

How They Tried To Crush Labor -- Then and Now

By George Breitman

Witch-hunts, red-baiting, frame-ups and government persecution, which are so prevalent today, are not new features of American capitalist society. The ruling class has

always resorted to these repressive methods in order to curb the militancy of the workers. That is why we can discover so many striking parallels between the situation today and the one that existed back in 1886 at the time of the Haymarket tragedy which we associate with the birth and the fighting tradition of May Day.

Eight men — Albert R. Parsons, August Spies, Adolph Fischer, George Engel, Louis Lingg, Michael Schwab, Samuel Fielden and Oscar Neebe — were arrested and charged with responsibility for throwing a bomb at a labor demonstration in Chicago's Haymarket. After a monstrous caricature of a "trial," the first four were executed, Lingg committed suicide, and the last three were sent to jail.

Their real "crime" was that they led and defended labor struggles; that they resisted anti-union lockouts and discrimination by the employers; that they were in the forefront of the fight for

the eight-hour day; that they opposed class collaboration and advocated the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of a classless society.

The capitalist class, its politicians, judges, police and prostitute editors knew that these workers were not guilty of the bomb throwing (which is believed to have been done by a police provocateur). But they wanted to get them out of the way.

PARALLELS WITH TODAY

So they devised a frame-up — the technique they have employed against workers and radicals down to this day.

When they could not prove that the eight had thrown the bomb at Haymarket, or collaborated in any way with the bomb-thrower they fell back on the charge that the defendants "advocated" violence and "associated" with men who practiced violence — the doctrine of guilt-by-association that is so popular with the reactionaries today.

To make the charges stick in the courtroom, they unleashed a wave of red-baiting propaganda and hysteria through the press that virtually insured no juror would dare to hold out for a not-guilty verdict — a judicial-lynching atmosphere it is not difficult for workers to recognize in 1950.

And to clinch the deal, the case was tried under a 19th century Medina.

By murdering these men, the employers hoped to cow the workers as a whole, break up their organizations, intimidate or isolate their leaders, and wipe out all resistance to the power of the capitalist class to rule as it saw fit, outside as well as inside the factories.

VAST CHANGES
They succeeded in killing five of the Haymarket martyrs — but not in destroying or stemming the growth of the labor movement. Since then vast changes have taken place in this country — so vast that the instigators of the Haymarket frame-up could not believe their eyes if they had lived to see them.

Then the labor movement was in its infancy — encompassing only a small sector of industry, and generally not the decisive sector; unstable, and subject to crippling attacks that could wipe out whole unions almost overnight.

Now there are several international unions each of which is many times the size of the entire mass meetings to keep the ranks aroused and informed.

It was only after a number of these rallies that the company thought things over and started offering some concessions. Latest reports confirm that the union leadership has retreated from its 10c an hour pension demand, but the company has likewise retreated on the trust fund dispute. And while it is likely that Chrysler will grant some contract changes, it is no less likely that it will get a clause allowing the company to "discipline" workers. What still remains, according to the press, is to "iron out the details."

PROMISE REMEMBERED
Many militants feel that the prospective gains appear slight after a 12-week strike. They recall Reuther's promise to "up" the demands with every day of strike. Instead, he has lowered them. These unionists feel that a united strategy — with Ford, GM and Chrysler workers allied in an offensive-defensive solid front — would have brought matters to a showdown in Detroit and in the whole state of Michigan and would have secured far greater gains in far less time and with much less sacrifice.

As matters now stand, Ford workers had to go out on a one-month "speedup" strike before Ford was able to recognize the "wisdom" of granting concessions on the pension plan; Chrysler workers have now been out for 12 weeks and, in the meantime, from all indications, GM is preparing to force their men out on strike as well.

Far from being dependable guardians of constitutional liberties, as many liberals contend, the federal courts are putting the final seal of approval on racial discrimination and violations of civil rights.

The two most recent decisions affecting civil rights are particularly sinister because of their clearly anti-Negro and anti-Jewish implications. Both judicial rulings were handed down on April 17. In one, the U. S. Supreme Court refused to rule unconstitutional the Georgia unit-voting system which, in effect, disfranchises hundreds of thousands of Negro voters. In the other, the U. S. Court of Appeals upheld the "disloyalty" firing of 26 Post Office employees, twelve of them Negroes and eight Jews.

By a 7 to 2 vote in the Georgia case, the U. S. Supreme Court said it had no right to interfere "in cases posing political issues arising from a state's geographical distribution of electoral strength among its political subdivisions." But the real political issue is the desire of the court, a majority Truman's appointees, to maintain the white supremacy political system which keeps the Democrats in power in the South.

Under the Georgia system, the popular vote does not decide a state election. Each county is given a certain number of unit votes, ranging from two to six according to the population of the county. The candidate who gets the highest popular vote in a county gets all that county's unit votes. Those who get the highest total of unit votes from all the counties win the elections. A county with a million voters gets only six unit votes compared to two unit votes for another county with only 212 registered voters.

Justices William O. Douglas and Hugo L. Black issued sharp

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Workers of the World, Unite!

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Unite Against Capitalist War, Witch-Hunting, Unemployment

Free German Trotskyists, Envoy Told

NEW YORK, April 19 — Farrell Dobbs, National Chairman of the Socialist Workers Party, sent the following protest today to Alexander S. Panyushkin, Soviet Ambassador in Washington:

"We are reliably informed that two veteran German revolutionary Socialists and irreproachable antifascist fighters were seized by the secret police in the Soviet-controlled sector of Berlin and face certain death through incarceration in concentration camps inside the Soviet Union. One of these victims is Walter Haas, whom the Nazis condemned for 'high treason'; the other is Oskar Hippe, who after Hitler's downfall served as member of the Berlin council of the reconstituted trade union movement. We vigorously protest this unwarranted persecution of labor and socialist militants, previously hounded and tortured by Nazi hangmen, and demand their immediate release by the Soviet authorities."

The case of Hippe and Haas is a glaring example of the ruthlessness with which the Stalinist bureaucracy is proceeding to destroy all oppositional elements inside the labor movement in Eastern Germany.

VETERAN FIGHTERS

Both Hippe and Haas have decades of service to labor and socialism behind them. Fifty year old Hippe is an old Spartacist, who fought under Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. He was among the first German Communists to break with Stalinism and to lead the Trotskyist opposition in Berlin. The Nazis arrested and tortured him three times and incarcerated him in the Luckau concentration camp.

Haas spent three years in Nazi prisons at Plotzenze and Cottbus, after being condemned for "high treason" for his underground wartime activities. Stalin's secret police arrested him in the headquarters of the "German Economic Commission" and he was beaten mercilessly in public for resisting arrest.

Farrell Dobbs has issued an appeal to "all organizations and individuals concerned with civil and labor rights to help save the lives of these two anti-fascists and working class leaders."

Letters and resolutions of protest should be sent to the Soviet Embassy in Washington, to the Socialist Unity Party (SED), the party which is now in power in Eastern Germany, and to the editor of Neues Deutschland in Berlin, the official newspaper of the SED.

For International Solidarity!



New York SWP to Enter Fall Election Campaign

NEW YORK, April 20 — The New York state organization of the Socialist Workers Party today announced its decision to run a full slate for all state-wide offices being contested in the fall election campaign.

A state conference of the party will soon be held to name candidates for Governor, U. S. Senator, Lt. Governor, Attorney General and Controller. Plans will also be made at this conference for a petition campaign to begin in the summer to collect the signatures necessary to place the SWP candidates on the New York State ballot.

This will be the only revolutionary socialist ticket in the state this year. The socialist challenge to capitalist H-Bomb politics, unemployment and attacks on civil and

labor rights will be brought to the widest possible audience by radio programs, literature, outdoor and indoor rallies and door-to-door canvassing.

New York is the fourth section of the SWP to announce its decision to intervene in this year's election campaign. In three other key industrial states — Michigan, Pennsylvania and New Jersey — the SWP election campaigns are already well under way.

CHIEF HANDICAP

Party branches and locals in a number of other states are also canvassing the situation with a view to running candidates wherever possible. The chief handicap they must overcome is the onerous and discriminatory state election laws designed to make it extremely difficult or im-

possible for minority parties to get on the ballot.

Both the Michigan and Pennsylvania sections of the SWP are now in the final stages of their petition campaigns. The response received to date guarantees that they will be able to file a considerably greater number of petitions than is required by law.

The Pennsylvania candidates — who are compelled to use the ballot name of Militant Workers Party — are Clyde Turner for U. S. Senator and Herbert Lewin for Governor. The Michigan candidates are yet to be named.

In New Jersey, where no statewide contest will be held this year, William E. Bohannon is the SWP candidate for U. S. Congress from the 11th District. The only other candidates for this seat are a Democrat and a Republican.

May Day Appeal of the SWP To the Workers of America

On this May Day of 1950, the Socialist Workers Party addresses the American workers in the tradition and spirit of those labor heroes and martyrs of 1886 who led the first May Day struggle. We summon the hosts of American labor, the Negro people, the poor farmers to raise aloft the banner of UNITY AND SOLIDARITY against capitalism, its exploitation, unemployment, race oppression, witch-hunts and war.

Never have the working people stood so in need of class unity and solidarity. Since May Day a year ago, new events testify that capitalism offers no future but growing mass misery and an end in a mass grave.

Over the people of the whole earth, America's rulers hold the threat of that supreme expression of capitalist frightfulness — the new H-Bomb that can disintegrate millions in a flash and wipe out civilization itself in another war.

Here in America, millions are once more jobless, while the monopolies reap record profits and the capitalist government piles up mountainous debts to build its military machine. The promises of the "Fair Deal" and "Welfare State" are ground to dust under the War Deal. Truman does not fight for Taft-Hartley repeal, but uses this strikebreaking club against the miners and other workers. His congressional colleagues cynically scuttle civil rights legislation, including FEPC, and other social legislation. The Bill of Rights is torn up by "loyalty" purges, political persecutions and raging witch-hunts.

U. S. Workers Are Ready to Fight

The advance of reaction is not due to any lack of fighting will in the American workers. Since May Day 1949, they have again given heartening demonstrations of their fighting capacities. The coal miners fought for nine long months to win a magnificent victory against the combined might of the coal companies and the Truman government. The steel workers struck for long weeks to force pension concessions from the steel monopolies. The Chrysler workers have battled nearly three months against one of America's richest corporations.

The working masses lack not the will to fight, but the leadership and program to weld them into a class force so solidly united in militant action that nothing could stand in their way. They are shackled by a union leadership that openly espouses capitalism, subordinates labor's interests to a political alliance with the corrupt Democratic Party and Truman, and takes its cues from the State Department.

The American workers have it in their power to end unemployment, witch-hunts and imperialist war. The key not only to their own salvation, but to the emancipation of all mankind is class unity in economic and political struggle against capitalist rule at home and class solidarity with the workers of Europe and the colonial peoples fighting for socialism and independence abroad.

That same American ruling class which seeks to beat down labor here is trying to prop up the old rotten capitalist regimes in Western Europe, arming them against working class uprisings and colonial revolts, and lining up human cannon fodder for a "holy war against communism."

But the irrepressible spirit of revolt flames in the working classes and colonial peoples everywhere. In China, Indo-China, Indonesia, massive blows have been dealt the imperialists. The British workers have prevented restoration of the Tory government, the Belgium workers have held back the return of King Leopold with mighty strikes, the French and Italian workers fiercely resist the assaults on their living standards and rights. The Yugoslav people maintain their heroic struggle for independence from both Stalinism and imperialism, striving to continue and complete a socialist revolution.

The Hand of International Solidarity

We must hold out the hand of class brotherhood and solidarity to the workers of Europe resisting U. S.-supported police regimes, decadent monarchs and dictators. We must demand a halt to the occupation of Germany and Japan. We must call for an end to American financing and arming of governments that oppress and starve the masses.

To the Yugoslavs, who are giving new revolutionary hope to the masses of Western Europe and revealing the massive cracks in Stalin's totalitarian machine, we must give all possible support. They are demonstrating that not the imperialist cold war and H-Bomb, but the revolutionary anti-capitalist struggle of the workers and peasants is the answer to counter-revolutionary Stalinism.

International solidarity against imperialism and Stalinism is but the complement of unity at home in labor's defense. The powerful sentiment for united labor struggle has already impelled the labor bureaucrats to initiate unity moves. But they want a brand of unity that would consolidate the top bureaucracies, put a tighter lid on militant action, and tie labor more closely to the capitalist government and its imperialist program.

Unity on Anti-Capitalist Program

We of the Socialist Workers Party urge the rank and file of organized labor to forge a different kind of unity — a unity to give battle to the monopolists and their political agents. That is the unity the workers want and which only the democratic decision of the rank and file can assure.

We propose a United Congress of Labor, with elected representation from the local unions of every affiliation, to formulate and carry through a program of joint action to combat the Taft-Hartley Act, to push through civil rights legislation and adequate social security, to end the assault on civil liberties.

We call on the working masses of America to break all links with capitalist politics and politicians. Build your own independent labor party, based on your own unions. Rally the American people to take the power away from the tiny capitalist class, set up a Workers and Farmers Government and with the workers of all lands, build the planned, classless and warless society of socialism.

The Socialist Workers Party is true to the tradition of May Day. It is this tradition, geared to our program of revolutionary socialism, that the SWP candidates will bring to the American people in this year's election campaigns.

Support the SWP candidates. Join with the SWP to forge working class solidarity in battle against capitalism for plenty, security, and peace. Make the great dreams of the founders of May Day in the last half of the 19th century become glorious reality in this half of the 20th century.

Truman Wants The Credit -- He's Welcome to It

Truman on April 13 said he takes full personal credit for what he called the "unparalleled prosperity" of this country. Let him have it, provided he takes credit for all manifestations of that "prosperity."

Let him take credit for the six million unemployed and the nearly 10 million now working only part time at reduced take-home pay.

Let him take credit for the babies of California and Arizona agricultural workers who have starved to death while the government buries millions of tons of food in storehouses and caves to keep prices high.

Let him take credit for continuation of the Taft-Hartley Act and the use of Taft-Hartley injunctions to intimidate labor and keep wages frozen.

Let him take credit for the 16 million families whose yearly incomes are below a minimum decency level.

Let him take credit for the maneuvers of the Democrats to bury all social welfare legislation, including national health insurance and improved social security.

Let him take credit for the war budget that steals a quarter out of every dollar of national income.

RANKS RAISE QUESTIONS ON UAW STRIKE TACTICS

DETROIT, April 18 — Twelve weeks ago, United Auto Workers leaders advised Chrysler strikers, "Show your militancy by staying at home." But in the last few days, these same leaders have called rallies at Dodge, DeSoto, Dodge Truck and the Lynch Road plant.

This sudden reversal of the "stay-at-home" policy was forced upon the leadership. It comes after the anti-union campaigns by Ford, GM and Chrysler produced union retreats on the 10c an hour pension demand at Ford and at Chrysler, and weakened the union's bargaining position with GM. These retreats did not pass unnoticed by the membership.

There followed election losses for the Reutherites in seven locals: they lost out in three GM unions in Flint, three in Detroit and an overwhelming majority of anti-Reuther elements was elected to the Ford Executive Board. Ken Morris, Reutherite President of Briggs Local 212, is reported to have made a personal trip to the scene of Chrysler negotiations in order to tell Reuther he had better get something at Chrysler "or we'll all be thrown out of office."

DISAPPOINTMENT SPREADS

There is little question that Reuther now knows the full fruits of his "soft" policy. While yielding about one-third of what the mine-workers had gained, it has made the membership increasingly fearful of strikes, and many members are now disappointed in their leaders. They are asking: What good is a long strike for "peanuts"?

It is these moods among the ranks followed by a series of Reutherite defeats in elections that brought about the transformation of the "statesmanlike," "soft" strategy into that of calling

European Notebook

German Dismantling -- Who Benefits?

By Ernest Germain

In recent weeks Mr. Acheson, Mr. Molotov and the Stalinist "campaigners for peace" have been praising incessantly the advantages of a "peace through agreement among the Big Three." The nature of this "peace" can be studied in life in Germany, now lying dismembered and pauperized. The nature of this "peace" is summed up graphically by the events which took place at the beginning of March.

Under the pretext of consolidating the mines of the Saar, the French imperialists have to all intents and purposes annexed this small German country. The Stalinist governments of Poland and Czechoslovakia have brutally expelled from their territories 200,000 men, women and children of German origin. And the Labor government of imperialist Britain has initiated a series of dismantlings, notably the docks of Hamburg, the Toeing aluminum plants, and, most spectacular of all, the Reichswerke Salzgitter plants at Watenstedt near Brunswick.

The Salzgitter case merits a detailed study because concentrated in it are all the reactionary and barbaric features of the "peace" imposed on the German workers. And such a study is all the more necessary because the workers of the "victor" countries, first and foremost the British and American workers, can DO something to put a halt to these barbaric measures.

LIVELIHOOD FOR 100,000

The former Reichswerke Hermann Goering of Salzgitter-Watenstedt are an industrial complex built up by the Nazi regime in an extremely poor region of Central Germany previously devoid of any industry. Launched there, for the first time, was the exploitation of iron deposits of very low content, 26% as against the 45% Swedish ore normally used by the German steel and iron industry.

Around these iron deposits were built blast-furnaces, coking ovens, smelters, steel works and so on. Hydro-electric plants were set up to supply power to the new factories. A force of 30,000 workers was employed here. Congregating from the different corners of Germany, these workers brought their families into the Salzgitter-Watenstedt area where the Reichswerke supplied a livelihood to more than 100,000 persons.

One doesn't have to be a specialist in economics to know that there is no more "war potential" in coking ovens and steel works than in any other branch of industry. Steel can be used to produce essential articles for peacetime consumption as well as engines of destruction. The dismantling of these enterprises five years after the cessation of hostilities is not at all an act of "destroying Germany's war potential"; it is an act of imperialist brigandage by the victorious Western powers with the aim of reducing the productive potential of a competitor on the world market. Incidentally, this destructive measure is also designed to avert any eventual seizure of a by no means negli-

This Is What They Call, 'Progress of the Negro'

In 1910 there were 213,467 non-white farm owners in the South; their farms totalled 15,691,536 acres (an average of more than 73 acres each). According to the 1945 census non-white farm owners in the South numbered 189,215, and their average farm size was 60.1 acres (total holdings of less than 1 1/2 million acres).

productive potential by the Russians — Salzgitter is situated quite close to the borders of the Soviet occupation zone in Germany.

THE DIRE EFFECTS

All these reasons, when one strips off the mask of "pacifism" and "anti-fascism," suffice to sway the retainers of Wall Street and the lovers of "power politics." But every honest person will, first of all, take note of something else, namely: The Salzgitter dismantlings will plunge more than 100,000 people into direst misery! They will deprive 30,000 workers and their families of bread and jobs. For this body of humanity there are no other means of gaining a livelihood in the Watenstedt-Salgitter region.

And apart from this region, in the rest of Western Germany there are more than two million unemployed plus countless millions of refugees who live in barracks and camps. By dismantling Salzgitter the defenders of Western civilization are plunging 100,000 human beings into an existence devoid of all human dignity. These are the facts that must be taken into account above all others. This is what we must try to prevent by every effective means possible!

DEEP FERMENT

It is true that the pressure of working class opinion in Western Germany has led the British occupying authorities to "restrict" their dismantlings to the industrial installations; the hydro-electric plants will not be dismantled. But the Salzgitter industrial complex forms a unified whole. To what use can electric power be put, if it can't be used industrially? And so when Gen. Robertson, British High Commissioner in Germany, announced on March 1 that the dismantling of coking ovens and blast furnaces was to start immediately, there was deep ferment among the workers whose very lives were menaced by this barbaric measure.

It was in vain that the Salzgitter workers, led by a militant factory committee, sought to mobilize the German Trade Union Federation (the DGB) for collective action by the entire working class against the dismantlements. Abandoned to their own resources, they refused to throw themselves into the adventure of a prolonged "sit-in strike" proposed by the Stalinists, a strike which would have pitted the 30,000 Salzgitter workers against the entire British military might in Germany. And so, the Salzgitter workers were unable to employ any means of action other than passive resistance and agitation.

THE WORKERS ACT

Then on March 6, when work started to tear down coking plant No. 2 and blast furnace No. 5, the indignation and despair of the masses suddenly flared into violence. A crowd of many thousands overflowed the area where the dismantling work was going on. The scaffolding was quickly torn down, the Polish supervisory personnel were pelted with stones and chased away, the German police withdrew in disorder. The aroused crowd then surged to the offices of the British dismantling commission, broke up the furniture and burned the files. En route, half a dozen automobiles of the occupation forces were set on fire.

The counter-action was not long delayed. The next day, that worthy representative of the Labor government in Germany, Gen. Robertson, threw a ring of tanks and armored cars around the en-

tire area of the Reichswerke Salzgitter. A British regiment was encamped around the scaffolding for the dismantling operations. Under this protection the work of demolition proceeded "according to schedule."

Gen. Robertson announced brutally that he had issued orders to fire at once upon any "riotous assembly" in the vicinity of the factory yards. With hate in their hearts, the Salzgitter workers had to stand by helplessly while their places of work were being demolished. Neo-fascist parties like the Deutsche Partei are already busy seeking recruits among this mass of paupers.

OUR DUTY TO HELP THEM

It is the duty of British and American workers to come to the aid of their German brothers. Only a concrete demonstration of international solidarity can avert a relapse into rabid nationalism on the part of the exhausted German masses. In the press and through public meetings, in labor and liberal circles, it is necessary to carry on unremitting agitation against the barbaric dismantlements of German industry which mean, above everything else, the pauperization of the German workers. It is necessary to adopt resolutions of protest in the unions and transmit them to the Salzgitter workers. It is necessary to compel the union leaders to take a position on the whole question of German dismantlements.

It is necessary to demand that the leaderships of the International Federation of Free Trade Unions and the World Federation of Trade Unions take joint action to put a halt to dismantlings. If the American trade unions and the British Labor Party face up to their responsibilities, a cry of indignation will well up from thousands of their members who cannot tolerate the plunging of their German brothers into misery. It is necessary that the workers of Germany, the workers of Salzgitter hear this cry of indignation before it is too late! At stake here is the entire future of the working class and the labor movement of Germany.

International Obligations of U.S. Workers

By Paul G. Stevens

May Day was first launched in this country as the holiday of workers' solidarity. In subsequent years it reached out across the oceans into Europe and Asia and became an international holiday. But here in the U. S., it has played less and less of a role. The labor bureaucrats, aping the isolationism of the capitalist class, discouraged the spirit of international labor solidarity. The May Day tradition here has been kept alive through the years only by the small revolutionary minority.

Imperialist supremacy, resulting from two world wars and the exhaustion of the European capitalist powers, compelled the American capitalist rulers to break with their past isolationism. Particularly since the end of World War II, the dominant positions acquired by Wash-

ington have led them to intervene actively in the affairs of Europe and Asia and Africa, to develop an over-all international policy — the strategy of the cold war against the Soviet Union. What goes on in Athens, Greece and Canton, China is now of greater importance to American imperialism than what happens in Athens, Georgia or Canton, Ohio.

BUREAUCRATS IN LINE

The cynical old AFL bureaucrats, in whom even the great Russian Revolution of 1917 failed to rouse the slightest spark of labor internationalism, together with their younger brethren in the CIO, have swung quickly in line behind Wall Street's "internationalism." I. e., the Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan, the Atlantic Pact, etc. Sooner or later, the union rank and file are bound to take an interest in Inter-

nationalism from their own point of view and demand an accounting from their leaders. First, however, they will have to give themselves an accounting of what is this "international" policy their leaders now support.

In recent months dollar diplomacy has become so brazen, in one country after another, that open protests have been voiced by local governments, while deep resentment has stirred among the masses.

In Latin America, right in our own backyard, the government of Guatemala has been forced to make a formal request for the recall of U. S. Ambassador Richard Patterson because he has been intriguing and interfering with the institutions of that country. The best that such a capitalist mouthpiece as the N. Y. Times can say in Patterson's defense is that he "felt obliged to protest in

behalf of American business interests in that country." When we recall how quickly the State Department jumped to recognize the military dictatorships that overthrew constitutionally-elected regimes in South America these last few years, we can get a pretty good idea of what Patterson was up to. As for the "business interests" in whose behalf he exerted himself, they are the same corporations exploiting U. S. workers.

In Britain, a furor was raised recently when it was discovered that U. S. government officials demanded the removal of John Strachey as Minister of War because he once wrote books calling for the overthrow of capitalism. The stink was so great that Washington had to desist, but it gave a good picture of their intentions.

In Greece one Prime Minister, Venizelos, has resigned and another, Plastiras, has been appointed, after direct threats of withdrawal of economic and military aid by Ambassador Grady and Marshall Plan director Paul Porter. This time it was a "left" gesture — after the recent election could not produce a majority for the rightist politicians around the king, placed in power by Anglo-American troops who crushed the native resistance movement in 1944.

In Saigon, Indo-Chinese mass demonstrations greeted the arrival of U. S. warships on a "courtesy" call to former emperor Bao Dai, whom French imperialists have set up as "chief of state" over a country which, except for the big cities, is in the hands of insurgent masses fighting for independence.

THE USE OF ARMS

What business have trade union officials to support a foreign policy such as that expressed in the incidents above? Why should they support the sending of arms to Italy, where the U. S.-made weapons are used to suppress poor peasants seeking to stave off starvation by seizing arable land from the untitled estates of princes? Or to France — where these weapons are employed against workers striking for wage increases to meet inflated prices? Or to Belgium — where they will be used against the masses fighting to prevent the return of a banished authoritarian

king who will spearhead the attacks on their democratic rights? These are questions the rank and file of labor are bound to ask.

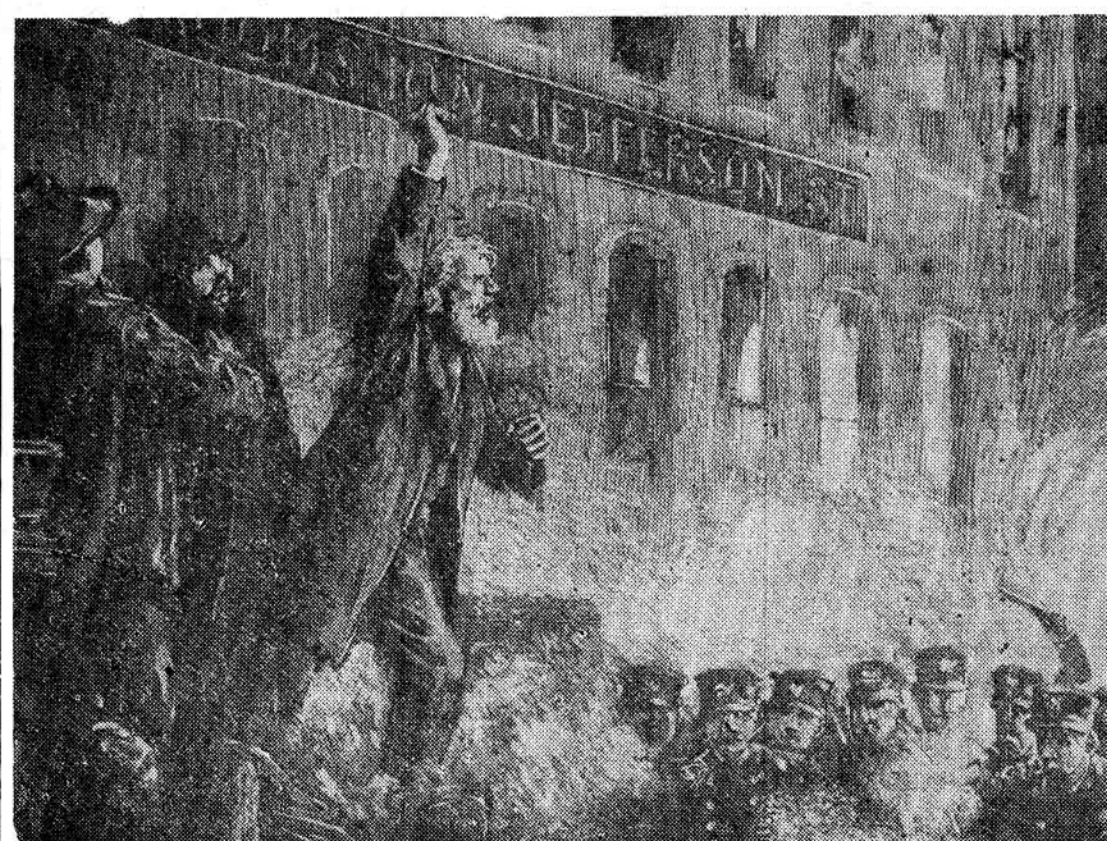
Workers of course have no use for the foreign policy of the Kremlin. The Russian bureaucracy's own betrayal of internationalism has undermined the Soviet Union and helped to make possible advances in Washington's cold war. Workers have no reason to give the slightest aid to the Stalinist depredations in Eastern Europe or Asia.

But what purpose do U. S. labor leaders serve when they support State Department pressure on Yugoslavia—which has heroically defied Stalin and his Cominform? This is pressure for concessions to capitalism before credits and trade agreements are extended to that country, where the people are menaced with attrition because they strive for independence from both Wall Street and the Kremlin.

In China, where the rotten regime of Chiang Kai-shek has collapsed, and the country has come under the rule of the Communist Party, a famine threatens to wipe out tens of millions. The State Department has proposed to send relief only if a complete American relief administration is permitted to be set up throughout China. Otherwise — death for millions through hunger! What interest of the American workers can possibly be served by support of this policy of seeking domination through outright starvation?

Every day questions such as these are bound to arise in the minds of millions of workers in the AFL and CIO and the other American wage-earners. When they have understood the answers to these questions, when they have grasped the full import of the base and treacherous policy of the bureaucrats supporting American imperialism, the spirit of international solidarity born in America will rise again more powerful than ever. Linking arms with the European proletarians and the Asiatic peasants, the American workers will pursue an international policy for the overthrow of imperialism everywhere, and with an onslaught on its citadel at home, will help free the whole world for socialism.

Haymarket Demonstration Scene



Reproduction of an old newspaper drawing depicting the scene of the police attack on the Chicago Haymarket meeting on May 4, 1886, during the fight for the eight-hour day. A bomb, believed to have been thrown by a police provocateur, resulted in a number of deaths, for which eight labor leaders were framed-up and four were murdered on the gallows.

Capitalist Profit System vs. Socialist Planning

By Joseph Hansen

Why Capitalism Does Not Work

Today at the very pinnacle of its technical achievements, capitalism has reached the end of its usefulness. It no longer works. Here is why:

THE PROFIT BOTTLENECK

The capitalist runs his business to make a profit. He gets this profit by paying his workers less than the value of the things which they produce and which he sells. As long as scarcity exists and the mass of people are able to buy, business is good.

This state of affairs doesn't last long nowadays. Modern industry is capable of miracles of production. In the recent coal strike, for instance, the country's bins scraped bottom. Yet within three weeks after the strike's end, employees began cutting back production. They had no more room for the flood of coal gushing out of the earth!

Total wages in the country, running far behind the total value of commodities, makes it impossible for the workers to buy all the goods they produce. The capitalists and their flunkies cannot absorb the excess. The tribute of profit exacted by the capitalist class crippled the buying power of the working people so that their consumption lags behind production.

Facing glut of the market, the capitalist lays off workers. They join those already displaced by labor-saving machinery. The buying power of these workers drops to zero, bringing the boom closer to bust. However, each individual capitalist enterprise acts on the principle, devil take the hindmost. Millions are thrown out of jobs. In our times, chronic depression has become the "normal" condition of capitalism.

Besides stopping factory wheels, capitalism uses more vigorous means to relieve the congestion of commodities. Oranges are dumped into the sea, coffee burned, milk poured into sewers, livestock exterminated, corn plowed under, potatoes left to rot in the ground. Wanton destruction of unsaleable goods speeds the possibility of a new cycle of lush profit-making.

In addition, the capitalists seek foreign markets and spheres of influence to dump excess goods. They seek colonial areas where cheaper raw materials and cheaper

labor power will enable them to keep the life blood of profit flowing in the hardening veins of their system. Expand or die of over-production!

DESTRUCTIVENESS OF WAR

Here they run into another difficulty. The easily-available areas of our small globe have been divided among the great, rapacious capitalist powers, who guard them bomb in hand. To lose a colony is to lose a vital capitalist necessity. Revision means bloodshed.

Like the vampire of popular legend, the capitalists find the torment of their thirst unbearable. Behind the walls of national boundaries that keep out the commodities which other capitalist cliques are trying to unload, they convert their plants to armament production. This increases the profits of the munitions makers and other merchants of death. The armies of unemployed are converted into armies of imperialist conquest.

In our time we have seen two world wars blossom from such economic roots. The first one was a terrible warning to all humanity that capitalism must be replaced.

The second world war was more than a warning. It was a demonstration of the destructive potential developed by capitalism. The pictures of atom-bombed Nagasaki and Hiroshima are a preview of what the world will look like if the capitalist rulers succeed in going through with their plans for another war. Capitalism, the most productive system yet seen on a world scale, has turned into its opposite, the most destructive ever known.

Through the revolution led by Lenin and Trotsky in November 1917, the Russian workers ended the capitalist system on one sixth of the earth's surface. In the entire colonial world today, the great bulk of humanity is moving toward similar action. Such movements weaken world capitalism by depriving it of important markets and lucrative exploitation of some of the earth's richest natural resources.

Although World War II established American imperialism at the expense of its competitors as the strongest world power by far, it shook European capitalism to the bottom. Now in the aftermath of the war, the rising nationalist movements of Asia and elsewhere are sealing off the

How Socialism Opens New Future

Under capitalism the production of our giant industries is subject to the anarchistic will of a few super-wealthy families such as the Du Ponts, Fords, Morgans, Rockefellers and Mellons. They regulate production according to the profit-making possibilities.

Socialism ends this brake on production. As one of its first acts, the future Workers and Farmers Government will take the means of production away from these plutocratic dynasties and convert them into public property. This will lay the basis for a tremendous increase in personal belongings for the working people. Food, clothing, radios, automobiles and comfortable homes will be taken as much for granted as water in the kitchen faucet.

SCIENTIFIC PLANNING

Under socialism all the industries are coordinated and operated according to an over-all, rational, scientific plan worked out in accordance with the needs of the people. Thus the shoe industry, for example, turns out shoes to meet the requirements of the entire country for footwear of all styles and sizes. The same goes for all basic necessities.

Instead of the cut-throat aims of profit-hungry capitalists, cooperation comes to the fore. Unemployment is ended and jobs assured everyone. The greater the labor power put to use, the quicker and easier the country's production goals are achieved and the higher the general level of prosperity rises.

The same economic motive leads to elimination of the wasteful duplication characteristic of capitalism. Railroads, for instance, are combined into a single nationwide network. Plant and factory facilities are interlocked. Trade secrets are made available to all. Antiquated equipment is replaced.

GOAL OF ABUNDANCE

All the arbitrary limitations imposed on industry by monopolists seeking to keep prices up are removed. The expansion of industry at the greatest possible speed is now a central economic aim of the entire society.

Production for the sake of profits no longer leaves room for progress as it once did. In fact the golden Moloch of profit set up by capitalism stands squarely in the path of humanity's march toward a better world.

Older workers are retired, if they wish, at an age and an income that will permit them to really enjoy life free of all financial worries. Freedom from fear means more efficient production!

In short order the productive capacities of the new, rationally-operated economy, engineered to fit Twentieth-century technical achievements, show its superiority over the pre-machine-age system of capitalism. The abundance which kings once dreamed of now becomes an every-day reality for every one.

ENDURING PEACE ASSURED

The economic roots of imperialist war are torn up. Socialism has no need to exploit other peoples. Instead it requires their free cooperation to institute planned economy on a world scale so that its full inherent possibilities can really begin to unfold.

The establishment of enduring peace releases the energy of whole new sections of society for useful production. The armed forces and the scientific brains that previously concentrated on developing fiendishly efficient means of slaughter and destruction turn to peacetime pursuits as do the armament industries. Atomic energy becomes a beneficent servant of mankind instead of its possible destroyer.

Just as capitalism proved its superiority over feudalism by developing the factory system and coordinating great masses of workers in a single enterprise, so socialism proves its superiority over capitalism by coordinating the entire earth's productive system and operating it for the use of all mankind.

The Soviet people do not have socialism, despite the lying claims of the Stalin regime. Socialism is a world-wide system that carries on from the progressive limits achieved by capitalism, while Soviet economy in backward Russia is still far behind capitalism. Nevertheless, the Soviet people have demonstrated how planned economy, even on a limited national scale in a primitive land, speeds development. And this in the face of terrible setbacks caused by the pressure of world capitalism, including the setback of Stalin's usurpation of power.

A NEW ERA

With humanity's material wants taken care of on an abundant basis for the first time in history, capitalism will no longer

be able to send up fresh shocks as it has in the isolated USSR. Genuine civilization will dawn. The old class divisions in society will wither away. So will such oppressive institutions as club-swinging, property-guarding police. Along with these relics of the savage past, ignorance, prejudice, fear and hatred, deprived of their economic source springs, will die out.

Life will not be dull under socialism. Abundant leisure will become the right of everyone; and work itself will lose its hateful aspects, since it contributes to the general well being while at the same time providing full opportunity for the development of individual initiative and talent.

Planning will permeate life from top to bottom. Our cities will become bright architectural wonders combining the delights of the countryside with the conveniences of the metropolitan center. Science has already condemned the smoke, grime and dust of today as needless. And instead of push-button wars we can have homes with push-button kitchens and electronically-controlled heating, lighting and air-conditioning. All this is possible and much more already envisioned by industrial designers.

THE BROTHERHOOD OF MAN

The elimination of disease should not lag far behind the elimination of poverty. A new type of education that will free the minds of children instead of crippling them will bear fruit in a great upsurge of science and culture. Ordinary people will begin to approach the genius level in mental capacity and new great minds will tower above them.

Once they have established socialism, the people will no more return to capitalism than they would to cannibalism. Socialism cannot break down because it heals the internal class divisions that have split society since the days of ancient slavery and unites all the nations of the earth. The universal brotherhood of man, longed for by every normal, decent person, will become a concrete reality, governing the world without courts or prisons.

Is socialism possible? It's not only possible, it's inevitable. Capitalism will not succeed in dragging mankind down into the abyss at the very threshold of such shining perspectives!

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TROTSKY

"Plundering the natural wealth of the backward countries and deliberately restraining their independent industrial development, the monopolistic magnates and their governments simultaneously grant financial, political and military support to the most reactionary, parasitic, semi-feudal groups of native exploiters.

— Leon Trotsky, Marxism in the United States, 1939



LENIN

The Baltic "Incident"

The disappearance of an American naval plane over the Baltic Sea has given the war-mongers and militarists the kind of "incident" they are looking for to keep the "cold war" steamed up.

This particular "incident" is of the type that is made-to-order for war incitation. The war spirit is not easily aroused over what happens to a butcher like Chiang Kai-shek in China or the trial of a reactionary Cardinal in Hungary.

Nobody, of course, has any proof about what actually happened. All we know is that coincident with the reported disappearance of a naval plane, the Kremlin announced that a U. S. military plane had flown over Latvia, part of the USSR, had allegedly fired on Soviet planes and been fired upon in turn and had escaped over the Baltic Sea.

Whatever happened, the American press let out an ominous drum-roll about an "unprovoked attack" on an "unarmed" American plane in violation of all "codes of international decency and international law."

All this propaganda serves to cover up the decisive question: What was a U. S. military plane — whether armed or un-

armed — doing thousands of miles from this country in the region of the Baltic Sea?

We remember what an uproar was created here last year by the "Russian sub" scare, when some merchant ship captain claimed he saw a "schnorkle" 500 miles off the coast of California at two o'clock in the morning and another was reported "sighted" in the Behring Straits off Alaska.

Imagine what would happen if a Soviet plane, or even one remotely resembling such, should appear over the Great Lakes or down in the Gulf of Mexico. Does anyone think that plane would ever get back to its own base?

At the moment, it does not appear that the American imperialists will use this Baltic "incident" as an immediate pretext for war. They are using it mainly to aggravate antagonisms and keep the "cold war" boiling.

But the Baltic "incident" is still most conveniently timed for the war-makers. As a result of it, reports the United Press from Washington on April 19, "Congressional air power advocates said that extra money to buy more war planes is as good as in the bag..."

A Fable -- An Editorial By Albert Parsons

(Reprinted from the labor paper, The Alarm, which he edited from 1884 to 1886)

A farmer had gathered his herd of sheep into a pen preparatory to shearing them of their wool. Finally, one sheep, becoming more bold than his timid comrades, seeing the farmer standing at the gate with his long shears in his hand, addressed him thus:

"Pray, sir, why do you huddle us together in this style? Will you not let us out to play and gambol on the hillside? It is hot, dusty, and dry, and very uncomfortable to be cooped up in this pen."

Farmer: "Certainly, certainly. But before I turn you out I must shear you of your wool."

Sheep: "Pray, sir, what harm have we ever done you that you should now take the covering from our backs, and leave us unprotected to the storms of winter and the heats of summer?"

Farmer: "You ungrateful wretches. Have you no sense of gratitude for the many favors I have always shown you? If it were not for me how could you exist

at all? Don't I furnish you the green pasture upon which you browse and play? Besides that, when I shear off your present coating of wool are you not permitted by my generosity to graze upon my fields and soon supply yourselves with another coating?"

The rest of the timid and thoughtless herd overhearing the conversation immediately set up a great "hurrah" for their supposed benefactor, and one and all calmly and patiently with apparent satisfaction submitted themselves to the process of being "fleeced of their wool."

Moral: When capitalists and their lying preachers, teachers, and politicians set themselves up as the benefactors of their wage-slaves, and begin their long-winded discourses upon the "harmony" of capital and labor, you may be sure that they are merely preparing their wage-slaves for a quiet submission while they "fleece" them of their labor product.

Trotsky Long Ago Refuted Acheson's Lies

By Fred Hart

For the last hundred years no other system of ideas has been so often proclaimed "outmoded," "disproved," and "dead and buried" as has Marxism. On March 17, none other than Secretary of State Acheson during an important policy speech solemnly proclaimed for the millionth time the "burial" of Marxism. Marx has been proved wrong, utterly wrong, announced Acheson, without bothering to explain why so prominent a government figure as himself should "disprove" a body of thought allegedly already "belied by the known facts of what has actually happened in the decades since Marx made his studies."

Acheson summed up his "proofs" as follows: "Marx's law of capitalist accumulation, his law as to the rate of profit, his prediction of the numerical decline of the middle classes, and of the increase of the class struggle: none of these calculations has been borne out by the experience of the societies of the West."

The false claims of the anti-Marxists, which Acheson has repeated, were answered definitively as recently as 1939 by Leon Trotsky in his introduction to The Living Thoughts of Karl Marx. (This essay was also reprinted as a pamphlet under the title, Marxism in the United States.)

CONCENTRATION

Has Marx's prognosis of the mounting concentration of wealth been "refuted"? In 1939 Trotsky wrote: "Capitalists and their advocates try in every way to hide the real extent of the concentration of wealth from the eyes of the people as well as from the eyes of the tax collector. In defiance of the obvious, the bourgeois press is still attempting to maintain the illusion of a 'democratic' distribution of capitalist investment. The N. Y. Times, in refutation of the Marxists, points out that there are from three to five million separate employers of labor. Joint-stock companies, it is true, represent greater concentration of capital than three to five million separate employers, yet the United States does have half a million corporations. This sort of trifling with lump sums and average figures is resorted to, not in order to dis-

close, but in order to hide things as they are." Has there been a decrease or an increase in the growth and power of monopolies since Trotsky wrote in 1939? One need turn only to the official figures of the TNEC hearings in 1940, the periodic reports of the Federal Trade Commission, and the balance-sheets of the great trusts themselves to disclose the facts: The most powerful U. S. corporations increased their assets and profits and dividends manifold during the last war and in the postwar years. A handful of billionaire super-trusts — 56 in number — now own assets aggregating almost 130 billion dollars. They own and control the banking and insurance systems, the public utilities and the basic industries, including oil and railways.

While the capitalist press continues to juggle lump sums and "averages," it is a fact that today 113 biggest manufacturing corporations with assets of over 100 million dollars directly own more than half of the country's total industrial property, plant and equipment. And the "merger process" — that is, continued expansion of monopolies — is an even more outstanding feature of postwar economic developments than was the case in the past. If any law has been demonstrated to the hilt, it is Marx's law of the mounting concentration of wealth under capitalism!

PROVED TO THE HILT

As for Marx's alleged "law as to the rate of profit," Acheson's assertion is a combination of ignorance and malice. Marx never maintained that the decline in the average rate of profit was an absolute law, but simply established it as a TENDENCY, manifesting itself over long periods of time. With changes in the organic composition of capital, with ever larger sums invested in plant and equipment and proportional reductions in the labor force, the average rate of profit tends to decline. Ironically enough, this tendency is beginning to manifest itself once again in the declining profit-rate of many corporations right now. The numerical growth and relative prosperity of the middle classes, counter to Marx's original prediction, has been the favorite

NO COMFORT TO THEM

With the sharp increase in U. S. population and the record economic expansion since 1939, capitalist statisticians are able to cite figures showing imposing growth of the "new middle classes." But even here the picture is far from being as bright as it is painted. In the farm population, number of farms and agricultural workers there has been an absolute decline. Two per cent of the farms are estimated to produce one-fourth of the entire agricultural

output. Moreover, amid the post-war "boom" itself, and despite huge government subsidies, farm income has been sharply declining. The future of the middle farmer, like that of the poor farmer, is hopeless.

When it came to citing the relative prosperity of the middle classes, Acheson's predecessors were at least able to cite statistics covering all the major capitalist countries, whereas he can point only to the U. S. and perhaps Canada and Australia. As for the "new little businessmen," their hopeless position is simply veiled for the time being by the continued "prosperity." But even Acheson knows that when the depression strikes, they will be driven to the wall by the tens and hundreds of thousands.

Thus the actual evolution, status and prospects of the middle classes can hardly be a source of genuine comfort for the defenders of capitalism.

THE CLASS STRUGGLE

No citations from Trotsky are needed to illustrate the falsity of Acheson's contention that Marx was wrong in forecasting an increase in the class struggle. Let him read a thousand editorials in

the Big Business press complaining about the "exorbitant" demands of labor. Let him take note of the increase in union membership to 16 million, the clamor over Taft-Hartleyism and the great strike struggles of the mine, steel and auto workers during just the last year. Or let him try to explain why he finds it necessary to send "labor statesmen" abroad to peddle the Marshall Plan and the Atlantic Pact; what is this but a tacit admission by even the imperialists that class consciousness and the class struggle have advanced with great strides in all parts of the world?

Finally, it is clear that Acheson carefully evaded mention of one of Marx's central prognoses — the inevitability of economic catastrophes under capitalism. The capitalists have been able to postpone the outbreak of the crisis, but apparently are themselves aware that they cannot indefinitely avert it. They would prefer not to talk about the effects this crisis is sure to have in further promoting the class struggle. But slurring over it will not permit them to escape its revolutionary consequences.

WHAT ALBERT PARSONS SAID AT HIS TRIAL

[The following extract is from the courtroom speech delivered by Albert R. Parsons before he received the death sentence in the Haymarket frame-up trial of 1886.]

I am a Socialist. I am one of those, although myself a wage slave, who holds that it is wrong — wrong to myself, wrong to my neighbor, and unjust to my fellowmen — for me to undertake to make my escape from wage slavery by becoming a master and an owner of others' labor. I refuse to do it. Had I chosen another path in life, I might be living upon an avenue of the city of Chicago today, surrounded in my beautiful home with luxury and ease, and servants to do my bidding.

But I chose the other road, and instead I stand here today upon the scaffold, as it were. This is my crime. Before high heaven this and this alone is my crime. I have been false, I have been untrue, and I am a traitor to the infamies that exist today in capitalist society. If this is a crime in your opinion I plead guilty to it.

Now, be patient with me; I have been with you — or, rather, I have been patient with this trial. Follow me, if you please, and look at the oppressions of this capitalistic system of industry. As was depicted by my comrade Fielden this morning, every new machine that comes into existence comes there as a competitor with the man of labor. Every machine under the capitalist system that is introduced into industrial affairs comes as a competitor, as a drag and menace and a prey to the very existence of those who have to sell their labor in order to earn their bread. The man is turned out to starve and whole occupations and pursuits are revolutionized and completely destroyed by the introduction of machinery in a day, in an hour, as it were. I have known it to be the case in the history of my own life — and I am yet a young man — that whole pursuits and occupations have been wiped out by the invention of machinery.

What becomes of these people? Where are they? They become competitors of other laborers, and are made to reduce wages and increase the work hours. Many of them are candidates for the gibbet, they are candidates for your prison cells. Build more penitentiaries; erect more scaffolds, for these men are upon the highway of crime, of misery, of death.

Socialists and the Capitalist System

Your honor, there never was an effect without a cause. The tree is known by its fruit. Socialists are not those who blindly close their eyes and refuse to look, and who refuse to hear, but having eyes to see, they see, and having ears to hear, they hear. Look at this capitalistic system; look at its operation upon the small business men, the small dealers, the middle class. Bradstreet's tells us in last year's report that there were 11,000 small business men financially destroyed in the past twelve months.

What became of those people? Where are they, and why have they been wiped out? Has there been any less wealth? No; that which they possessed has simply transferred itself into the hands of some other person. Who is that other? It is he who has greater capitalistic facilities. It is the monopolist, the man who can run corners, who can create rings and squeeze these men to death and wipe them out like dead flies from the table into his monopolistic basket.

The middle classes destroyed in this manner join the ranks of the proletariat. They become what? They seek out the factory gate, they seek in the various occupations of wage labor for employment. What is the result? Then there are more men upon the market. This increases the number of those who are applying for employment. What then? This intensifies the competition, which in turn creates greater monopolists, and with it wages go down until the starvation point is reached, and then what?

What We Seek to Accomplish

Your honor, Socialism comes to the people and asks them to look into this thing, to discuss it, to reason, to examine it, to investigate it, to know the facts, because it is by this, and this alone, that violence will be prevented and bloodshed will be avoided, because, as my friend here has said, men in their blind rage, in their ignorance, not knowing what ails them, knowing they are hungry, that they are miserable, and destitute, strike blindly, and do as they did with Maxwell in this city, and fight the labor-saving machinery. Imagine such an absurd thing, and yet the capitalistic press has taken great pains to say the Socialists do these things; that we fight machinery; that we fight property.

Why, sir, it is an absurdity; it is ridiculous; it is preposterous. No man ever heard an utterance from the mouth of a Socialist to advise anything of the kind. They know to the contrary. We don't fight machinery; we don't oppose these things. It is only the manner and methods of employing it that we object to. That is all. It is the manipulation of these things in the interests of a few; it is the monopolization of them that we object to. We desire that all the forces of nature, all the forces of society, of the gigantic strength which has resulted from the combined intellect and labor of the ages of the past shall be turned over to man and made his servant, his obedient slave forever. This is the object of Socialism.

It asks no one to give up anything. It seeks no harm to anybody. But when we witness this condition of things — when we see little children huddling around the factory gates, the poor little things whose bones are not yet hard; when we see them clutched from the hearthstone, taken from the family altar, and carried to the bastilles of labor and their little bones ground up into gold-dust to bedeck the form of some aristocratic Jeezabel — then it stirs me and I speak out. We plead for the little ones; we plead for the helpless; we plead for the oppressed; we seek redress for those who are wronged; we seek knowledge and intelligence for the ignorant; we seek liberty for the slave; Socialism secures the welfare of every human being...

HOW THEY TRIED TO CRUSH LABOR -- FROM FIRST MAY DAY UNTIL TODAY

(Continued from Page 1)

labor movement in the 1880's. Sixteen million members strong, today's unions are entrenched in the vital spots of the most powerful industrial machine in the world. Their power is recognized by friend and foe alike. Their economic gains, partly a result of America's favored geographical position and history, are due in far greater part to decades of stubborn struggle by the workers, whose union consciousness and loyalty have been demonstrated on thousands of hard-fighting picket lines.

The eight-hour day for which the workers fought in the 80's was won long ago; now the fight is for the 30-hour week at 40 hours' pay. Industrial unionism, which the children of the Haymarket generation fought for but never achieved, is here to stay and can be dislodged only by civil war. In addition to its own imposing numbers, the labor movement today has the sympathy and support of oppressed groups and fighters against capitalism like the Negro people and sections of the middle class.

In short, labor's strength, both relatively and absolutely, has grown tremendously. Albert Parsons' hopes of immediately achieving a society ruled by the workers may have been premature at the time, but their realization today has been rendered practicable and realizable by the growth of both the economy and the labor force.

The American capitalist class has changed too. Where in 1886 it was only completing its consolidation of power in this country, today it is reaching out for control of the whole world and represents the main bulwark of reaction everywhere. Although its appetite has grown larger, its aims are fundamentally the same.

NEW CAPITALIST TRICKS

Today, as in the past, the capitalists use anti-labor legislation, injunctions and violence against labor. But they have added new and "more refined" methods to the old ones when outright repression proved ineffective.

They no longer rely, as they did in the old days, on Pinkertons and similar anti-labor spy agencies. Now they have streamlined and,

so to speak, "nationalized" the functions of all such outfits in the FBI, which has spies and informers everywhere — paid out of the public treasury. Corporate strikebreaking has been dwarfed by government strikebreaking.

They have perfected the method of semi-outlawing working class parties — without bothersome resort to courts or legislation — by the "subversive" blacklists which were devised to persecute and victimize workers who dare to question the sanctity of capitalism.

They have become skilled at ways and means for dulling the sharpness of the workers' militancy — at least temporarily — by New Deal, Fair Deal and Welfare State demagoguery, which is based on big promises and small crumbs designed to keep the workers from taking the fate of society and their rightful share of the national income into their own hands.

WHAT THEY CAN'T DO

They have learned all this and more — especially the advantages to be had from corrupting the leaders of labor into doing part of the dirty work for capitalism. But it will not avail them in the end, any more than the Haymarket frame-up availed in smashing the labor movement.

It will not avail them because there is one thing they have not learned — and that is how to eliminate from the profit system the contradictions, crises and misery that inevitably generate the spirit of rebellion among the workers, open up new opportunities for the revolutionary party to win a mass following and create the objective conditions for the socialist transformation of society. And the capitalists will never learn how to overcome this problem because it is inherent in and inseparable from their system.

The pioneers and martyrs of American labor did not fight and die in vain. The already potentially invincible labor movement is testimony to that. Convincing as that testimony is, it is not the last word, which will be uttered only when labor's mighty legions, again equipped with a leadership of the stature and integrity of Albert Parsons, come to grips in the final showdown with their class enemy.

Why Labor Must Build New Leadership

By John F. Petrone

In Albert Parsons and his comrades, the workers of the 1880's had a leadership that was courageous, independent, class-conscious and loyal — that is, a leadership in no way resembling the kind the unions have today.

The differences between them are aptly illustrated by their attitude toward May Day, whose tradition Parsons and his co-workers helped to shape around the principle of international solidarity against oppression in all lands.

Philip Murray and William Green, on the other hand, defile and pervert that tradition on May Day (and every other day). This year they have both accepted posts as vice-chairmen of the National Loyalty Day Parade Committee, which is going to sponsor "anti-subversive" rallies all over the country on May 1.

The character of these demonstrations — and of these labor bureaucrats — is signified by a single fact: Their fellow-vice-

chairmen include such undisguised enemies of the labor movement as the president of the NAM and the commanders of the American Legion and Veterans of Foreign Wars.

Labor lieutenants, recruiting sergeants and orderlies for capitalism — these are the roles filled by the top union leaders today (and by the Social Democrats such as Reuther and Dubinsky). Instead of fighting the witch-hunt, they imitate it. Narrow in their outlook, conservative in their thinking, aggressive only in the conduct of their own purges, these labor bureaucrats have more confidence in the decaying capitalist system than the capitalists themselves.

Instead of class struggle, they preach and practice class collaboration, most openly expressed on the political field, where they see their salvation in a political junior partnership with the "liberal" section of the capitalist class. They represent, without question, the greatest obstacle to

the formation of a Labor Party today.

The Stalinists are no better, and they are just as useful to capitalism. As they say in Europe: If the Communist Party didn't exist, the capitalists would have to invent something like it. In this country it serves as a discredited foil for capitalism, and is used as a pretext for the capitalist plans to totalitarianize the U. S. in the name of defending it against totalitarianism.

The main difference between the Stalinists and the labor bureaucrats is that they serve different anti-labor masters. The Forsters and Dennises have proved on many occasions that they can rival — and even outdo — the Murrays and Greens when it comes to class collaboration. They did so during the last war, when they took the lead in suppressing labor and Negro struggles, and will do it again if a new counter-revolutionary deal can be worked out between Truman and Stalin. Such a deal — class collabora-

tion on an international scale — is the chief point in their program even while they are going through one of their periodic "militant" contortion-acts. It will be the chief demand raised at their May Day rallies, where only the Kremlin's interests will be promoted, and where no one will breathe a hint of protest against the oppression in the Stalinist-dominated countries or the Kremlin's threat to Yugoslavia's independence.

The workers won't find the new leadership they need among the labor or Stalinist bureaucrats. Nor will they find it in the dying Progressive Party, whose highest aspiration is "progressive capitalism" — another name for the Welfare State and class collaboration. Nor in the decomposing Socialist Party, which is preparing to join its brother Social Democrats as a wing in the ADA and the Democratic Party. Nor in the company of "independent" radicals, still functioning out of inertia, who long ago lost con-

fidence in the revolutionary capacity of the working class.

On May Day this year, as in the election campaign to follow, the workers will be able to find only one organization firmly based on the class struggle tradition of May Day and on the revolutionary principles derived from the experiences of the international labor movement during the last century. That is the Socialist Workers' Party, also known as the Trotskyists.

Temporarily isolated because of the sweep of reaction, the SWP has a promising future because its program is founded on the needs and interests of the workers and because it refuses to compromise or betray that program despite capitalist persecution or Stalinist slander. The SWP, its activities and its literature merit the investigation and study of all workers and youth who want to participate in the construction of a revolutionary leadership capable of guiding labor's struggle to a successful conclusion.

Welfare State and Negroes

By Albert Parker

Most of the labor, Negro and liberal leaders will be going around the country between now and Election Day telling the people that they should again vote for Truman's Welfare State because that is the only way of getting civil rights bills passed.

Meanwhile, the Southern Democrat politicians will also be going around campaigning for Truman's Welfare State candidates. The difference is that they will be arguing that a Democratic victory is the only way to prevent the passage of the civil rights bills.

Making a bid for renomination, Democratic Senator Lister Hill of Alabama delivered a radio speech on April 12, urging the Dixiecrats in that state to return to the Democratic Party. Describing how he and other Southern Democrats had used their positions on Senate committees to block action on civil rights legislation, he said: "I tell you it is the power and influence of your Senators and Congressmen that has made possible defeat of FEPC and other so-called civil rights bills. They hold this power and influence as members of the Democratic Party."

Who is right — the Negro and labor leaders or Senator Hill? The proof of the pudding is in the eating, and the record gives the answer. So far as civil rights legislation is concerned, the Republican-controlled 80th Congress and the Democratic-controlled 81st Congress produced exactly the same result — nothing but a lot of hot air.

How many Negroes can honestly say to themselves that they have benefited from the Welfare State? Oh, there may be a few hundred or a few thousand who can — middle class people who were flattered to get invitations to the presidential inauguration ball, political ward-healers whose services in soliciting votes for the Democrats are better paid than in the past, individuals who were given minor government jobs as window-dressers. But not many rank and file Negroes can show any significant improvement in their conditions as a result of the Welfare State.

The reason is that there haven't been any improvements worth talking about. More talk — yes. More promises — yes. More gestures —

yes. But fundamentally everything is the same as it used to be before the Welfare State, and Jim Crow is still firmly perched up there beside the American eagle.

Truman's henchmen will give out with all kinds of alibis. They will say it is the fault of the Republicans. They will say it is the fault of the Dixiecrats. They will even say that it is the fault of the workers and Negroes for not giving Truman a bigger majority in Congress. But what difference will a bigger majority make when Truman himself has publicly stated that no matter what kind of FEPC bill is passed in Congress, he will not administer it in such a way as to interfere with the "rights" of employers to run their business as they see fit?

Sweep aside the alibis, and then you can find the reality. The roots of Jim Crow are in the social system of the South and you cannot wipe this evil out of the national life without undertaking to shake up and overturn the Southern system through a mass upheaval. The capitalist class and its politicians cannot and will not tackle this task because they have heavy economic and political stakes in maintaining the Southern social status quo. The Welfare State's honeyed words and conciliatory gestures are no substitute for a revolutionary policy.

Any party can put civil rights planks in its platform, and most of them do. But no party can deliver on these promises unless it wages merciless warfare against the capitalist system whose domination is incompatible with Negro equality. New Deal, Fair Deal, Welfare State — no matter what you call it, it's still capitalism and therefore still the main prop of the Southern Jim Crow system.

Now that the 1950 election campaign is getting under way, militant Negroes owe themselves the answers to these questions before deciding how they will act in the political field: Isn't it true that Senator Hill and the Negro masses have nothing in common — that he wants to keep things the way they are while they yearn for a deep-going change? Why then should they support the same party? And how is the Welfare State, which obviously benefits him, going to do them any good?

World Unemployment Up

By Robert Phillips

The pattern of the great depression of the 30's when unemployment was the lot of millions is beginning to be repeated today on a world scale under new conditions. The war has been over for five years, the shattered productive plants of Europe have regained and even surpassed their pre-war output levels, but almost nowhere has even the inadequate standard of living of the late 30's been reestablished. Billions of Marshall Plan aid, designed to prop up and revitalize the Western European capitalists, have succeeded only in creating the preconditions for another crisis. Already, Western Europe is beginning to exhaust the limited income possibilities of domestic markets and is again embarked on a frantic struggle for shrinking world markets.

Idle or excess productive capacity is a grim reality, and in order to maintain profit margins, the productivity of existing equipment is being increased and the exploitation of the workers sharpened by speed-up techniques. In addition, the labor force is constantly expanding and the new workers find themselves shut off from jobs because a corresponding expansion of domestic economies cannot take place.

Thus, today the unavoidable paradox of world capitalism has arisen. Despite some advances in industrial production, ordinarily achieved with the utilization of the same number or fewer workers, a sharp increase in unemployment has become a universal fact. Population (the labor force) and productivity keep expanding while the markets for the products of the industrial giants and pygmies alike remain stagnant or declining.

The official statistics of the various capitalist governments (in most cases, unreliable under-estimated indicators) show almost universal increases in unemployment in 1949 and early in 1950 as compared with 1948. That the occupied nations, Austria, Germany and Japan, have more unemployed today than before the war can be partly explained by the restrictive economic measures imposed by the occupying powers. But when a "more prosperous" bourgeois country, like Belgium, has an unemployed army of more than 250,000 (about 12% of the total labor force) today as compared with 200,000 in 1939, then the jobless problem assumes a greater degree of urgency. And this increase in unemployment in Belgium has occurred against a background of

greater production in 1949 than in 1948 or in 1939.

And what is true for Belgium is also true for Denmark, with a 20% increase in unemployment in one year (1948 to 1949) despite a 6% advance in production; in France, a more than doubling in unemployment with a 10% rise in production; in the Netherlands, a 50% advance in unemployment and a 12% increase in production.

Only a slight increase in unemployment has taken place in England — this is because English economy is working full blast to pay off the frozen sterling debts of World War II. When these debts are repaid, the guaranteed and protected markets for the British capitalists will become as much a memory as the Victorian hegemony of the British Empire.

The United States, the mainstay, godfather, wet nurse and dictator of world capitalism, has been far from immune to the rising trend of unemployment. The Marshall Plan dollars are making new rivals for the American capitalists and these rivals are being encouraged to invade the American market itself, although not without cries of anguish from affected industries. This plus growing productivity and new technical equipment is bringing about sharp increases in unemployment. Thus, the number of unemployed, which in 1949 was more than double the 1948 monthly average, is climbing monthly in 1950 over the number in the same month of 1949.

Meanwhile, industrial production remains nearly 5% below its 1949 highs and, despite optimistic forecasts by Truman's economic advisers, can hardly be expected to maintain its present levels for a prolonged period of time. In addition to the foregoing factors, the ranks of unemployed are being swelled by the expansion of the labor force, which in the U. S., as in Europe, has been growing; its annual growth here being at the rate of one million new workers. The limited character of the world markets will presently force recessions from these output highs and, therefore, a sharp increase in unemployment.

The insoluble contradictions of capitalism are expressed in this vicious circle. The result — increased misery for the millions whose labor power will become more and more unwanted as the unavoidable crisis unfolds — is sure to have explosive effects on the political development of capitalism all over the world.

Truman's Friends

By Ruth Johnson

There's one thing you've got to say for Harry Truman. He's a man who helps his friends, especially the good pals that get caught in the wrong.

Take the case of former mayor James M. Curley of Boston, who cheated some clients out of \$60,000 by promising them government contracts and failing to deliver. Curley and his partner, a former National Labor Relations Board member named Donald Wakefield Smith, were found guilty and sentenced to six to eighteen months in prison for using the mails to defraud.

The newspapers made the case too hot to handle when Curley went to jail, but his friend Truman didn't forget. Five months after the doors clanged behind the Boston boss of the Democratic Party and the NLRB man, Truman commuted their sentences. He wanted them to enjoy Thanksgiving dinner at their homes, instead of eating with a lot of non-Democratic criminals.

Last week Truman announced "full and unconditional pardon" for these crooks, restoring their civil rights so they can take back their rightful places in the political machine. Smith is small potatoes, but Curley is the Tom Pendergast of Massachusetts. A man like that can do things.

If it weren't for Pendergast, Truman might never have graduated from Kansas City. It was Pendergast who picked Truman as Democratic nominee for Senator, and saw to it that he won the primary by a thumping majority of 136,000 votes, reportedly receiving more votes in Kansas City than were actually there.

Tom Pendergast saw Truman put into the White House, but Truman, alas, saw Pendergast put into the "big house." He stuffed one ballot

box too many. Truman valiantly defended his pal, in vain. When Tom Pendergast died, Truman showed his loyalty by transferring his favors to Jim Pendergast, nephew and heir of the Kansas City graft king.

Jim Pendergast, who now looks like the man most likely to profit by the Kansas City murder of gangsters Binaggio and Gargotta, may need a good friend. The Kansas City Star said the slayings "could well result in a get-together of opposing factions as represented by the Pendergast organization and the North Side group, of which Binaggio was the head."

Binaggio, according to the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, "was the most powerful figure in Democratic politics in Kansas City," and "second only to Gov. Forrest Smith in Democratic circles in the state." His bodyguard, Gargotta, "was a 'big wheel' among Kansas City gangsters" in the old Tom Pendergast days. But they became bigger than Pendergast's nephew; they ran the First District Democratic Club on Truman Road, controlled the Police Board, appointed Board of Election Commissioners, got "jobs and other favors from the governor," and raked in the proceeds of the local Capone syndicate. It apparently was dangerous to get above a Pendergast. They died.

What with swindlers, ballot-box stuffers, gangsters, and the whole array of Wall Street tycoons besides, a president has an awful lot of influential people to worry about. I ask you, is it reasonable to expect him to be a friend of the workers, the Negroes, or any other ordinary citizen? Isn't it enough that Truman takes care of his own?

Cochran Speaks on Labor Prospects In San Francisco

SAN FRANCISCO, April 11 — Faith of the labor bureaucracy in the "Welfare State" is unfounded and the period ahead is ripe for the development of a left wing in the labor movement.

This was the prediction made by Bert Cochran, chairman of the trade union committee of the Socialist Workers Party, who is now on a national tour, when he spoke in this city today.

"The new CIO bureaucracy was hammered into shape by the Second World War," he said. "It got off to a good start with the no-strike pledge and is now a full-blown caste with vast resources, assigned to lining up the labor movement behind the insidious plans of the Wall Street plutocracy."

Cochran declared that this new bureaucracy has not, strictly speaking, "betrayed" because its avowed purpose is the support of the Marshall Plan and other efforts of the Truman Democrats to support and impose capitalism and American imperialism here and abroad at the expense of the working people.

DEMAGOGY AND TERROR

These leaders have been tolerated by the labor movement because of the lack of political understanding on the part of the American working class — a lack that will be overcome as the class struggle sharpens, explained Cochran to an audience of longshoremen, seamen, garment workers and warehousemen.

The rule of these labor leaders has been enforced by demagoguery and terror, he said, citing the use of the New York police force in the NMU struggle.

Cochran spoke on a half-hour radio interview over a Berkeley station upon his arrival in the Bay Area and will follow the San Francisco meeting with a meeting for University of California students, particularly those active in supporting the faculty's stand against the "loyalty" oath.

2nd Toledo Strike On Pension Issue

TOLEDO, April 15 — In the long drawn-out and bitter local struggle around pensions, a second contingent of workers, 600 from the Acklin Stamping Unit of UAW Local 12, struck this morning after negotiations with the company failed to bring an agreement. Another 500 workers have been out on strike for 10 weeks at the Plaskon plant over the same issue.

There is growing criticism in the union ranks of the "one-at-a-time" strategy. Six months have gone by since the issue was first brought up and not a single agreement has yet been reached with any of the 125 companies under UAW contract in this area. Many workers do not think the union can succeed by long drawn-out strikes against one or two small companies, as the heavy expenses of supporting the strikers drain the union's and other workers' resources. They want to bring the weight of mass pressure upon the companies as fully and quickly as possible, bring the issue to a head and get the strike over with.

The "Henry Wallace of Chile"



President Gonzalez Videla of Chile shown as he dined in Washington with Truman. Known as the "Henry Wallace of Chile," Videla was elected to the presidency with the support of the Communist Party. Once in office, he turned on his Stalinist allies, banned their party and jailed their leaders. He is urging the U. S. government to do the same.

STALIN SINKIANG DEALS EXPOSED BY YUGOSLAVS

The Belgrade Borba, official daily of the Yugoslav regime, reported on April 3 that one of the chief provisions of the Sinkiang agreement between Moscow and Peking is the setting up of "mixed Sino-Soviet companies" for the exploitation of Sinkiang's oil and mineral resources. A thirty-year pact for the "joint" exploitation of the vast and rich Sinkiang province was recently announced, but little has been made public of its text and terms. Borba's article casts considerable light on this agreement.

"The formation of mixed companies after the ratification of the Sino-Soviet treaty," writes Borba, "clearly discloses, on the one hand, the general tendency of Soviet foreign policy, and, on the other, the fact that in signing the treaty with the Republic of China, the government of the USSR went far beyond the terms of its treaty with Chiang Kai-shek in 1945, when it expressly pledged not to interfere in the internal affairs of the Sinkiang province."

After detailing facts concerning the vast natural resources of Sinkiang and the previous policy of the great world powers toward Sinkiang, Borba goes on to underscore that the Czarist government had seized important privileges in this province and that the Kremlin has sought to maintain these positions. The revolutionary aspirations of the people of Sinkiang have always been subordinated by the Stalin regime to its own interests.

Borba then discloses the hitherto suppressed news that an insurrection erupted in November 1944 in a part of this province and the Republic of East Turkestan was set up. The Central Chinese government turned at the time to the Soviet government asking it to mediate between the Kuomintang and the representatives of the Republic of East Turkestan.

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Teacher Fired For Daring to Fight Jim Crow

Students at Penn State College are mobilizing for the defense of Dr. Lee Lorch, who was recently dismissed without explanation from his position as Assistant Professor of Mathematics. Dr. Lorch is a popular instructor, a capable teacher, and a leader on this campus in NAACP work, of which organization he is co-chairman. Last year he was dismissed from CCNY, with no explanation, but it is an open secret that both dismissals came because of opposition from high quarters to Dr. Lorch's leadership in the fight against Metropolitan Life Insurance Company's policy of Jim Crow in Stuyvesant Town, New York City.

After the CCNY dismissal Dr. Lorch was given a position at Penn State on the recommendation of some of the country's top mathematicians. No complaint of his work or activities outside the classroom was heard until a week before appointments for the following year were to be made by the Board of Trustees. At that time Lorch was called into conference with A. C. Morse, assistant to the president of the college, and asked to give up his activities connected with Stuyvesant Town.

It had come to light that Lorch had permitted a Negro family to move into his own Stuyvesant Town apartment as guests. This was berated by Morse as "extreme, illegal and immoral, and damaging to the public relations of the college." Morse admitted that he had investigated Lorch and reported on his findings to the Board of Trustees. A week later Lorch was notified that he would not be reappointed although his department had recommended that he should be retained.

This flagrant violation of civil liberties has enlisted in support of Dr. Lorch the American Association of University Professors, numerous alumni groups, the national NAACP and even the N. Y. Times. The AAUP wired the college offering to mediate the issue but the Board of Trustees did not even deign to reply.

There is no question of Lorch's competence. Thirty members of his department, including the head, have signed a statement that he is professionally competent and personally satisfactory. It is believed on the campus that the AAUP will blacklist the college unless Lorch is reinstated. The Board of Trustees, evidently befuddled, has refused to issue any statement regarding the dismissal. The presumption is that they are still trying to find a plausible excuse. It is well understood on this campus what "academic freedom" means to the authorities. It is said that the acting president, who is also the owner of a pickle factory, once

Weak Pension Plan Accepted by UAW At Ford in Canada

WINDSOR, CANADA, April 12 — Canadian Ford workers, 11,000 strong, voted today to accept the company's pension offer just before the strike deadline. This meager pension plan, which will probably set the pattern for the rest of the Canadian union movement, was accepted by the union after 13 months of fruitless negotiations, and provides for \$55 a month, after 25 years of seniority, at the age of 65.

This offer was rejected two weeks earlier at a mass meeting where the strike deadline was set, only to be rammed down the throats of the membership at the last minute, with a few embellishments, such as minor contract changes and a non-contributory health and sick benefit plan instead of the former contributory one. The Liberal government also made a flimsy promise to do its "best" to eliminate the "Means Test," whereby people over 70 are ineligible for old age pension if their income is above \$40 a month.

Walter Reuther, let us recall, launched his pension campaign first in Windsor, promising that it would mark the first step in international bargaining. Canadians would no longer be second class citizens in the UAW, wage differentials would go, none of the Ford empire would settle until all were agreed, etc. Noticeably by his absence from any mass meetings here since the Rouge River settlement (made without any consultation whatever), Reuther did intervene with the top bargaining committee three days before the strike deadline, insisting on a settlement for pensions, instead of changing to a straight wage fight.

May Day Celebrations

NEW YORK Mon., May 1, 7:30 P.M. at CARAVAN HALL 110 East 59th St. Speakers: BERT COCHRAN SWP Trade Union Chairman HARRISON JOHNSON Harlem Branch, SWP JOHN ROGERS Internationalist Socialist Youth Film: "Potemkin," Eisenstein's epic drama of sailors' rebellion of 1905 Refreshments Admission 50c.	PHILADELPHIA Sat., April 29, 8:30 P.M. at 1303 W. Girard Ave. Speakers: CLYDE TURNER Candidate for U. S. Senate HERBERT LEWIN Candidate for Governor Dancing — Entertainment Refreshments Admission Free	CHICAGO Sat., April 29, 8 P.M. at 116 W. Washington St. Second Floor Hall Speaker: FARRELL DOBBS SWP National Chairman Dancing — Refreshments Donation 50c.
DETROIT Sun., May 7, 3 P.M. at 6108 Linwood Ave. Speaker: FARRELL DOBBS SWP National Chairman	FLINT Fri., May 5, 8 P.M. at SWP HALL 215 E. 9th St. Speaker: FARRELL DOBBS SWP National Chairman "Liberty Through Socialism or Police State Through Capitalism"	TWIN CITIES Sun., April 30, 3:30 P.M. at 10 S. 4th St., Minneapolis Speaker: V. R. DUNNE SWP Labor Secretary Supper will be served after the meeting Admission Free
MILWAUKEE Sun., April 30, 2 P.M. at 917 N. 3rd St., 3rd floor Speaker: FARRELL DOBBS SWP National Chairman Lunch and Social Admission 50c.	BUFFALO Sat., April 29, 8 P.M. at 629 Main St., 2nd floor Prominent Speakers on "The Meaning of May Day and The Tasks of Labor in U. S."	PITTSBURGH Fri., April 28, 8 P.M. at 1418 - 5th Ave. Speaker: BERT COCHRAN SWP Trade Union Chairman on "Outlook for U. S. Labor" Admission Free
SAN FRANCISCO April 29, 8:30 P.M. 1739 Filmore St., 4th Floor Speakers, Dancing, Refreshment — Entertainment		YOUNGSTOWN Sat., May 6, 8 P.M. at SWP HALL 234 East Federal St. Hear JAMES P. CANNON'S recording: "First Half of 20th Century" Social and Refreshments

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