTWERP—The international "socialist" conference which was held at Antwerp from November 8 to December 2 did not lead to any positive results. Only one resolution was adopted unanimously, that "the circumstances were not yet ripe for the

reconstruction of the Socialist International" and that for the time being action must be confined to a "committee of international socialist conferences" which is to name a "contact commission" to maintain relations between the various socialist parties in the world.

Only the socialist parties of Europe and of the British Empire actually participated at the conference itself. Aside from purely platonic manifestations of sympathy for Spain, Greece (the delegates of the Greek Socialist Party could not come because their government refused them visas) and the new Jewish state in Palestine, the conference also declared in favor of the Marshall Plan "provided it does not contain any clause of political pressure," against the votes of the Socialist ministers.

Lodz Strike --

calm in the city. The workers themselves did not want to give anybody the facts about the strike for fear of reprisals or betrayal into the hands of the GPU. In spite of all this news of the strike circulated through all the workers' centers and outside the country. We are not in a position to say how much of a role the clandestine organization of the PPS played in the strike. The official Stalinist circles blame the strike on the influence of "reactionary centers," attributing the strike to political causes. Backed by the GPU, the representatives of the Stalinist PPR (Workers Party), the pro-government PPS, and the trade unions rushed to the strike-bound factories in an attempt to pacify the workers.

FALL OF TEXTILE WAGES

The fundamental cause of the strikes in Poland is the misery of the proletariat, whose wages have fallen to a level that is 30 to 50 per cent below the pre-war wage. The cancellation of the basic wage rate for a day's work and the liquidation of rationing have brought despair to the workers in the staffed industry. The cost of living is rising, and the government takes advantage of the misery and hunger to introduce "Stakhanovist methods" into Poland, forcing the workers to toil longer hours and increase their productivity. But the backward technique of the industry and the misery of the workers acts as an obstacle and pushes the working class toward desperate re-

Balkan delegates and those of the Italian (Nenni) party. The admission of the German Social Democracy into the new international organism was adopted against the votes of the Balkan socialists and with the abstention of the Nenni socialists.

The conference was a clear expression of the complete prostration and ideological impotence of the Social Democracy and its division into two blocs, one led by the British Labor Party and the other composed of the Balkan socialists linked to Stalinism. The Czechoslovak party and the Italian Nenni party constitute a sort of bridge between the two blocs. The main socialist leaders themselves expressed their great disappointment in the insignificant results of this conference.

In addition, the strike wave occurs in Poland's largest industrial centers and signifies the opposition of the most conscious layers of the proletariat to the regime. After the defeat of Mikolajczyk's party, a defeat accomplished along the road of terror and electoral fraud, the Stalinist regime is preparing to come to grips with the working class, which quite frequently, without political leadership and in spontaneous form, resists the government.

Experienced in long revolutionary struggle, the Polish workers know full well that the primary cause of their misery is not so much the economic destruction of Poland as the imperialist policy of the Russian occupiers, who deliver 20 million tons of Polish coal to Stalin, the greater part of the iron and steel, as well as the lion's share of Polish textiles.

In spite of its spontaneous character, the strike of the Lodz textile workers has a primary political importance, since it is a question of the first workers' strikes in the zone occupied by the Russians, an unusual and new phenomenon, which signifies that the united action of the proletariat is capable of breaking even the grip of Stalinist terror. For all these reasons, the strike deserves the support and aid of the proletariat of the United States, England and Western Europe. It is a living example of the socialist third front, which in the countries under Russian occupation is directed first of all against Stalinist reaction.

OFF LIMITS

James M. Fenwick

IT SAYS IN THE PAPER...

The Veterans Administration, which, if it does nothing else, certainly cranks out the statistics, recently estimated that by the year 2,000 there will be 3,400,000 World War II veterans still alive.

The foregoing figure was obviously computed on the basis of the next fifty years being ones of peace. That business and the military do not quite see the coming years as being of that character is demonstrated daily in the press.

According to the New York Times, for instance, the biggest brass in the armed forces has been holding quiet conferences with leading capitalists throughout the country. The most recent conference was held at Omaha, with 600 representatives of business in attendance. Similar conferences have previously been held in Seattle and Chicago.

Maj. Gen. Everett S. Hughes, chief of ordnance, stated that "one of the major purposes of the meeting was to enable the military and industrialists to get acquainted and understand common problems." One of the problems taken up was the dispersion of important industry to the mid-west.

Newsweek reports that a full-scale "educational" campaign to sell universal military training to the country is about to be launched. Former Associate Justice Owen Roberts of the Supreme Court, and other citizens not obviously tied to big business, will front the campaign. UMT, as currently planned, would train 1,000,000 young men a year at an annual cost of \$1,500,000,000.

While money for political and military purposes can be spent without a noticeable howl arising from the capitalist class, the national housing program remains completely stalled. A housing conference has been called by Representatives Javits and Kennedy, and others, to be held in Washington in early March.

"We are not mad at anybody, and we hope nobody is mad at us," said Mr. Javits, declaring that it was not proposed "to hold anything like a protest meeting."

Labor veterans' committees and the AVC please note.

Further note on the veterans' post-war world, from the New York Times for December 4, 1947: "The need for doctors in physical medicine for the Veterans Administration 'continues to be acute,' and there probably will be shortages in this field for the next four or five years, Dr. A. Ray Dawson, assistant medical director of the VA's Physical Medicine Rehabilitation Service, declared here yesterday."

OFFICERS AND GENTLEMEN ALL

"ATLANTA, Ga., Dec. 21.—Maj. Gen. Leland S. Hobbs, deputy commander of the Third Army, said today that Col. Hugh A. Adair, commander of the Camp Gordon disciplinary barracks at Augusta, Ga., would be transferred in January, but emphasized that charges of brutality there had nothing to do with the change."

"WASHINGTON, Dec. 15.—The Air Force indicated today it has adopted a policy of watchful waiting with respect to one of its famed-out generals and two former colonels who are under fire... for accepting priority deliveries on new automobiles arranged through the influence of a W.A.A. contractor."

"WASHINGTON, Dec. 21.—The Army announced yesterday that American occupation forces in Germany are under searching investigation on sensational charges of 'black marketing, customs violation and similar misconduct. . . ."

"... it was believed the investigation would cover reports that high-ranking officers, including a general, were engaging in profiteering that would rival the activities of Maj. Gen. Bennett E. Meyers."

"NEWPORT, R. I., Nov. 30.—Brig. Gen. Ralph C. Tobin, 57, U. S. Army, retired, became the adopted son and heir today of Mrs. Hamilton Fish Webster, 80, childless socialite whose husband died in 1939 leaving her a fortune of \$1,250,000."

From Newsweek, Dec. 22: "Secretary Forrestal is urging Truman to ask a pay raise of about 25 per cent for Army and Navy officers."

With the veterans organizations: According to the Veterans' Bulletin of the UAW the "VFW showed a loss of 685,000 members in the past year."... The American Legion's Veterans' Home-Steep Bill was recently subjected to an analysis by Charles Abrams, New York Post housing adviser, who concluded: "The bill is a menace, but one or two clauses may be worth salvaging, it should be redrawn and made part of the TEW bill. And it's time the Legion made its choice between housing its vets or fattening the real estate Warren's..." Over the clang of the pin-ball machines Warren Wright, national Americanism chairman of the Amvets, recently raised his voice to announce a drive against radicals in veterans' organizations. "They are usually good speakers," he said. "By practiced oratory and by knowledge of floor procedure they hope to stampee the rank and file membership. Then, too, they make ample donations to win favor." That's how to tell us Reds, Warren—look for the big money boys.

The Snow and Labor Action

Despite the fact that last week was Christmas week, with its usual celebrations and time off from work, LABOR ACTION was printed on time. On Friday morning our mailers were hard at work and in fact finished the mailing earlier than usual.

But the snow just kept coming down without let-up, so that by Friday afternoon when the truckers were supposed to pick up the mail bags for delivery to the post office, the streets were impassable (yes, we are writing about Manhattan).

Finally, on Monday morning, after much snow shoveling on the part of the entire New York population, the streets were somewhat cleared and the LABOR ACTION mail bags reached the post office.

So if your copy of LABOR ACTION was late in reaching you this week, it really wasn't anyone's fault.

P.S.—Our editors and mailers did finally reach home Friday night, being luckier than many New Yorkers who were stranded.

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A PAGE CELEBRATING THE 100TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE "COMMUNIST MANIFESTO"

Socialist Victory Is the Goal We Must Fight For!

By HAL DRAPER

Among the historic documents now being shown around the country on the "Freedom Train," you will not find that one which more than any other expresses the burning demand of mankind for human freedom and emancipation. That is the Communist Manifesto, written 100 years ago by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels.

The reason for this is very simple, and it casts a good deal of light both on the nature of the "Freedom Train" and on the Communist Manifesto.

The Declaration of Independence, the Emancipation Proclamation of Lincoln—to take two of the best behind the train's show-cases—these and others were ONCE heart-lifting and soul-stirring appeals for the liberation of man from man. But this country freed itself from King George a long time ago, and the Southern slaves were emancipated from the slave markets a long time ago. And today, instead of being exploited by foreign kings and merchant princes, we American workers are exploited by red-white-and-blue native robber barons and capitalists; and we who are American Negro workers are no longer being sold bodily from the auction block but are forced to sell ourselves piece-meal into the wage-slavery of the assembly line or the tenant-slavery of the share-cropper.

The language is still stirring; and we, Marxists and socialists, do not sneer at the fight for "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" but proudly assert that ONLY we are really carrying it on. But the words on the parchment are now only words in a show-case window for the sponsors of the "Freedom Train"—the struggle of men with arms in hand that once stood behind those words is now a thing of the past, and Attorney-General Clark did not put either Jefferson or Lincoln on his "subversive" list.

A CALL TO ACTION TODAY AS YESTERDAY

But the Communist Manifesto—the declaration of labor's independence and the proclamation of labor's coming emancipation — is "subversive," they tell us. Why? Because the struggle to which it calls IS STILL GOING ON TODAY, one hundred years after the Communist Manifesto! This document of human freedom is not merely a parchment from the past but as disturbing as yesterday's editorial to the conscience of capitalist attorneys-general.

The opening words of the first chapter tell us that the history of our world is the history of the STRUGGLE BETWEEN A WORKING CLASS AND ITS RULING CLASS, the struggle of contending classes over the economic and social mastery of society. Every revolution of the past, including Jefferson's and Lincoln's, overthrew one set of tyrants to put another in its place. The revolution of our day will, for the first time, be able to abolish minority-class rule because for the first time that class which is developing toward mastery of society is a class which is the overwhelming MAJORITY of society—the working class.

There is no fact of our day more important than this—not one. America is split down the middle—not be-

On the 100th anniversary of the writing of the Communist Manifesto by the founders of modern socialism, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, LABOR ACTION is devoting this page in commemoration of this great document and its authors. The historic significance of this anniversary, celebrating the issuing of the Manifesto with its ringing message of freedom to all of mankind, is clear to all of our readers; and LABOR ACTION joins in the revolutionary salute to its authors.

tween "good men" and "bad men," not between Negro and white, not between foreign-born and native-born, but fundamentally between workingmen and their capitalist exploiters. Earthquakes take place along such fault-lines in the rock strata; social earthquakes and revolutions take place along the line of class cleavage.

GOVERNMENT NOT IMPARTIAL UMPIRE SAYS THE MANIFESTO

The government pretends to be the impartial umpire of the social struggle. This is a lie, says the Communist Manifesto. Truman is not trying to hold the balance between labor and capital. He is calling all the strikes against labor, except when he is too afraid of getting a barrage of pop bottles on his head in 1948. It's true that Marx and Engels do not mention Truman. They said: The executive of the modern government is nothing but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole capitalist class.

Taft and Hartley have taken this to heart and understand its truth a lot more intimately than most workers. They know that's why they're in Congress. Most of labor still thinks it can somehow use the capitalists' own executive committee to get their own interests.

The Communist Manifesto explained why that is so. Labor's consciousness of its own position has lagged far behind in America. The United States has been and is the richest in the world. The crumbs have fallen faster and thicker from the bosses' tables than in other countries. The little men have been kept half-satis-

fied, only half-starved, only half-rebellious. And so American labor's ideas, views and conceptions have been for the last hundred years kept below the exploding point.

"Does it require deep intuition to comprehend that man's ideas, views and conceptions—in one word, man's consciousness — changes with every change in the conditions of his material existence, on his social relations and in his social life? . . . The ruling ideas of each age have ever been the ideas of its ruling class."

This is what Marx and Engels saw a hundred years ago, when European workers were under the exploding point as American labor still is. But there are fools who still tell us that since labor has not revolted against capitalism so far, we cannot expect it to revolt as material conditions worsen and degenerate; that because labor has voted Democratic and Republican, it is fated to continue voting Democratic and Republican.

CAPITALISM'S INABILITY TO FEED ITS SLAVES

But already in the Communist Manifesto the two young men who wrote it saw what was happening to capitalism.

"Modern bourgeois society . . . is like the sorcerer who is no longer able to control the powers of the nether world whom he has called up by his spells. . . . It is enough to mention the commercial crises that by their periodical return put the existence of the entire bourgeois society on trial, each time more threateningly. . . . And why? Because there is too much civilization, too much means of subsistence, too much indus-

try, too much commerce. . . . And how does the bourgeoisie get over these crises? On the one hand by the enforced destruction of a mass of productive forces; on the other, by the conquest of new markets, and by the more thorough exploitation of the old. That is to say, by paying the way for more extensive and more destructive crises, and by diminishing the means whereby crises are prevented."

The capitalist class, says the Communist Manifesto, has shown itself unfit to rule because it cannot even feed its slaves! This truth Europe's workers are feeling in the pit of their stomachs; American labor as yet has a few more crumbs. But one thing is certain: the material conditions of life for the common people is drastically, catastrophically changing, and with them are changing the views and ideas of workingmen.

Up to now, says the Communist Manifesto, the workers have not been fighting their own enemies but only the enemies of their enemies. When this sentence sinks into the understanding of a worker, he can become a new man. Truman is our enemy, says many a worker; but Taft and the Republicans are the more reactionary enemies of Truman; let us therefore help Truman lick his enemy. "EVERY VICTORY SO OBTAINED IS A VICTORY FOR THE BOURGEOISIE," says the Communist Manifesto. There is nothing on the "Freedom Train" that makes half the sense that this does.

SOUNDED CALL FOR VICTORY OF THE WORKING CLASS

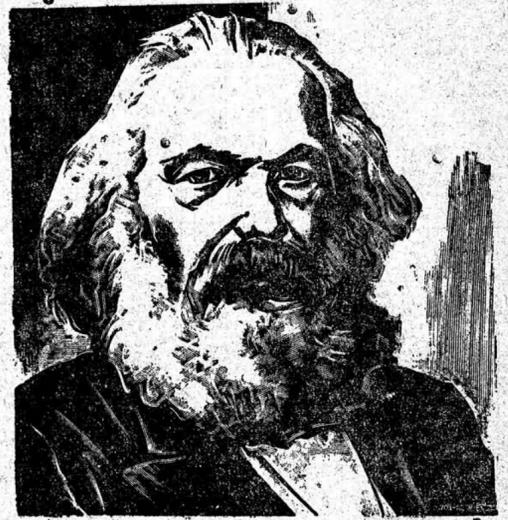
Let's be practical people, says the labor politician, and gain a partial victory by voting Truman in and Taft out. This kind of practicality was known to Marx and Engels a hundred years ago. They wrote: "Now and then the workers are victorious, but only for a time. THE REAL FRUIT OF THEIR BATTLES LIES, NOT IN THE IMMEDIATE RESULT, BUT IN THE EVER EXPANDING UNION OF

THE WORKERS." Vote for Truman (or Roosevelt) as many times as you like, and celebrate your subsequent "victories," but then when the next choice between Tweedledee and Tweedledum comes up, you are right back where you were. Your organization has not advanced an inch, you are still at the mercy of the choice between the lesser and greater evil. BUT—take your own fate in your hands, break away from both sets of capitalist exploiters, begin the union of the workers on the political field, AND THERE YOU HAVE THE REAL FRUIT OF THE BATTLE. "Every class struggle is a political struggle." Labor must take over the government. Until then it is the government of its enemy and real freedom and democracy cannot exist.

The clarion call which the Communist Manifesto sounds is the appeal "TO RAISE THE PROLETARIAT TO THE POSITION OF RULING CLASS, TO ESTABLISH DEMOCRACY."

TO ESTABLISH DEMOCRACY—that is the aim of socialism. Not only the fake limited political democracy such as still hangs on by a thread in the degenerating countries of capitalism, but the real economic and social democracy which comes from a society where men own their own means of livelihood, the factories and industrial machine, through a democratic Workers' Government of their own people. TO ESTABLISH DEMOCRACY—that is our aim, and that is why we denounce the Stalinist horror in Russia as a slanderous caricature of the socialist goal. TO ESTABLISH DEMOCRACY—"in place of the old bourgeois society, with its classes and class antagonisms, we shall have an association, in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all."

That is how the second chapter of the Communist Manifesto ends, and that is where we begin. There is no other social goal worth fighting and dying for.



KARL MARX

Karl Marx: Scientist And Man of Action

By SUSAN GREEN

Most readers of LABOR ACTION know of the great contributions of Karl Marx in the field of political economy, his special field. We attribute to him that conception of history and analysis of capitalist society which gave scientific ground and realistic form to the movement of mankind toward economic and political freedom that is, to the revolutionary socialist movement.

How many of us, though, know of the traits of mind and character that enabled Marx to do his penetrating scientific work and to be also a great revolutionary leader? And, if we do know of these characteristics, how many of us give them a thought, to allow ourselves to be influenced by them?

On this hundredth anniversary of the Communist Manifesto I want to write a few paragraphs not on the works of Marx but on the man himself, on those of his intellectual and spiritual features, at least a family resemblance to which all revolutionists should have.

WORKED AS SCIENTIST

It is stylish these days among certain intellectuals who think they have evolved beyond Marxism, to say that Marx wasn't a scientist at all but a "religionist" seeking only corroboration for his beliefs. I think the best refutation of this smug view is Marx's great work, "Capital"—the work itself. A man bent on the narrow objective of proving himself right could never have conceived such a detailed, fact-buttressed, brilliant analysis of commodity production. How Marx dug through to find the commodity at the center of capitalist wealth! How he delved into the secret heart of the commodity to discover the laws of its life and of its relation to other commodities! Only the scientific mind on the scent for discovery could have worked like that. His analysis of commodity production and of the historic system based on it could only be the result of a mind that has a key with which to open doors, regardless of what might be found on the other side.

That Marx started his scientific work with deep sympathy for the working people in his heart is undoubtedly a fact. But this is an earnest that he worked with scientific rigidity, knowing that the cause at his heart could not prosper except on solid factual ground. His labor, therefore, was indefatigable. Twenty pages of "Capital," about British labor legislation, was the result of Marx's reading a whole library of reports of investigating commissions and factory inspectors of England and Scotland. A man with nothing more than preconceived ideas has no need for this kind of research.

It is well known that Marx would not rely on anything but the original sources for facts and figures. With the ethics of a true scientist, he gave credit to all from whom he took facts, figures of ideas, bringing forth obscure names never heard of before. Thinking today would be infinitely better and the results more fruitful and reliable if Marx's investigating, analytical, venturesome method were taken more to heart.

MAN OF ACTION

Nor did Marx arrogate to himself any privileges as an "intellectual." He was a militant, an active revolutionist, as well as a scientist. He worked for the developing revolutionary movement as a writer, lecturer, organizer and leader.

Driven from his native Germany, hunted and hounded as a "dangerous revolutionary," wherever he went he was at the hub of the revolutionary movement. In France, in Belgium and finally in England where he settled,

his militant activities continued through the formation of the First International in 1864 and until his death in 1883. Here was a man in whom preoccupation in the field of thought was not an excuse for withdrawing from action, but a reason for active participation. His life centered the interrelation between, the unity of, thought and action.

So you see that the picture of Karl Marx with his nose in a book at the British Museum, the world passing him by outside, is false. Equally false is the conception of Marx as a one-track specialist, as a man rutted in his particular field, the field of political economy. On the contrary, he was a man of wide knowledge, deep interests and many ambitions for intellectual accomplishment.

For instance, this political economist loved poetry, knew the great poetry of all Europe, admired Dante, Burns, the Greek poet Aeschylus and especially Shakespeare. He was a reader of great novels, those of Paul De Koeh, Charles Lever, Alexandre Dumas, Walter Scott, Cervantes and Balzac headed his list of favorites. It is known that Marx had hoped to write a critique of Balzac's "La Comedie Humaine."

ZEST FOR LIFE

Among his ambitions outside the field of political economy was to write a drama based on the Gracchi of ancient Rome, a dissertation on logic, a history of philosophy. His penchant for mathematics was well known; he did produce a work on infinitesimals. His mastery knowledge of history and philosophy was admitted even by his worst opponents. To him language was no barrier; he read all the European languages and wrote in three, German, French and English. At one time he learned the formidable Russian language in order to be able to read reports of official investigations which the Russian government had suppressed but which some friends had procured for him.

Paul Lafargue, Marx's son-in-law, copyist, helper and friend, said of Marx: "He stood high above his own works." John Swinton, an American journalist who interviewed Marx and reported the interview in the New York Sun of September 6, 1880, wrote among other things: "His dialogue reminded me of that of Socrates—so free, so sweeping, so creative, so incisive, so genuine—with its sardonic touches, its gleam of humor and merriment." I quote the above to indicate to the reader how Marx appeared to the objective observer. He was no habit-bound "specialist" trudging along from an inner compulsion or from blank inertia. He was a man of passion, a passion for his chosen work, for all learning, for all of life.

This is a good place to stop. I did not write the above because of hero worship. I can look at Marx as objectively as at any other human being—possibly just because I'm a Marxist. Neither do I endorse the un-Marxian platitude "Lives of great men all remind us we can make our lives sublime." Only a few of us can be "sublime." I emphasize the above traits of Marx because many of us have a tendency to remember only the ideological contributions of our revolutionary great men, abstracting the contributions from the personalities involved and forgetting all about the character traits making possible the unique work. It's good for us to be reminded of these traits. It's good for our own characters to have a feeling-appreciation of Marx's scientific passion, of the unity of thought and action in his being, and of his diversified accomplishments and zest for life as a whole.

They Saw the Doom of Capitalism, The Triumph of the Working Class

By E. R. MCKINNEY

Any intelligent and alert worker who reads through the Communist Manifesto of Marx and Engels today, without knowing the date of publication or the names of the authors, might conclude that this small pamphlet was of recent origin. If he happened to be a worker who had kept abreast of political, social, economic and historical developments, and could therefore date the Manifesto fairly accurately; such a worker would nevertheless conclude that the Manifesto described conditions which he himself is experiencing today, 100 years after its publication.

Such an intellectually alert worker, toiling in factory, mine, mill and field, would perhaps say to himself or to a fellow worker: "They haven't changed much. This has been going on for a long time. The bosses are

just like they always were. The workers have to keep on fighting. I can understand things better now."

This of course would be really a sound and significant evaluation of the Communist Manifesto. Down through the years, one hundred of them, this eloquent, moving but compact distillation of proletarian revolutionary theory and practice has come through every campaign of abuse unsullied and through every assault unscathed. The Manifesto has lived through "refutation" piled on "refutation," and lives today in all vigor after a thousand of its detractors and defamers have long since been forgotten.

TRACED DEVELOPMENT OF CLASS HISTORY

Why is this? Why is it possible today for the working class or a part of the working class to pick up the Communist Manifesto and read passage after passage, as applicable and as fruitful as though they had been written only last week. The answer can be discovered by the thoughtful worker-militant by a reading of the Manifesto itself. Where did the present capitalist class come from? Has the present bourgeoisie always been here, and with its present dominant position in society? Where did the Fords, Mellons, du Ponts and Morgans come from?

"The modern bourgeois society has sprouted from the ruins of feudal society. . . . From the serfs of the Middle Ages sprang the chartered burghers of the earliest towns. From these burghers the first elements of the bourgeoisie were developed. . . . We see, therefore, how the modern bourgeoisie is itself the product of a long course of development."

What are Marx and Engels saying here? They are telling us that the capitalist class, the bourgeoisie, had a beginning and that its history did not begin in the Garden of Eden, as some of the capitalists would have us believe. Marx and Engels say that the present capitalist class fought its way to supremacy and dominance: to political, social and economic dominance. They had to fight because the feudal class would not yield their power. Power had to be wrested from them by the present capitalist class. This they did in England in a series of armed revolutions from the middle to the end of the 17th century and in the final death blow to the feudal ruling class in the great French Revolution of 1789. We do not forget either that the capitalist class in the United States acquired power as a class and began its march to economic, political and social supremacy in this country only after it had defeated England in the revolution of 1785, which school boys and girls study under the name of the Revolutionary War.

SAW CAPITALIST SOCIETY MOVING TO ITS DOOM

If the working class is not told that the capitalists have always been around, it is taught that they will

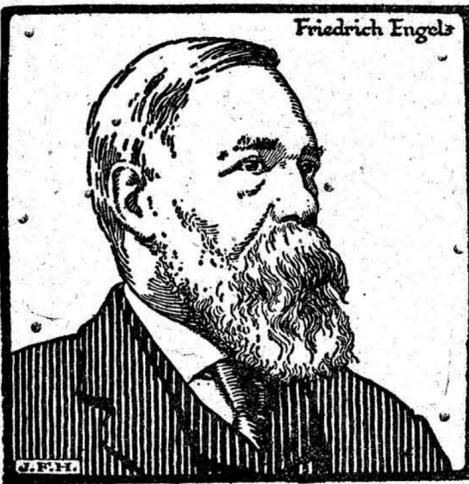
always be here and that capitalism is the best possible order of things. Nothing can be produced better than capitalism, say the capitalists and their defenders and apologists. After relating how the feudal system became outmoded, useless and reactionary, Marx and Engels, in the Manifesto discuss the fate of capitalist society. As was the case with feudalism, "a similar movement is going on before our own eyes. . . . It is enough to mention the commercial crises that by their periodical return put the existence of the entire bourgeois society on trial, each time more threateningly. In these crises a great part not only of the existing products, but also of the previously created productive forces, are periodically destroyed."

Not even Marx and Engels could in 1848 envisage how correct was their analysis of capitalist society with its long depressions, millions of unemployed, its two world wars of destruction, carnage and devastation. Destruction of the cities which the working class has built to live in. Laying waste of the fields which have been planted to yield food for the masses. Destruction of machinery which has been made by the working class to produce the necessities of life.

This destruction is possible because of the tremendous accomplishments of the capitalists in the field of production. Vast enterprises arise and millions of toilers are drawn into the production of machines and implements, which the bourgeoisie uses in its wars of destruction, and of commodities which the capitalist sells all over the world to enrich himself.

"The modern laborer," however, does not rise "with the progress of industry." "He becomes a pauper, and pauperism develops more rapidly than population and wealth. And here it becomes evident that the bourgeoisie is unfit any longer to be the ruling class in society. . . . It is unfit to rule because it is incompetent to assure an existence to its slave within its slavery, because it can not help letting him sink into such a state that it has to feed him, instead of being fed by him."

The capitalists and the defenders of capitalism have seized on this passage from the Manifesto in order to discredit the teachings of Marx and Engels. But they have been exposed and are being exposed all over the world today. What will they say about the pauperized millions of Europe and Asia? How will they answer Marx and Engels now? Can the defenders of capitalism retreat to the U. S. and take refuge here? It is in the U. S. of all countries that they cannot hide. Because here, in the wealthiest country in the world by far, we see insecurity and great concern for the future as the masses wait for the "periodical return" of depression and unemployment; "commercial crises," the next world war in which the "existing products" and



FRIEDRICH ENGELS

OAKLAND MEETING:

WHAT NEXT FOR LABOR?

American workers are more strongly organized than ever before. Yet the unions have proved helpless to stop the rising cost of living, to stop the Taft-Hartley Act, to stop the witch-hunts against "Reds," to stop reaction.

WHAT IS THE ANSWER?

HEAR

Max Shachtman

National Chairman, Workers Party

FRIDAY, JANUARY 16 — 8:00 P. M.

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