## THE

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## **WORLD MANIFESTO OF** FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

Against Wall Street and the Kremlin! For the Program of the "Communist Manifesto"!

#### For the World Socialist Revolution! Manifesto of the Second Congress of the Fourth International to the Exploited Masses of the World

The Second World Congress of the Fourth International, meeting in Paris on the hundredth anniversary of the Communist Manifesto, with representatives from 33 sections attending, considers it necessary to give, on the basis of its communist ideas, aims, and tendencies, its answers to the problems now facing the revolutionary vanguard and humanity as a whole.

After living through two world wars, an unprecedented economic crisis and terrible experiences under dictatorial regimes, humanity is now confronted with the threat of a new economic catastrophe and a new world conflagration.

The present situation is the inevitable culmination of the capitalist system. With unequalled clarity, the authors of the Communist Manifesto a century ago described the laws of motion in capitalism. They revealed its tendency toward unlimited expansion, and its need to refashion the whole world in its image. Today capitalist production has penetrated the most backward countries of the globe. It has unloosed miraculous productive forces. It has constantly revolutionized its own technique, substituting the combustion motor and electricity for steam, and breaking down matter to feed its insatiable need for energy.

Capitalism has made these advances between economic crises, by means of its own contradictions. Having previously destroyed the former modes of production, the industrial bourgeoisie, as it advances, continually destroys the most inefficient

#### Acceleration of Crises

After completing the entire cycle of its existence, capitalism has begun to reject the very principles attendant at its birth. The merging of trusts and cartels into veritable industrial and banking monopolies eliminates free competition within a country and even between countries in many branches of industry. Just when its feverish advance appeared free of all obstacles, capitalist expansion imposed artificial restrictions upon production. Having reached its natural limit toward the creation of the

Economic crises succeed one another at an ever faster pace, paralyzing the life of whole nations, and reducing entire layers of society to complete ruin. Social crises convulse all countries, undermining governments and precipitating revolutions, counter-

The immense technical achievements are diverted from general use or utilized exclusively for destructive ends. The sudden spurts in production which periodically still take place no longer enrich but rather impoverish the vast majority of mankind. The perfecting of the division of labor on a world scale shatters the on the Bulwinkle-Reed bill by world market. The evolution of history completely changes its course. Instead of bringing civilization to the backward peoples of the world, capitalism in its decline destroys the political con-(Continued on page 2)

## SWP CONVENTION ON RADIO

Thurs., July 1-11:15-11:30 p.m. Sat., July 3-2:00-2:30 p.m. (EDT) over American Broadcasting Co. KEYNOTE ADDRESS by James P. Cannon

Fri., July 2-11:30-11:55 p.m. (EDT) over Mutual Broadcasting System "WORKERS & FARMERS GOVERNMENT" by Farrell Dobbs "THE ONLY ROAD TO PEACE"

by Grace Carlson

(EDT) over American Broadcasting Co. "SOCIALISM OR BARBARISM"

by Farrell Dobbs THE STRUGGLE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS" by Grace Carlson

Tues., July 6-11:15-11:30 p.m. (EDT) over Columbia Broadcasting System "WHY LABOR NEEDS ITS OWN PARTY" by Farrell Dobbs

(All times listed above are Eastern Daylight Time. Subtract one hour for Central Daylight, two hours for Mountain Daylight, three

# 80th Congress Record: All for Big Business, Nothing for the People

Behind the Velvet Curtain



## itself. Then the system begins to decline, as the two authors of the Manifesto predicted. From the grises succeed one another at an ever faster page. Green Light for Another Steal

By Arthur Burch

In the closing days of the Congressional session both Senate and House overrode the veto overwhelming majorities. Under the terms of this new law the railroads as well as the rest of the transportation industry can fix rates, schedules and timetables without fear of the antitrust laws. Although previously, approval of the Interstate Commerce Commission was required, in Georgia and Nebraska against now such approval is made virtually mandatory.

jammed through Congress. Sen- dation against independent carmeant the establishment of a Bill was originally before the "super-government." Senator O'- Senate, provisions were enacted Mahoney pointed out that the to safeguard these suits. Another forced to veto it. transportation companies would clause prohibited boycott and be permitted to set up "a private duress. Both these provisions collectivism to regulate the whole were removed before final passage get his colleagues to look, stop transportation industry. We have thereby legalizing the railroad's and listen, Senator Hill blurted a government of big business, by past as well as future crimes. big business and for big busi- When even some members of the has long expressed:

by means of boycott, coercion and intimidation force independents into line, yet on occasion, investi- | & Co., the two great railroad in- | have a monopoly cartel, a supergations and actions were institufacilities and service can be made | ter. In his letter to his state orin secret meetings, without supervision."

CRIMES MADE LEGAL

At present, suits are pending the railroad companies for viola-Justice Department claimed that Although the anti-trust laws the bill was too raw, Senator

Morgan & Co. and Kuhn, Loeb come to realize that if we are to

vestment hanking houses left government controlling the transted against the railroads when nothing to chance in jamming portation industry, then the the steal was too flagrant. Now this bill through Congress. Their super-government should be their in the words of Senator O'Maho- man, Mr. Fletcher, organized a government, and they will insist ney "all the agreements which country-wide lobby which put affect rates, fares, equipment, pressure on every single legislaganizations, Fletcher wrote: "I am seeking to assemble here in Washington a very complete record of each member of Congress with particular reference to the influences which control him and the persons on whom he retion of the anti-trust regulations lies for support." That Fletcher Never was a more brazen steal by the use of boycott and intimideserves his salary is made clear by his diligence in getting more ator Hill of Alabama said it riers. When the Bulwinkle-Reed than two thirds of both Senate and House to pass a measure so dishonest that even Truman was

In a desperate last effort to

"By passing the bill we shall have taken the first step leading never actually stopped the car- Reed of Kansas merely shrugged inevitably to government ownerriers from milking the public and his shoulders and called them ship and operation of the rail-

> President W. T. Farisy of the Association of American Railare exempt from prosecution for rate-fixing by passage of the Reed-Bulwinkle Bill over presidential veto.

roads, for the people will soon

Federated Pictures

that that monopoly cartel be turned over to the Government of the law and everything would ers have moved with uniform injunction to prevent the AFL of the United States, which will mean Government operation and control and ownership of the rail-

> That's the next logical step: Government ownership of railroads and operation under control of the rail workers.

NEW BRITAIN, June 21 - A

## Actions of Bi-Partisan Gang Show Need for Labor Party

The bi-partisan 80th Congress adjourned on June 20 after achieving a perfect record: Everything for Big Business, nothing for the American workers.

their unrelieved record of tems. reaction, the Republican gress passed the Taft-Hartley and Democratic legislators ram- Slave Labor Law and outlawed med through the peacetime draft portal-to-portal pay. It handed bill and billions for the ERP pro- the corporations billions by re-

The draft bill will dragoon young men between the ages of 19 and 25 into the armed forces for 21 months. Amendments to eliminate anti-Negro discrimination and to limit war profits vere, naturally, shouted down.

They approved more than \$6 illion in appropriations for the militarization and bolstering of the capitalist states in Europe and Asia.

They adopted an anti-Jewish, anti-Catholic bill to permit the entry of "up to" 205,000 refugees -so designed as to exclude all out about 16,000 Jewish refugees keep Catholic entrants to a minmum, but leave the door open to

Congress, in its closing sesons, also found time to run roughshod over a presidential eto and enact the Reed-Bulwinle bill, permitting the railroads fix the r own rates by mutual greement without being subject

IGNORED REAL NEEDS

ortant" last minute business to ransact, Congress just didn't nave time for "minor" items of benefit to the people. Among the bills Congress scuttled were:

To increase minimum was

lynching and illegalize racial discrimination: To establish a government

health insurance system; To initiate a long-range public ousing program;

everal million workers excluded their own labor party, backing by the present system:

As a fitting climax to the tottering public school sys-

Earlier in its sessions, Conducing corporate profits taxes: It added more billions in the form of huge reductions in income tax for the rich, with a few crumbs thrown to the workers. These crumbs are being snatched back through the price inflation to which Congress has given a big mpulsion by:

Voting more than \$14 billion for the direct military budget; handing out more than \$6 billion for "foreign aid" against "communism"; cutting the guts out of rent control; renewing wartime government subsidies to bolster prices of the meat, grain and

PROGRESSIVE VICTORY"

This is the Congress which the inion leaders and the CIO-PAC nelped to elect and which they hailed as a "progressive victory in November 1946. We will have more such "progressive victories" f they continue to support the

This Congress puts a thousand punctures in the myth of a fundamental difference between the Democrats and Republicans. On Naturally, with all this "im- the war program, as well as domestic issues, the majorities of both parties consistently lined up together in the interests of Wall

These Senators and Representatives have adjourned vene in smoke-filled rooms behind the scenes of the Republican To outlaw the poll tax, curb and Democratic conventions to determine what presidential candidates will be most acceptable to the bankers and industrialists who finance the capitalist political parties.

Their record is conclusive proof To extend social security to that the American workers need their own candidates and fight-To provide federal funds to aid ing for their own class interests.

## UNION WAR VETERANS SPLIT FROM LEGION

130,000 members of the American Legion, organized since 1938 in the National Conference of Union Labor Legionnaires, have withdrawn in a body from the American Legion.

ago, the NCULL voted to quit the American Legion, condemn- Most of them are too soft and ing it as a hopelessly anti-labor organization which cannot be reormed from within.

For ten years, American Legion posts composed of union nen, all war veterans, have atempted to make the Legion leaders conform to the Legion's charer, which states that the organization is against "the autocracy of both the classes and the masses." In practice, they have been exclusively against the masses.

AN IRON GRIP

Since the Legion was formed n 1919, it has been outstandingly and notoriously anti-labor. It has been run from the top by an oligarchy of brass hats and reactionary business men who have rganization.

During the '20s and early '30s, the Legion leaders incited and Brass and of Big Business. organized vigilante and strikepreaking violence against union cicket lines and broke up many union meeting. Even so conservative a publication as Time magazine wrote in 1935 that: "Ever since the Centralia. Wash... massacre of 1919 (when Legiontotal of 4,600 signatures was aires led by businessmen smashreached by last week in the drive ed up an IWW meeting and lynched Wesley Everett), the ty on the ballot in Connecticut. nation's most potent strikebreak-

Since the rise of the CIO and their behalf.

the growth of the labor movement, the American At a convention two weeks | Legion leaders haven't dared to use violence against strikers. fat for that anyway. The veterans of World War II haven't taken to the Legion very much, and many of them have been found on the picket lines since they came home.

> ENDORSED REACTION But the Legion oligarchy con-

> tinues to demonstrate its hostility to labor at every opportunity. It has sought to discourage union legion posts and expelled proabor leaders of local posts. It has endorsed every anti-labor and reactionary measure before Congress.

The disaffiliation of the NCU-LL from the strikebreaking American Legion is a welcome step. Decent union men don't belong in an outfit like that. The Lemaintained an iron grip on the gion does not now, and never has, spoken for the rank and file of veterans. It is a tool of the Big

> The NCULL could do a great labor by enlisting the cooperation of the AFL and CIO to form a genuine veterans organization fighting for the needs of the veterans in the spirit of organized labor. The rise of fascism in Italy and Germany teaches what can happen when veterans become the prey of fascist demagogues. That will not happen here if the American labor movement organizes the veterans and fights on

## One Year of the Taft-Hartley Slave Law | time-period of American labor | complaints of unfair labor pracchains for labor. They whined or auto workers taking the lead.

By Art Preis

American labor has endured one year of the Taft-Hartley "under the wire" of compliance needed only to swear they weren't Law. On June 23, 1947, began with the yellow-dog oaths and "communists," to work out a few the era of Taft-Hartleyism, ushered in by the bi-partisan Republican-Democratic coali- SANCTIONED SURRENDER tion in Congress.

We have had ample time to

CIO, to the newly-forged legal did, one after another, with the greater total than in any similar lowdog baths have brought 2,116

blustered with mere token words of protest. They rushed to get the law. They imagined that they

ober witnessed the leaders of good thing to keep the militant measure in life the practical con- more than 7 million organized rank and file quiet, to use against sequences of this law. We are workers railing and ranting the "communists" or to raid the able to weigh in the scales of against John L. Lewis, who jurisidictions of non-complying living experience the attitudes warned that accepting any part unions. and conduct of the union leaders of the act meant bowing to the A brief summary of one year since the enactment of the Slave | "first major thrust of Fascism in of the Taft-Hartley Law suffices Labor Law. Events themselves the United States." They voted to prove how wrong, how blind have already passed judgment on eagerly instead to commit the these union leaders are. entire AFL to its exactions. After The machinery of this enorm-Servility, light-mind edness, several leading CIO international ously complex law is just getting cowardice are the least deroga- unions beat the bell and signed into swing. Yet, since it was tory terms we might use in ab- the yellow-dog oaths, the CIO passed a year ago, it has already solute fairness to describe the convention sanctioned capitula- ground out twelve federal injuncimmediate response of most tion by any affiliate that saw fit tions to restrain acts or demands new wages still up in the air.

They were going to "live with" history.

other special requirements of the contractual formulas for evasion they could squeeze a bit of bene-The AFL convention last Oct- fit from the law—it might be a

union leaders, both AFL and to surrender. And capitulate they of national unions. This is a

ARROGANCE AND VIOLENCE

of Taft-Hartleyism, the employ- ployers. Yet it secured a federal be hunkydory. Some even figured arrogance to deny and whittle International Typographical Udown labor's wage demands. They nion from making certain conprofessional strikebreakers and has not even ruled on but which police violence the strikes of the the employers claim constitute CIO packinghouse workers, Wall Street white collar workers and CIO cable workers. The steel, unions, strikebreaking and intelephone and glass workers junctions are not new. But up to didn't get a cent. The shipyard the time of the Taft-Hartley era, workers have settled with one the government intervened after company for five cents. Railroad open class warfare broke out and workers are still trying to settle after strikes were under way. the "second round" issue. The coal miners are fighting to enforce the health and welfare clause of their last contract, with Unions which signed the yel-

tices to the NLRB under the Taft-Hartley Act. The NLRB has as yet failed to rule on a single case Behind the protective barrage brought by unions against emheat down with local injunctions, tract demands which the NLRB roads." "unfair labor practices."

Government interference in the

SHOT-GUN TACTICS Now the government is inter-

vening immediately and directly in every major labor dispute. It (Continued on Page 2)

### Connecticut SWP Hits Half-way Mark

to get the Socialist Workers Par-The law requires a minimum of ing force has been the American becomes a party to the negotia- 8,300 signatures to be filed by Legion."

## World Manifesto of the Fourth International Congress

(Continued from page 1)

quests which marked its rise in the more advanced countries. A fetter upon human progress, the bourgeoisie becomes a reactionary force in every sphere.

War epitomizes all the destructive and barbaric features of declining capitalism and dominates all human activities today. Technique, science, industrial production, politics and literature, all place themselves more and more exclusively in its service.

The global character of the imperialist war is derived today from the world character of capitalist production and its crises. The war of 1914-1918 was still essentially a European war. Referring to the Second World War, which left the three Americas as well as large sections of Africa and Asia intact, Trotsky stated in 1938 that the South Pole alone would be excluded as a base of operation. It is profoundly significant that the present strategic preparations for a Third World War point to a desperate struggle for the domination of the Antarctic continent. In such a war no people or continent would be spared, no national capital would be left intact, not a single oasis of civilization would be overlooked. The unchained forces of destruction would destroy in a few years what it has taken centuries of labor to build and would cover the whole globe with flaming ruins.

#### Danger of Total Destruction

Mankind is horror-stricken at the rapidity with which the military alliances for the next carnage are being forged even before the last war is formally ended by a peace treaty. This horror is focused upon the atomic bomb in particular. Just as the war seems to divest itself of all human control, and follow its own sinister logic, independent of the activity of thinking human beings, so the innumerable implications of the atomic bomb elude the plans of both experts and diplomats, upsetting the calculations of generals as well as of the stock market sharks. Never has man stood so aghast before one of his own creations, never has the worker been dominated by so formidable an object, never has living labor been so subjugated by dead labor. But at the same time that atomic energy leads capitalism with all its contradictions to the total destruction of human civilization, it also opens up the perspective of a new epoch of peace and well-being in a society ruled by the working class.

Intellectuals and petty bourgeois scholars are seeking a palfiative for this permanent threat, which imposes a reign of terror over mankind, in the form of a "world government." For crude age-old prejudices, German monopoly capitalism built a some this proposal is simply a theoretical justification of Wall barbaric state which instituted the assassination in cold blood Street's thirst for power. Others are sincerely striving for a magic of seven million prisoners in concentration camps. But, as the formula to control the forces of destruction constantly unleashed by declining capitalism. Neither of them grasps the chain that links the global war with the decline of capitalism.

Only production for war is capable today of creating new outlets for capital, which is stifling in its own world market. War is nothing but the special mechanism with which the declining bourgeoisie tries to surmount its own contradictions. Far from succeeding, it can only provoke new contradictions while striving to eliminate the old ones. Far from eliminating competition, the monopolies give it a more sharpened form, manifested as much in the struggle between the monopolists themselves as in the competition between the middle men, who are being ruined in the process. Far from ending international conflicts, the epoch of the Big Four, Three or Two aggravates the conflict between the dominant powers.

To eliminate Germany and Japan as independent powers, American imperialism had to permit the rise of Russia and the revival of previously eliminated countries like France and China. To fight Russia effectively, it will be obliged to return independence to Germany and Japan tomorrow. This is not a question of TAFT-HARTLEY LAW errors on the part of Roosevelt or of the Machiavellian nature of MacArthur, but expresses the fundamental laws of capitalism. A single world power like the United States which hypothetically might survive all others could only leave the globe in total ruins, a prey to endless convulsions in national and colonial conflicts. "The war to end all wars," proposed by Burnham today, like the war led by Wilson yesterday, will not lead to Pax Americana, but to general chaos.

## The Gravedigger of Capitalism

Just as capitalism at its zenith was incapable of controlling the forces of production, so in the period of its greatest decline it is equally incapable of controlling the forces of destruction. In the period between the two stages, it has dug its own grave and created its own gravedigger — the working class. The revolutionary struggle of the latter is the struggle to give conscious direction to society, as opposed to the blind forces which are inevitably dragging the capitalist world into global war. The fate of capitalism is already decided; its knell has already sounded. But if it is not to vanish into atomic dust, its fall must give way to the world communist revolution.

For over a century, capitalism was an expression of the most brutal negation of all human relationships. Its rule has been extended solely through the mechanism of its laws of production. The state was cherished by the capitalists insofar as it interfered as little as possible with the free functioning of these laws. All servitudes and all freedoms were, respectively, imposed and realized in the one freedom of trade—the worst of human bondages.

But this very mechanism of the laws of capitalist production which permitted the bourgeoisie to deny all human relationships so long as its merchandise played a revolutionary role, compelled it to make desperate efforts to modify the operation of these laws as soon as they became an obstacle to the development of the productive forces. Born under the sign of "laissez faire,"

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capitalism now clings to the most parasitic kind of regimenta- | putrid form, with generals and adventurers in the service of Big | thing, the ultimate transformation of the world crisis into an tion. It came to power in fierce struggle against absolutism, but Capital invited in to help give it the finishing blow. today seeks the establishment of the totalitarian state.

Living for four decades on the narrow ledge between f revolutionary overthrow, sensing in their balance sheets the repercussions of the disintegration of their economy, the monopolists inevitably must subject all spheres of social activity to their rigid control. The state, whose progressive disappearance the liberal attorneys of capitalism celebrated a century ago, is and coining their corpses into gold after death. Liberal parliamentarianism and imperialist democracy are succeeded by the revolution on the order of the day. epoch of totalitarian dictatorship.

#### Totalitarianization of Capitalism

Through the continually expanding mechanism of the apitalist state, the monopolists subject all economic life to their igid control. By forced trustification, state distribution of raw materials, state control of credit, and nationalization of certain inefficient branches of industry, they impose their autocratic control upon the bourgeoisie itself as well as on the petty bourgeoisie. By incorporating the trade unions in the state, by forced arbitration, the restriction or total suspension of the right to strike, company unions, corruption, spies, and terrorism, they try to bridle the labor movement where they do not succeed in destroying it altogether. Through control of the educaional system and with the assistance of their obliging ally, the Church, they try to prevent the development of class consciousness in working class children and to mold them for their owr sordid interests. The press, the movies, and the radio have become gigantic institutions for molding public opinion, that is, for deceiving and corrupting the public for the benefit of the monopolists. They do not stop at enrolling the doctor, the lawyer, the poet, and the scholar as wage workers. They also dictate to them their own concepts of public health, law, literature, and science, stiffing cultural life under the weight of their social conservatism. Rising capitalism reduced human values to exchange values. Declining capitalism crushes them under the heavy boot of its totalitarian police.

The totalitarian character of present-day capitalism shows itself in finished form in the fascist dictatorship. Organizing the. desperate and impoverished middle classes, and utilizing all the Fourth International predicted, the "war to end fascism" has itself led to the introduction of totalitarian methods in the remaining democratic countries. The inability of the British Labor Party to solve the social crisis by miserable reforms, i throwing thousands of petty bourgeois into the arms of fascist demagogues. Under the leadership of Attlee, Bevin and Morrison, the British government, so proud of its liberalism inside the country, dismisses scientists suspected of communist sympathy The penetration of military men in the main government posts in the United States, the close fusion of the "Sixty Families" and the "Brass Hats" in the diplomatic apparatus, the anti-Communist hysteria, the spy scares, the reactionary offensive of the church even within the trade unions—all these phenomena mark the progress of the totalitarianization of the capitalist state in the United States. What remains of bourgeois democracy in the different countries takes on an increasingly rotten and

## ONE YEAR OF THE

(Continued from Page 1) | dancing on a combination timedictates the terms on which a anion must settle and with whom government, in effect, puts the explosive and damaging effects Taft-Hartley shot-gun to the interpretation on their continued union's head and says "Sign on failure to take adequate measthe dotted line as I dictate, or

Consider some of the recent uses of the Taft-Hartley Law. can't "get around" the Taft-Hart-Take the ITU case, for instance. ley Law. You cannot deal with Federal Judge Swigert last March its hundreds of deadly provisions ordered the ITU and its affiliates piece-meal. You cannot depend on to "cease and desist" from mak- the capitalist courts to safeguard ing certain demands which had labor's rights. been in ITU contracts for 50 years. For the ITU leaders even Taft-Hartley Act is by a gigantic, to raise these issues in current unified effort of the whole labor negotiations places them in jeo- movement to nullify in action pardy of huge fines and imprisonment for "contempt." The effect of this injunction, if ob-statute books. served within the interpretation of the NLRB and the employers, would be to compel the ITU to sign a contract on the employers' terms. They cannot even refuse to sign any contract. They must eventually sign one within the framework of the judge's order or be subject to "contempt" pen-

alties. Or take the case of the Taft-Hartley injunctions that Truman hurled at the AFL atomic workers in Oak Ridge, the railroad workers and the maritime workers. These unions hadn't even gone on strike. They were merely threatening to strike. Truman's injunctions said in each case that such strikes were barred IN ADVANCE. This is a new and unprecedented use of federal injunctions. The very right to strike, under this procedure, becomes a dead letter.

## GOLDSBOROUGH DICTATED

In the case of the United Mine Workers, the use of injunctions was carried an unheard-of step further. Federal Judge Goldsborough dictated to the UMW that it must sit down and draft a contract with certain specified coal operators' agents, with whom the union refused to deal.

There is no way labor can "live

Ky., paralyzed from the waist down as a result of a mine accident, is carried from a train at Oakland, Calif. He is one of the first 12 miners who will with" such a law. To play around undergo special treatment under the United Mine Workers with it is like playing catch with a bottle of nitro-glycerine, or welfare program.

In the past, you might have ures to nullify this law.

The experiences of the past year have demonstrated that you

The only way to escape the wipe this tyrranical act from the



The totalitarianization of capitalism is the clearest proof a new stage of capitalist stabilization, it is the most violent expression of the death agony of this system.

Beneath its leaden crust, all the forces of decomposition within capitalism are continually at work. The system reels from social explosions which are leading to an international conflagrabecoming a monstrous machine controlling men before birth tion. The "highest" stage of capitalist organization is revealed as the organization of bloody chaos, which places the communist

> Germany and China are mirrors in which humanity can see its fate if capitalism continues to exist.

Germany today has ceased to be a political, economic and social entity. With five provinces amputated, its body is divided into four zones of occupation. Its cities are in ruins, its fields impoverished, its inhabitants have taken to the roads by the millions to escape hunger or fear. Its economic structure is broken down and its national wealth destroyed or removed from the country; its labor force is pauperized and its trade paralyzed.

Scarcely 20 years ago, in spite of its defeat in the war and he crushing of the revolution that followed, Germany still possessed the most powerful industry, the most rationalized agriculture, the most highly skilled labor, and the most extensive trade on the European continent. On three occasions the German working class clearly wanted to take the fate of the nation into its own hands. Its seizure of power would have imperialism serves, at the same time, to educate the American permitted the peaceful alliance of German technique with proletariat in world politics. The forces liberated by the Ameri-Russia's vast economic resources. The barriers which prevented can crisis will line up in direct opposition to Wall Street's imthe constructive use of its enormous productive power would have burst asunder. Devoted mainly to the satisfaction of human needs, this power would have ushered in an epoch of peace and well-being on the old continent. But on each occasion, an in competent or treacherous labor leadership uselessly wasted the magnificent fighting energy of the German working masses. Exhausted after 15 years of futile effort, the workers were finally delivered without a struggle into the clutches of the Nazi dictatorship. The bourgeoisie then organized the powerful German economic machine for its own greedy purposes and developed it to such formidable and explosive strength that it finally buried all Germany in ruins, while overturning all Europe and sowing devastation in every country.

#### Treachery of Labor Leadership

China has been floundering for two decades in the convulsions of an aborted revolution. To the innumerable victims of natural catastrophes are added the millions of victims of social cataclysms. Wars, civil wars, insurrections, and punitive expeditions continually ravage this vast country. The old handicraft industry is falling more and more into ruins, but modern industry fails to grow. Usury devours the harvests, but andless and starying peasants continue to pour into them by the thousands. The government posts are offered to the highest bidder, and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek exploits the national economy as if it were a family enterprise. Ruin, stagnation and decay are to be seen everywhere.

In the crucible in which the new Chinese society took shape, inder the shock of imperialist penetration, a young industrial proletariat came into being which rapidly acquired a comnunist consciousness. Supported by tens of millions of poor beasants wanting emancipation, the workers had a remarkable opportunity to overturn the whole rotting structure of Chinese society, and at the same time, rid the country of the domination of foreign imperialism and of the national bourgeoisie. By unifying the country and rationally utilizing its immense national resources, the Chinese revolution would have been the signal for revolt throughout the entire colonial world, and gates the right to strike in advance of a threatened walkout. It put down the union leaders' mess- would have sounded the death-knell of imperialism in all countries. ing around with the Taft-Hartley tries. Thus humanity would have been spared the Second World Act to ignorance or fool-hardi- | War and its disastrous consequences. But the Stalinist leaderness. We have seen enough of its ship caused the defeat of the Chinese revolution, so rich in promise, and thus condemned the country to an epoch of endless convulsions, while the living forces of the nation decayed.

## Germany and China — a Warning!

In Germany and China are to be seen the horrible effects of the destructive forces unleashed by declining capitalism. While it reduces the most advanced and civilized nations to a state of brutish barbarism, it also bars the backward peoples from the road of progress. During the rise of the bourgeoisie, the advanced countries mirrored the future of the backward countries. Today Germany and China mirror the fate of whole continents if society does not free itself from the yoke of the decadent bourgeoisie.

If all the decaying tendencies in contemporary society seem concentrated in Germany, all the unspent powers of resistance to declining capitalism seem to be concentrated in the United States. While the American bourgeoisie emerged immensely enriched from two world wars, the old European continent was impoverished by the wars. The ruin of the European nations resulted in an unprecedented expansion of Yankee industry, agriculture and finance. The United States holds two thirds of the world's gold and capital investments today; half of the world's commerce passes through her gates. The Yankee dollar dominates the stock markets, the Yankee air force controls the heavens, and the Yankee navy rules the seven seas. From Nanking to Paris and from Athens to Rio, governments can maintain themselves thanks only to American credits. U. S. bankers divide up Latin America, while American oil companies fairly good attendance," wrote buy up Arabian Sheiks. American military advisers direct the Marianne Stanley, "but the most armed forces in Turkey and Greenland, and American merchants mete out the rations for Rome and Tokio. The Pope and the British Labor Government, the Franco dictatorship and the Australian democracy vie with one another for Wall Street's favors and the White House blessings. American films, dances, books and canned goods determine the mode of living in all countries.

But if the power and wealth of the United States are carved out of the stagnation and decline of the rest of the capitalist world, this decline in turn reacts irrevocably against the United States. The American bourgeoisie is today in danger of suffocating from its own wealth in the midst of a world dying from want. The entire planet does not suffice as a market for American industry. Wall Street is affected by every shock in every part of the world. It is difficult to believe that less than ten years ago the American bourgeoisie was still seriously discussing isolationism. Today the Italian elections, the trouble in Palestine and the strikes in Japan have become vital questions for American imperialism. Just as monopoly capitalism tends to totalitarianize the life of a nation, so the dominant imperialism increasingly strives to Americanize the world. "One world or none"—these words of a politician mean, above every-

American economy, politics and culture show all the signs that the social contradictions are henceforth incompatible with of an approaching crisis. The terrible burden of public debt collapse and prosperity, terrified by constantly renewed threats the "normal" realization of capitalist profit. Far from signifying devours the nation's reserves. A raging fever of inflation, speculation, and unproductive investments, which always precedes a severe financial crisis, has gripped the nation. The decrease in profits will soon put a brake on production, which in turn will experience a decline as violent as its previous rise was unparalleled. Moreover, the crisis of the two-party system, the slow political development of the workers' movement, the growing influence of the Catholic Church, the pro-fascist tension charging the atmosphere (heightened chauvinism, anti-communism, race prejudice) forecast a complete overturn in the next ten years of the traditionally accepted concepts of American politics. Just emerging from their provincialism, the American imperialists find themselves confronted with the task of protecting capital throughout the five continents. Their enormous wealth can never compensate for their manifest lack of political experience. British imperialism was able to maintain world supremacy through economic power alone. American imperialism is today obliged to equip mercenary armies in every country. The British capitalists, in their period of ascendacy, were able to corrupt their own working class movement with crumbs from their world profits. But Yankee imperialism in the period of capitalist decline cannot establish world domination without completely militarizing its own country and housebreaking its own proletariat. That is why the world offensive of American perialist policy. The American working class will find itself for the first time face to face with its communist destiny.

#### Perspectives of the American Revolution

The American bourgeoisie, concentrating the world's most powerful industry between New York and California, has created a numerically very large and highly skilled working class. The U. S. proletariat faces a stormy development that will make up for the historic backwardness of its labor movement. Under the whip of the great crisis of 1929, the working class made a formidable leap ahead, and attained a very high level of trade union consciousness. With the magnificent rise of the CIO, the American trade union movement became the most powerful in the history of capitalism. Under the whip of the next economic crisis, the consciousness of the American workers will make a new leap forward and will acquire political consciousness. The politicalization of the American working class movement will be the most explosive and the most threatening that capitalism has known since the Russian Revolution. This development confronts American capitalism from now on. To prepare themselves for boldly taking over the leadership of this movement is the duty of the American Trotskyists. The absence of a capital fails to build roads. Inflation ruins the cities, but the strong reformist and Stalinist tradition provides them with an unusual opportunity. The country which today concentrates within itself the whole capitalist development will tomorrow give the revolutionary movement its highest expression. The sweep of American imperialism throughout the world will surely cause the American revolution to be the signal and the motive force of the world revolution tomorrow.

(Continued next week)

## THE MILITANT ARMS

there. Henry Adams reported the there in circulating petitions to put the SWP on the Colorado ballot this fall.

Everywhere The Militant will be in the forefront of the party's Sara and one each by Frank D. campaign for Farrell Dobbs for and Barbara. President and Grace Carlson for Vice President. Every new reader will be a potential campaigner.

Three renewals and one new ub, plus a new sub for Fourth International, monthly theoretical magazine of American Trotskysm, came from Connecticut, where the petition campaign to put the SWP on the ballot is at its height.

Subscriptions continue to come n from radio listeners who heard one or both of the national broadeasts by Farrell Dobbs.

Seattle Branch sold 200 copies of the May 21 Militant, containing the first Dobbs radio speech, and gave away 150 copies to Boeing workers on strike. The sales were made at union meetings, house-to-house, and around steel mill.

With these copies were distributed leaflets announcing a public forum built around the

Seven new subscriptions from important result: We recruited Colorado this week heralded the three new members. We also hope opening of the Socialist Workers to get subs from several of the

> San Francisco obtained 11 subs in two Sunday mobilizations. Of the last five, three were sold by

Chicago South Side turned in four renewals from the first of five callback mobilizations that are planned. "We intend to call on all whose subs have expired." said T. Hook, literature agent. Two other new Chicago subs were sent in by Joy Langer.



PIONEER PUBLISHERS 116 University Pl., New York 3, N. Y.

## CONVENTION BALL

### To Greet Delegates to the SWP Convention

SWP Candidates to broadcast acceptance speeches over Mutual network from Ballroom at 11:30 p. m.

Dance music by Lem Johnson and his All Stars

FRIDAY NIGHT JULY 2, 9 o'clock

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THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION 116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y. (Phone: AL 4-9330) FARRELL DOBBS, Editor

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editorials. Monday, June 28, 1948

each in foreign countries. Signed articles by contribu-tors do not necessarily rep-

resent The Militant's policies.

These are expressed in its



In the capitalist states the most monstrous forms of bureaucratism are to be observed precisely in the trade unions. . . It is thanks to this that the whole structure of capitalism now stands upright, above all in Europe and especially in England. If there were not a bureaucracy of the trade unions, then the police, the army, the courts, the lords, the monarchy would appear before the proletarian masses as nothing but pitiful and ridiculous playthings. The bureaucracy of the trade unions is the backbone of British imperialism.

LENIN

Leon Trotsky, "Communism and Syndicalism," 1929.

## Supreme Court Rulings

Most union leaders have been spreading the notion that you can depend on the capitalist courts to nullify the Taft-Hartley Act. The logical conclusion is that labor doesn't need to fight militantly against the Act. All we have to do is wait for the federal judges to make their rulings.

This false idea has just received a rude jolt. Far from nullifying this Act or any part of it, the U.S. Supreme Court on June 21 struck three rapid-fire blows against labor in defense of the Slave Labor Law.

The Court put three sturdy judicial props under the law. I. It refused to rule on the constitutionality of the section barring union expenditures in federal election campaigns. 2. It sustained the constitutionality of the section requiring union leaders to swear yellow-dog oaths that they aren't "communists." 3. It upheld the section requiring unions to submit their financial reports to the govern-

In its ruling on the political use of union funds, the Court held that it was not a violation of the law, within the intent of Congress itself, for union papers to express opinions on issues and candidates in federal elections. All the Supreme Court said was that when Philip Murray endorsed a Democratic candidate for Congress in the columns of the CLO

News he did not violate the Taft-Hartley Act. It did not say that the CIO, or other unions, may contribute directly to a campaign . fund, run their own candidates for federal office or build and finance their own labor party. On these decisive questions of political freedom, the Supreme Court demonstratively left the door open to future support of the Taft-Hartley Act:

Off the shakier ground of politics and freedom of speech and press, the Supreme Court took a more forthright stand. In the case of the yellow dog oaths and financial affidavits it backed the Taft-Hartley Act unambiguously. It has already given its opinion on the use of federal injunctions in. the miners case during the Spring of 1947. Thus, the Supreme Court—the final court of appeal—has made it amply clear that it intends to uphold the Slave Labor Law.

This should surprise no one. The idea that the Supreme Court is, or ever was, "impartial" on class issues has been disproved by its whole history. It is made up of hand-picked legal sharks, all of them political time-servers of the Republican and Democratic parties. Like Congress itself, they are part and parcel of the political rule of capital, carefully selected to serve Big Money.

## Palestine Truce

Under cover of the UN truce in the Palestine war, Count Bernadotte is trying to tighten the imperialist hold over the new Jewish state. He has already established a certain control over all immigration and seeks to further impose the imperialist hold by calling on the major sea powers to regulate and actually embargo all immigration from their home ports. In addition, the imperialists are again getting their books into the local situation by the dispatch of the socalled truce commission to Palestine and the arrival of planes and ships to blockade the coast in order to see that the conditions of the truce are enforced. Thus the imperialists continue their filthy barter in the blood of the Jewish and Arab peoples.

Meanwhile, behind the scenes, the diplomats are trying to cook up some kind of scheme which will permit the carving up of the country, while strengthening the grip of Anglo-American imperialism. Washington continues to use the Zionist state as a catspaw of its imperialist penetration into the Near East. It is still maintaining its arms embargo but threatens England that it may lift it, if its terms are not met. England, hard-pressed to preserve its waning influence in the Arab world, is maneuvering to have its stooge, Abdullah, take over the bulk of Palestine in order to eventually squeeze the Jewish state out of the picture.

The proclamation of a Jewish state has thus solved nothing. A significant statement, recognizing this fact, was just made by Dr. Emanuel Neumann, president of the Zionist Organization of America. "I am convinced," he said, "that after the war is liquidated, there will be a continual political war directed against Israel. The foes who may have been defeated in war or checked by international political action will not long remain at rest. There will be a large Arab population within Israel, and it will be surrounded by vast Arab hordes."

In other words, the lews still have the problem of finding a way of living and cooperating with the Arab peoples—or they will be wiped out. Zionism thinks it can build an independent state, in absolute hostility to the whole Arab world, by maneuvering with the UN and in alliance with Washington. On that road lies ruin and calamity for the heroic Jewish fighters.

The Jewish people of Palestine can find a path toward co-operation with the Arab masses only by dropping the Zionist program, organizing a joint struggle against all the imperialists and their agents, and calling for the establishment of a Palestinian State, on the basis of a democratically elected constituent assembly.

## **Boring From Within**

In the old days, employers sought to disrupt the unions from within through secret agents and spies. There is plenty of that still going on. But now the companies have added a new twist to their tactic of "boring from

Under the guise of fighting "communism," they are openly attempting to influence union elections. An example is the electioneering leaflet addressed by the Inland Steel Company to Local 1010, CIO United Steel Workers, at Indiana Harbor, Indiana.

The leaflet is headed, "If You Pay Dues To Local 1010. . ." and is signed by Works Manager F.M. Gillis. It offers five "suggestions" to the union members on whom they should support in the union elections against

the "communists." Another recent instance of outside interference in the internal affairs of unions is New York Mayor O'Dwyer's move to split the United Public Workers and set up a dual union of red-baiting elements. Patrick J. Brady, vice-president of Local 111 of the UPW, met with O'Dwyer and discussed the

"formation of a new CIO union." The employers and their political agents have become slicker since the days when they relied primarily on labor spies. Now they \* serve their ends better and cheaper by supporting conservative and reactionary elements within the union against the "communists"-by which the employers very often mean genuine militants.

This follows the tactic advised by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce in its guide to employers, Communists Within the Labor Movement, which states: "When the employer is confronted with American-minded union of-

ficials, he should treat them with friendliness

and trust. They should not be compelled to

fight both him and the Communists. . . he

will encourage the decent elements in the

union to remove subversive leaders." To the C of C, a "decent" and "Americanminded" union official is one who plays ball with the company. This insidious "outside interference" is encouraged very often by union officials themselves. In the June 14 Militant, we quoted the letter of a Murray lieutenant, the director of CIO Steel Workers District 38 in California, in which he directs his staff to notify employers "in whom you have confidence" of any union dissident the

leaders want fired. You don't get "favors"

like that from a boss without giving favors

When the employers and their government agents tell the workers who to elect as union officers, what program to support, what kind of a union to have, that is the beginning of the end of independent unionism. That's the main "outside interference" menacing the unions today. The union ranks must tell the employers and their agents in no uncertain terms—"Keep your dirty snouts out of our

## The Kremlin's Newest Revelation-Marx's Doctrine Found 'Outmoded'

By John G. Wright

The revision of Marxism, publicly launched by the Kremlin in 1942, has become more avowed. Stalin's "Red Professors" are

today openly indicting Marx and Engels for a whole number labor productivity; a reduction of "errors."

Marx and Engels were "wrong" declaring that with the introduction of socialism, the law of value would no longer operate. They were "wrong" in maintaining that under socialism all distinction between mental and physical labor would disappear. They were "wrong" in maintaining that with the destruction of skills, all wage differentials would likewise disappear, and that socialist society would reward its members on the basis of the axiom, "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs.' And so forth.

This sweeping attack on many of the basic Marxist propositions is contained in the new periodical Voprosi Ekonomiki (Problems of Economics), published by the Institute of Economics of the Academy of Science of the Soviet

#### "THEORETICAL" JUSTIFICATION

The whole purpose of this revisionism is to provide a "theoretical" justification for the enormous discrepancies between the living standards of the mass of parasitic privileged bureacracy.

al one, far closer to capitalism than to socialism. The October Revolution laid the social foundations for the transition to socialism, but this has not been accomplished. Nor can it be asingle country.

When Marx and Engels, and ism, they invariably meant a pass from the outset two or more advanced countries. They had in mind a productive apparatus far surpassing that of any capitalist

in working hours, replacement of primitive modes of production in every sphere by collective and erfected labor, and so on.

None of this exists in presentday Russia. Her industry far from surpassing that of advanced capitalist countries, still lags behind them. Productivity of labor n Russia remains far below even present-day Western Europe, Primitive modes of production still prevail in one sphere after another.

#### PEDDLE VULGARITIES

Under these conditions of economic backwardness, it goes without saying that the "law of value" continues to operate, even if in sharply modified forms. The correct conclusion is that Russia cannot therefore be considered as a "socialist" society. But to acknowledge this is to proclaim the bankruptcy of Stalin's notorious theory of "socialism in one country." The Kremlin understandably prefers to declare Marxism "outmoded" and to peddle instead the same anti-Marxist vulgarities as do the apologists of capitalism.

An example of this is the the workers and that of the Stalinist glorification of the division between mental and phys-The Stalinists pretend that ical labor. Marx, Engels and Russia is "socialist." In reality, Lenin pointed out time and again Russian economy is a transition- that this division is a special creation of the capitalist mode of production, and not a law human nature."

On the one hand, capitalism converts the worker into a mere it to be one of the conquests "of above all, the artificial distinc- giving free scope to his own natappendage of the lifeless machieved within the framework of chine. On the other hand, capitalism makes of science and technology a productive force distinct fraudulently. Like Marx and Engafter them Lenin, spoke of social- from labor, pressing them into els, Lenin recognized that the exclusive service of capital. world system that would encom- It is modern industry that com- capitalism, recognizes no form of pletes the separation of the intellectual powers of production continually revolutionize produc- individual, fit for a variety of from the manual labor.

The Stalinists have taken this country. Under socialism, there division of labor inside the capit- function, undermining in one different social functions he per- aggrandizement of the privileged will be an immense increase in alist factory and have proclaimed sphere after another skills, and forms are but so many modes of bureaucracy.

Strikebreaking -- French Style



French police attack strikers with rifle butts and clubs in the streets of Clermont-Ferrand, French tire capital. More than 600 strikers were injured and 3 killed in an 11-hour battle as 15,000 police and troops sought to break the 10-day old strike of 30,000 workers, who are demanding wage increases.

created by Lenin and Stalin." Lenin's name is dragged in

modern industry, even under production as final, but must day. . . by the fully developed tion. Modern industry necessitates labors, ready to face any change new "theories" to justify its plunvariations of labor, fluency of of production, and to whom the dering of the economy for the

the political economy of socialism tions between manual and mental ural and acquired powers" (Caplabor. Socialism will complete this process.

Modern industry, Marx correctly pointed out, drives society replace the detail worker of to-

ital, Vol. I, p. 534).

Socialism alone is capable of accomplishing this.

The Stalinist bureaucracy ob-"under the penalty of death to structs the cultural development of the Soviet masses, and thereby of Soviet industry. That is why the Kremlin needs these

## Letters from Our Readers

#### Wants Analysis Of Palestine War

Thank you very much for mailing me your two sample issues of The Militant, (May 17 and May 24) which I had requested in connection with Mr. Farrell Dobbs' radio speech over the NBC network.

According to your news coverage (in these two copies), either Arabs or Jews are not in battle (and dying) or if they are, it is apparently not worth your considering or reporting.

If this is your consistent policy I shall have to look elsewhere for Socialist analysis of the Palestine situation about which I am deeply concerned. I'm not saying, nor implying that you have no position on the Palestine question, but I am stating that it is deplorable that during the height of the Palestine crisis, The Miliant is silent.

New York City P.S. I'm voting for either Mr. Dobbs or Mr. Thomas in this election

Ed. Note: C. K. is referred to the May 31 issue of The Militant for an editorial on the Palestine

### **Optimistic About SWP Presidential** Campaign

Editor:

The many warm responses of the people whom I approached for signatures to the Socialist Workers Party nominating petitions in Bridgeport, Conn., were very heartening. I'll relate a few of my experiences there which have made me exceedingly optimistic about the results of our presidential campaign.

A group of workers gathered round me in front of a hardware store, to read our program which was printed on the petitions While signing the petitions, one of them declared, "That's a good program all right." Then he turned to his friend saying, "Here, sign this, you should be for it too.'

I discussed the differences between Stalinism and Trotskyism with a Puerto-Rican worker who had been in jail in Puerto Rico for revolutionary activities. He

right. The workers have suffered | knows that the American reversal | possible for the Jewish problem long enough. We should take on partition was due to the things over.'

A Negro worker stated, ticket."

he capitalists want more than a ca's maintainance of the arms monopoly in politics, "they want embargo. our blood too." As I was leaving her, she said, "I was glad to sign the petition and do something to help the working people. Lots of | The only real prospective of finduck to you."

sitting on a park bench while her if the capitalist system is not grand-child was playing in the sand. "I'd sign your petition if I | that only socialism will make it was a United States citizen.' She said that if the British Labor Party does not move farther to the left, she and her husband would support another party.

Referring to the Republicans and the Democrats, one man said, 'We've certainly had enough of them!" He gave me suggestions on where to go to procure the greatest number of signatures.

These and other workers' reactions convinced me that there are scores of potential members of the Socialist Workers Party in Bridgeport, Conn., and that we should soon have a party branch there. If the workers of Bridge port are a representative sample of the workers throughout the country, the revolutionary movenent in the United States will not fail to grow tremendously during our election campaign and afterwards.

### Takes Issue With **Palestine Position**

Editor: As a member of the Socialist Workers Party who takes pride n the wonderful work performed by The Militant, I regret to have to take strong exception to your recent editorial on "The Arab-Jewish War in Palestine." The following are the main criticisms have to make.

The editorial acknowledges that British imperialism is backing "the feudal princeling rulers of the Arab States." But, on the other hand, it implies that Wall Street is behind the Jews. This implication is not supported by the facts. It is very well known that there is a rift inside the administration between Truman and the forces within the State was interested in our party and and National Defense Departwas very eager to discuss political ments which represent the oil questions at greater length with monopolists. Truman wants Jewish votes and he is ready to A Polish worker said, "You are back the Zionists; but everybody

pressure of Standard Oil, backed by its faithful stooge James For-

And what does the Jewish state mean, for instance, for the survivors of Hitler's gas chambers? ing a haven. Although it is true "I'm all for socialism," asserted that with or without a Jewish visitor from England who was state the Jews will be annihilated destroyed, although it is true

## Hear the SWP Convention on Your Radio

For additional information on speakers and topics, see p 1.

## NEW YORK

Thursday, July 1 11:15-11:30 p. m. (EDT) WJZ-770 on dial

Saturday, July 3 2:00-2:30 p. m. (EDT) WJZ-770 on dial

Tuesday, July 6 11:15-11:30 p. m. (EDT) WCBS-880 on dial

## BALTIMORE

Friday, July 2 11:30-11:55 p. m. (EDT) WCBM-mutual

Tuesday, July 6 11:15-11:30 p. m. (EDT) WCAO, Columbia

## CHICAGO

Saturday, July 3 5 pm Chicago Daylight time WENR-890 on dial

#### PHILADELPHIA Friday, July 2

12:10-12:25 p.m. KYW

Saturday, July 3 2:00-2:30 p. m.

Tuesday, July 6 11:45-12:00 p. m. WCAU

to be finally solved, Jewish Palesworld where there is a people won't vote anything but a socialist restal. Far from being behind truly identified with the sufferthe Jews, Wall Street is backing ings of the Jews, ready to face According to one housewife, the Arabs as is proven by Ameri- war ships and bayonets in order to get them into Palestine, Many tens of thousands of Jews, have found and are finding their way into Palestine whereas the doors of the rest of the world were and are virtually closed to Jewish

> Regarding the right to self letermination of the Jews, in the area of the Jewish state they are in the majority, so if they exert this right this is self determination and not "the conquest of another people's territory.'

immigration.

The editorial asserts that the defense of the Jewish state is reactionary, and that the war of the Arabs against that state does not "deserve the support of the class conscious workers." The touchstone to determine the progressive or reactionary character of the fight of Jews and Arabs is given by their relative position regarding the imperialists. But the editorial does not analyze the

Palestine war in this light. Since before the end of the mandate; Britain has been helping the Arabs against the Jews. The Arab states' invasion was engineered by the British, as was known months before the end of the mandate. The spearhead of the nvasion is the British-financedand-officered Arab Legion of Transjordania. So actually the Jews are fighting directly against a coalition where the hand is Arab but the arm is British. The Jewish war is an anti-

mperialist war for national iberation. If the Arabs win it will mean that Abdullah, i.e. Great Britain, will be the unchallenged ruler of the whole of Palestine and that the Jews will be subjugated. If the Jews win the British will be out of this area, the Jews will be free and also the Arabs in the Jewish state will enjoy complete freedom. Louis T. Gordon

New York City



Activities of 'Militant' Readers and the

## SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

AKRON-4 So. Howard St., 2nd fl. Mon through Fri., 7 to 9 p. m.; Branch meeting every Thurs. 8 p.m. BALTIMORE—1121 E. Baltimore St., Phone Wolfe 1753J, Daily 9 a.m., -9 p.m., O. Coover Sr., MILITANT and FOURTH INTERNATIONAL on sale.

BUFFALO—Militant Forum, 629 Main St., 2nd fl. Phone MAdison 3960. Every afternoon except Sun. CHICAGO-777 W. Adams (corner Hal-sted). Phone DEArborn 4767, Daily excep-Sun., 11 a. m.-5 p. m. Library, book

BOSTON-30 Stuart St., Sat., 1-5 p. m

CLEVELAND—Militant Forum, Sun., 8:30 p. m., Peck's Hall, 1446 E. 82nd St. (off Wade Park Ave.). DETROIT-6108 Linwood Ave. Phone TY 7-6267. Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p. m

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SAN PEDRO-Militant, 1008 S. Pacific WATTS-Militant, 1720 E. 97th St. LYNN, (Mass.)—44 Central Sq., Rm 1, Sat. 1-5 p. m. Discussion, Tues.

MILWAUKEE—Militant Bookshop, 608 5. 5th St. Mon. through Fri., 7:30-9:30 6. m. Phone BRoadway 9645. MINNEAPOLIS—10 So. 4th St. Phone Main 7781. Daily except Sun., 10 a. m. 3 p. m. Library, bookstore. NEW BRITAIN, (Conn.)—Militant Discussion Group every Fri. 7:30 p.m. Militant Labor Club, 165 Main St. (next to Strand Theatre).

NEW HAVEN — Labor School, 855 Grand Ave., 3rd fl. Tues. 8-10:30 p. m.

NEWARK—423 Springfield Ave. Phone Bigelow 3-2574. Reading room. Open laily, 12-4 and 7-10 p.m. NEW YORK CITY (Hq.)—116 University Pl. Phone GR. 5-8149.

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PHILADELPHIA — 1303-05 W. Girard
Phone Stevenson 4-5326. ive., 2nd fl. Phone Stevenson open daily. Forum, Fri., 8 p. m.

PITTSBURGH—1418 Fifth Ave., 2nd ft.

ppen meetings, 1st & 3rd Sun., 8:30

m. Marxist Study Class, Thur., 7-3 SAN DIEGO (Cal.) - For information

write P. O. Box 857.

SAN FRANCISCO—1739 Fillmore Ave, 4th fl. Phone FI. 6-0410. Daily except Sun., 12-4:30 p. m.

SEATTLE—Maynard Bidg., 1st Ave, South & Washington. Phone Main 9273.

Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p. m. Branch meeting, Fri., 8 p. m. Library, bookstore. ST. LOUIS—1023 N. Grand Bivd., Rm. 312. Forum, Thurs., 7-30-10 p. m.

ST. PAUL—540 Cedar St. Phone Garfield 1137. Open daily. Bookstore. Forum. 3rd Sun. of each month, 3:30 p. m.

TACOMA (Wash.)—Write P. O. Box 1079. Meeting, Wed., 8 p. m., Odd Fellow Hall, 6th & Fawcett.

TOLEDO — 113 St. Clair St., 2nd fl. Open daily.

pen daily. YOUNGSTOWN

"Everybody wants to get into the act," says Jimmy Durante, the radio comedian. Everybody nowadays wants to claim Gene Debs as their own. Stalinists; Social Democrats, FDR liberals, the venal time-servers, the career-grubbers and general all-around scoundrels-all have become ardent admirers of the great socialist agitator. They are like the crooked businessman, who lies and cheats and gouges and abuses people all day long; there isn't a good thing he can say for himself. But at least he'd like to claim some honorable forebears for his own.

The thing started a year ago when the publishers issued a monstrosity called "Adversary in the House" by Irving Stone. An insult to the memory of a great rebel-if there ever was one. Stone makes the axis of his book an alleged conflict between Debs and Katherine Metzel, his wife, who according to the author, was hostile to the socialist cause. Even worse than this cheap Hollywood scenario, Debs emerges in the book as a kind of Christian do-gooder, who would be like a fish out of water on the picket lines, but could fit in perfectly as a fellow delegate with Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt on a UN discussion panel of an International Health Commission. This for Gene Debs, the intrepid fighter of a hundred class battles, who never gave an inch to the philistines, whose ardor never cooled, who entered Atlanta prison at the age of 63, as he said, "a flaming revolutionist."

The Norman Thomas crowd, who continue, out of old habits and inertia to call themselves "socialists," have now decided to put in their spurious claim for Gene Debs' memory by helping issue the recent book of his writings and speeches, which George Breitman reviewed for The Militant on May 31. Characteristic of this crew, sailing under a flag not their own, and by which they often seem slightly embarrassed, they got a big-name historian, Arthur M. Schlesinger, to write the introduction to this work. What does it matter that Schlesinger is an officer of the Americans for Democratic Action, a typical career-grubbing FDR liberal?

Schlesinger has a little difficulty deciding just what Debs did accomplish by all his streetcorner speeches. But he finally comes up with the gem that Debs' work was after all not wasted because "Those years of education forced on the people . . . saved this country from civil war in the depths of depression and gave Franklin D. Roosevelt . . . the understanding public and trained workers for the immediate job he had on taking over." If Debs didn't accomplish a hell of a lot himself, he at least paved the way for the New Deal! That's the Norman Thomas Socialist Party "tribute" to Debs.

With all this renewed interest in Debs, the Stalinists figured they had better stake their claim. International Publishers got busy and just

issued a booklet, "Gene Debs: Story of a Fighting American," by Morais and Cahn, which is now being run serially in the Daily Worker. It's pointless trying to review this new biography at length. A typical Stalinist hack job. Everything the Stalinists touch comes out the same wayrobot-like, lifeless, synthetic. Even when they repeat some worthwhile idea or genuine thought, it has, out of their mouths, all the indecency of a drunkard giving a lecture on sobriety.

There is nothing unexpected or surprising in this. How can hacks, whose spines have been caved in by an impersonal machine, who live by the lie and grovel before power, write about Debs, the rebel with the unquenchable flame and the great heart? It cannot be done.

You don't have to read very many of Debs' articles or speeches to quickly realize that Debs was indeed a man of great feeling, great sentiment, great nobility of character. He could talk of mother, of love, of a comrade's handclasp, he could recite the poetry of Victor Hugo and even James Russell Lowell-and with him it always

But don't get the false idea that Debs was just a good-natured, slightly naive slob simply spouting soap box speeches for the brotherhood of man, as his latter day "disciples" would have us believe. Debs knew exactly what he was about. I am making no attempt here to write the story of the great socialist orator, agitator and campaigner, whose revolutionary instincts were always true, who was always on the right side of the fight in every big question and dispute That story still remains to be written—as one day it will be-for the example and inspiration of all revolutionists, living and to come.

Debs understood to a "T" his role in the move ment and in life. And he played it out deliberately and surely, with consummate skill and passionate devotion. He not only spread the gospel from one end of the country to the other, and made socialism American and a power to be reckoned with and feared, but he kept the flame of revolution alive in the Socialist Party and in his period of activity, held at arm's length the growing tribe of lawyers, political climbers and middle class reformers and preachers. Time and again his voice rang out in denunciation and warning against the Hillquits, Bergers and their ilk, who wanted to convert the Socialist movement into a harmless reform society and a club for up-and-coming labor careerists. "I am willing to be charged with almost anything," he ironically remarked in his Canton speech, "rather than to be charged with being a leader. I am suspicious of leaders, and especially of the intellectual variety.'

Nobody has any right to claim Debs but revolutionary socialists. And that's us-and nobody

## Stalinists Push 'Rule or Ruin' Policy While NMU Faces Crucial Struggle

THE MILITANT

NEW YORK CITY, June 22 — American shipping magnates, their high priced legal hirelings and Truman's agents are on the battleground they love best, the Federal courts, seeking

The Stalinists in the NMU are

of "Rule or Ruin." These faction-

Harry Bridges, Stalinist pres-

dent of the West Coast long-

shoremen, is quoted in the press

as saying: "They think they are

going to give us an 80-day cool-

ing off period. We'll switch it

around and make it a warming

up period. 80 days is just fine to

get tightened up." In other words,

Bridges is going to respect the

injunction. This is a far cry from

Not the least of the crimes

committed by the Stalinists in the

maritime industry has been their

cynical exploitation of the great

a series of shabby maneuvers

These have brought about in-

industry, which naturally seri-

wave of terror inspired by the

vigilantes.

their deliberately-fomented hys-

teria in the NMU.

al hacks, who spent so many years

the leadership.

way and means to strangle the CIO National Maritime Union credited and despised by the practically a lone battle. great majority of the seamen, it and the other waterfront unions. continues to act as if it were the

Upon the expiration of the leadership and had the full conmion's contract last week the fidence of the membership, government secured a temporary njunction against a strike. This njunction was observed by the union only because it specifically injunction. They act on the basis upheld the status quo, particulary the all-important union hiring

Under the legal fiction the of striking, now wish to appear period of the temporary injunc- as the super-militants of the tion is supposed to be used to union. reach an agreement. However the operators' strategy is not to leave the field they have chosen. They have made no serious attempt to come to an agreement. Upon the expiration of the temporary inunction two days hence, the government will undoubtedly secure an 80-day injunction under the Taft-Hartley Act.

The key issue of the present controversy is the union hiring hall, which the shipping operaors are now trying to eliminate. Under the hiring hall prodecure, the union dispatches the men for the merchant vessels on a democratic rotary basis. This was won only after seamen waged bitter struggles on both coasts and finally wiped out the previous vicious practice of buying jobs and being helplessly victimized by shipping crimps.

MANY UNIONS INVOLVED

Involved with the NMU in the present critical struggle are the West Coast longshoremen, West Coast Cooks and Stewards, the Marine Engineers, the Radio Operators and the Marine Firemens Union of the West Coast. Although the AFL sections of the at the present time. industry are not directly a party in the injunction proceedings, NMU, entering a fight which will they are nevertheless closely tied affect not only its own existence since the NMU settlement will vnion in the industry, is fighting stake. set a pattern for the entire industry.

There is no mistaking the VIGILANTES BURN UNIONIST'S emper of the seamen on the hirof the waterfront unions are deing hall issue. The membership termined to fight for this. However they might be divided on in-"'How do you know that he still needs to be are closed on this issue.

Should the government move declare the hiring hall illegal, then injunctions notwithstanding, they will have asked for and will confront a national maritime government's "red-drive," and

The present crucial struggle is being carried on by the NMU under the most difficult conditions. The Stalinist faction that held a Murray supporter, was fire- ing. According to the Compton the union in an iron grip for many years. faces almost certain ousting when the results of the him to "Get out of town." On Lynwood Board of realtors diselection are announced after June 30. In the interim, the Stal- ed by pieces of wood covered with property owners can protect their inists are seeking to extract the gasoline soaked rags, and a small property in accordance with the last factional advantage out of wooden cross planted on the recent decision of the United every development in the union- lawn outside the house. A note States Supreme Court. He exshipowner battle.

FACTIONAL BATTLE

Being concerned exclusively with discrediting Curran and the rank and file caucus that he leads, the Stalinists are carrying on an hysterical and utterly reckless factional battle. Unfortunately, their control of the union's leading body, the National Council, still exists until the election ballots are counted. Despite the fact that this lame duck council is thoroughly dis- house, two of which were put out

By Chen

During the Japanese occupa-

ern sea coast was under Japanese

living standard rapidly went

With the defeat of the Japanese

movement, which was already

occupation, grasped the oppor-

from bad to worse.

the Labor Movement in (

marks of "racial" animosity.

Death threats as well as sev-

Burton who had moved into a

new house in South Los Angeles

on June 4 following the recent

Supreme Court covenants deci-

sion. The note read, "Blacks, go

Three separate attempts were

made on the same day to fire the

out or we will kill you."

trying to discredit the very idea a joint front with the NMU. The maliciously demagogic haracter of this Stalinist "supermilitancy" is illustrated by conrasting their big talk in the NMU, where they are on the run, with their attitude in the West Coast unions where they are in

> from within and without. But despite the difficulties, the

sentiment for unity to institute creasing disunity and division of the labor unions in the maritime cusly handicap the seamen's fight The sad fact today is that the

LOS ANGELES, June 19 - | by the fire department. Another

is a manifestation of the national for safety the following day.

carried out by fascist-minded were at the same time working

The home of Morris Zussman, ive covenants within the frame-

former State CIO president and work of the Supreme Court rul-

bombed for the second time in a Herald-American, the Education-

June 9 the same house was bomb- cussed "the efforts by which

left at that time contained re- plained the proposed improve-

eral arson attempts were directed property use between the individ-

at the family of Dr. Geraldine ual property owners."

strike against the government battle, announces very simply to its membership that its strategy is to "sit tight" and wait for developments on the East Coast. The AFL Seafarers International Union, whose contract exgaged in negotiations but refuses

The leadership of the inde-

pendent Marine Firemens Union

of the West Coast, whose con-

tract has similarly expired and

which will be immediately affect-

now calling for an immediate ed by the outcome of the present

pires July 23, is presently en-All other maritime unions will

win or lose by the outcome of the NMU's fight. But their leaders are concerned for the most part with possible factional advantages and narrow prestige considerations. Thus, in effect, anti-Stalinist AFL union leaders have joined with the Stalinists in a reacherous guerilla war upon the NMU now proceeding both

chips are down. On one side, the government and shipowners are ined up under the banner of the Taft-Hartley Act. On the other side stand the seamen and longhoremen of the maritime industry. An attack upon the union hiring hall means war on the waterfront. For the hiring hall is the foundation of the maritime

as never before every maritime worker must close ranks the NMU in this struggle. All inter-union differences must be subordinated and all good union men unite in the battle to preserve the fundamental union gains. The life of the maritime unions-and what it means in the way of tolerable conditions up and will be vitally affected but that of every other maritime aboard ship and ashore—is at

Other Jim-Crow elements, on-

erating on the "legal front,"

ment associations which are to

work out agreements regarding

Eourth

<u>International</u>

Klan Terrorism



A band of 100 men wearing the white hoods and robes of the Ku Klux Klan invaded a Negro girl Scout camp near Bessemer, Ala., and ordered instructors Katherine Nickel of Birmingham and Elizabeth Ijams (r.) of Knoxville, Tenn., to leave. The two women had been training the girls to become Scout camp in-

## TEAMSTERS SCAB-HERD STRIKE AT BOEING

States District Judge Bowen could easily drag on for months refused to issue an injunction requested by the National Labor Relations Board to force the Boeing Airplane Co. into negoblow to the 14,000 aircraft worksettlement of their eight-week-old

Throughout a day-long session before a jammed courtroom, the Judge gave ample evidence of his antagonism towards the strikers. He warned them that applause ternal union matters, their ranks Arson, fire-bombings and death Fontana tragedy was barely or laughter would not be tolerat-Arson, fire-bombings and death avoided as the 84-year old mother threats were employed this week of the doctor and her two young jections from the NLRB lawyers. official and a Negro family. This family was forced to move out ing agent because it had violated the 60-day strike notice requirement of the Taft-Hartley Lawwas based partially on evidence out means of continuing restrict- and opinions that even the company lawyers had not submitted. The only person testifying was Wm. M. Allen, president of the advice of experienced unionists month and a note left warning al Chairman of the Compton of the strikers and boasted of the 200 million dollar contract just respectable radio and newspaper

awarded him by the Air Force. the hearing was the intervention rade of scabs continues. of Dave Beck's Teamsters' Union. Their attorney echoed all the weeks ago to hold a mass memcompany arguments about the bership meeting have finally 'illegality" of the strike and borne fruit. This FIRST general asked the court to grant the Teamsters Union jurisdictional called will be held on June 23, at rights in the plant, where they which time the leadership has are already at work signing up promised to recommend a "course

SEATTLE, June 21—United come. This hearing, however, —while the resources of the strikers are drained dry.

The demoralization resulting from the Judge's company-intiations with the striking Aero mistaken policy of the union spired opinion is due to the Mechanics Union. This was a leaders, which consists of a religious observance of every ers who are hoping for an early legal technicality and an hysterical throttling of rank and file action, by means of red-baiting.

Every day thousands of scabs, both ex-union members and new hires, stream from the plant gates obscuring the handful of pickets, limited by a previous court order. Thousands of other ex-production workers have left the area or found jobs in other industries with the encourage ment of the union leadership.

All offers of assistance from the rest of the Seattle labor movement have been politely but coldly received. Seattle labor is genuinely concerned about the crucial Boeing situation, but the company, who arrogantly attack- goes unheeded. Thousands of dollars have been spent for ultraadvertising; thousands more for But the crowning disgrace of relief and welfare. But the pa-

Motions passed by locals eight meeting since the strike was of action." Boeing workers have The NLRB hearing on unfair thus far held out magnificently labor practice charges filed by against the combined attack of the union against the company the company and Beck. Deterat the outset of the strike is mined militancy in the form of a scheduled for July 7, and union mass picket line can yet rally the leaders are making a great pre- great majority of Boeing strikers tense of confidence in the out- at this low point of the strike.

## "American Bedlam"

By Grace Carlson

Using the tragically appropriate title, "Minnesota Bedlam," Geri Hoffner of the Minneapolis Tribune recently completed a series of feature



articles exposing the sickening conditions in Minnesota's mental hospitals. But the story of bad food, barbaric restraints, inadequate medical care, poorlyequipped and over-crowded buildings is not just a Minnesota story. Actually, Minnesota is about average in the amount of money spent on mental patients state institutions. It is

"American Bedlam" that is ex-

In most state hospitals for the mentally ill, the patients get very little, if any treatment. They are prisoners, not patients! Restraints of all kinds are in use-leather mitts, cuffs, sheets, and even chains. This, despite the fact that modern psychiatrists declaim against the use of such and point out that physical force is unnecessary if the hospital has trained personnel, proper equipment and scientific methods of treating disturbed patients.

Here is one heart-breaking description of a tortured patient in one of Minnesota's mental hospitals as told by Geri Hoffner:

"At one hospital, a thick door was unlocked for us and we looked in at an emaciated woman. Her wrists and ankles were tied to the bed posts.

Her hair was disheveled and her thin body strained at the tight sheets, which were used as one more restraint.

"At another hospital, we saw a man in his '30's, tied to his bed in much the same way. 'He's a bad one,' the attendant murmured. 'He's had to be tied up like that for years. We never take

tied up like that if you never take him out, we asked. But the attendant just shook his head in on behalf of the operators and official and a Negro family. This and repeated, 'He's a bad one.'"

And this is a story from Minnesota, one of "free" states in "free" and rich United

These and other terrible conditions described are not the fault of the doctors in charge. There is only an average of one doctor for every 500 institutionalized mental patients, whereas, the ratio should be one doctor for every 132 mental

Nor can the attendants be blamed for these conditions. Overworked, underpaid and almost completely uninformed about modern methods of handling mentally disturbed patients, the harassed attendants in mental hospitals are nearly as miserable as the unhappy patients.

No, the fault lies with the outrageously insane rulers of our society, who spend our money for cruel and senseless wars, rather than for the humane and reasonable treatment of the mentally ill. Some day, we will restrain them!

## Philip Murray-Self Made Man

By Joseph Keller

CIO President Philip Murray has climbed up there with the "rags to riches" boys. His autobiographical success story, "If We Pull Together," is featured in the June issue of American Magazine, a monthly devoted mainly to the glorification of "self-made" business tycoons. Murray's right between the covers with the

well-heeled citizens who build the American Magazine's circulation with their modest descriptions of how they got rich by hard work, intelligence, character, patriotism and other virtues not to mention their talents for squeezing labor and turning over a fast buck. Like most American Magazine success stories.

Murray's suffers the minor omission of the most significant details, like how he succeeded John L. Lewis in the CIO presidency by playing politics with a certain U.S. President known as the "unofficial leader of the American labor move-

All Murray tells us of his career from the time Lewis put him on his payroll to the present day is modestly contained in the few words: "Position and power likewise hold no lure. I have never played politics to gain or hold a union office, and I never will. Naturally, I'm proud to have had a hand in creating the Congress of Industrial Organizations and in organizing the United Steelworkers of America. . ."

Certainly, Murray is too modest in omitting from his personal success story his most recent achievement-getting the steelworkers convention to boost his salary \$5,000, to \$25,000 per annum. after his failure to get the membership even a cent more in wages.

We can understand better why Murray rates space in the American Magazine when we read the conclusions of his article. There we learn the

ideas which have made Murray the "labor statesman" he admits he is.

"Today, progressive businessmen regard their workers, not as antagonists, but as welcome partners. . . They accept trade unionism. . . In the steel industry, especially, we have found that the free and frank exchange of ideas by management and labor at all levels has generated a better spirit and better understanding of our

That after the steel moguls had just slapped the steel union in the face with a flat rejection of any wage increase!

We read on to the bitter end to find out that Murray does not offer "a 'class' program" because, you see, "we have no classes in this country; that's why the Marxist theory of the class struggle has gained so few adherents. We're all workers here."

Now isn't that nice. The parasite billionaires who own the steel industry and live off the labor of the workers are really in the same class as the workers they exploit. The Taft-Hartley Law isn't "class legislation," as even Truman termed it. The strike struggles that have engulfed this country, rising to a crescendo in the past three years, are just "misunderstandings." The heirs of the Morgan, Rockefeller, Astor, Vanderbilt, Mellon, DuPont and other giant fortunes are just "honest toilers."

Yes sir! "America is still the land of opportunity"-even with an atomic war on the horizon, monopolies in the saddle, inflation blow- openly battled for two major deeply undermined. Even Wash- an emergency law of freezing called a sit-down strike for a Party which was responsible for ing up the economy, the draft due in 90 days, de mands, the "Rehabilitation ington's economic and military wages, and thus plunged the yearly allowance and rice as well the defeats, the movement has and strikebreaking injunctions the law of the Fee" and "Victorious Allowance," aid was largely in vain because workers into a condition of semi- as coal rations. The Stalinists led not been wholly destroyed. A new land. After all, hasn't Murray—the one-time pit winning on both issues by their the violent Stalinist-led peasant starvation. The Railway and the workers into another impasse crisis will again thrust the labor boy-made the American Magazine!

after Chiang Kai-shek took trade unions.

power in 1927. The movement FOUR MILLION OUT

rose strongly again after V-J The workers' victory pushed the movement to a higher level. Strikes soon spread to every intion, half of China and the eastdustrial city, centering especially in Shanghai. According to statiactual numbers were far higher. existed for a while. The labor The sliding wage scale was won the first time by the Chinese fermenting during the Japanese workers in the course of this the unions. gigantic strike wave.

tunity and emerged into the For the first time, the workers war was exhausting Chiang Kai- Postal Workers Unions there- by ordering unprotected workers movement foreward.

After the Kuomintang took shek's regime. This regime is upon called a national convention to fight against the policemen. over the power from the Jap- weaker than it has ever been at Nanking to prepare for a Several policemen were wounded The Chinese labor movement anese, they were forced to con- before. The fact that it is still general strike. The workers in in the course of the fight and was silent for about 20 years cede to the workers the right to strike and to organize into opportunist policy of the Chinese strike just after Labor Day in a few minutes, the Shanghai-

tainous hinterland. Shortly after- wages. was almost impossible for the of the Shanghai municipal gov- members to Shanghai and pene-2,000 strikes from September, their policy of class collabora-

The economic crises again came defeat. The material base of the to a head in February, 1947. The Kuomintang regime had been capital st government announced of the Shen Sun Cotton Mill policies of the Chinese Communist

Communist Party rather than the 1947. Over 200,000 workers from Woosung Garrison troops were help of American imperialism. | the main industries, a quarter of | mobilized. Thousands of soldiers When the labor movement first the labor population of Shanghai, and policemen, equipped with surged forward, the members of participated in the strike. The tanks and armored cars, surthe Chinese Communist. Party government was forced to retreat rounded the mill, fired upon the were far from Shanghai in the and announced the partial abroga-"guerilla area" of the moun-tion of its policy of freezing tear gas shells. The unarmed

military control. At this time it stics of the Social Affairs Bureau ward, the Stalinists dispatched In September, 1947, under the resisted desperately and with influence of their "left" line unusual heroism. Unfortunately workers to fight, although their ernment, there were more than trated the mass movement. With throughout the world, the Stalin- the whole action was not prepared ists called an adventurous strike for by the Stalinists. About 400 1945 to April 1946, involving tion, they dampened the work- at the Shanghai Tramcar Co. Due workers were injured or killed FOUR MILLION WORKERS. ers' militancy and helped end the to lack of preparation and the in this engagement. We see here imperialists, a political vacuum These are the official figures. The strike wave. It was then that the strike's isolation, it was badly how the Stalinists exhaust the Kuomintang began banning defeated and more than 200 resources of the working class. strikes, arresting a lot of the workers were dismissed by the militant workers, and restraining company. The movement temporarily declined because of this

strikers with machine guns and workers, most of them women.

In order to wipe out the labor movement, the government at the present time arrests a lot of the active union members. Desnite In February 1948, the workers the treacheries and adventuristic