

MORALS AND THE 30-HOUR WEEK

By Art Preis
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Lenin's Record Speaks Against His Slanderers

By John G. Wright

Lenin was still on his sick-bed when the Stalinist bureaucracy — then just beginning its rise to power — started its systematic work of distorting and falsifying the teachings of this great working class fighter, thinker and leader. Today, a quarter of a century after Lenin's death we find this monstrous campaign at its very peak.

Nor are the Kremlin liars and forgers the only ones who seek to palm off Stalin as the "best disciple" and the legitimate heir and continuator of Lenin. For reasons of their own, the Social Democrats, traditional enemies of Leninism, are busy doing exactly the same thing. Adding its bit, is the new draft of renegades from among the newest converts to American imperialism, gentlemen like Max Eastman, Sydney Hook and the like. And behind all of them is the full weight of Wall Street's propaganda mill, dining in the workers' ears night and day that Stalin and Lenin are allegedly "one and the same."

The capitalists and their henchmen seek, of course, to use Stalin's crimes in order to discredit Lenin and what he really stood for. The Stalinists, for their part, try to use Lenin's mantle the better to deceive the workers and to cover up the Kremlin treachery and infamy. The two sides pursue different ends, but the same big lie happens to serve the purposes of each.

NO IDENTITY AT ALL

There can be no greater violation of historical truth than an attempt to establish an identity between them. Lenin's entire life, his great talents and genius were

exclusively devoted to the liberationist struggle of the world working class. Not only did Lenin refuse at any time to serve any other cause, but he resolutely rejected in this connection the slightest wavering or compromise in theory and practice alike.

Lenin had genuine love for the working masses and unwavering faith in their power and mission. He saw no nobler goal in life than to articulate the hopes and aspirations of the oppressed, to raise their self-confidence, increase their ability to act, liberate the vast creative forces latent among them and in every way to organize their struggle for socialism. Nothing was more ignoble in his eyes than to side in any way whatever with the strong and powerful against the oppressed. His writings are imbued with this spirit. No other Russian political leader was so beloved by the masses. His memory still lives in the minds of millions as it will for generations to come throughout the world.

Stalin was attracted to the revolutionary movement not by its great liberationist ideas but by the organizational power of Lenin's party. It was his hatred and envy of the rich and the powerful and not any deep concern for the poor and down-trodden that led Stalin to rebel against the Czarist rulers. Stalin's earliest writings bear indelible imprints of his deep-seated mistrust of the masses (which was later to grow into fear and hatred); of his ineptitude in the sphere of ideas (which was later to be converted into contempt for the power of ideas); of his unbounded faith in the power of the apparatus (which he was later to convert into an instrument of bestial oppression).

Stalin started as a revolutionist and that is to his undeniable credit. But he used his revolutionary record only to end up as the mortal enemy of revolutionary socialism, as the ruthless defender of the powers and privileges of

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V. I. LENIN

Pensions and Welfare Top List of Auto Union Demands

The CIO United Automobile Workers on Jan. 16 announced "fourth round" demands on the auto corporations for this year. Major emphasis is placed on broad social demands, which are expected to set a pattern for other CIO Unions.

UAW President Walter Reuther said in a letter to all local bodies that the International Executive Board meeting on Jan. 11 had adopted the following demands:

"1. An adequate pension and retirement program. 2. A comprehensive social security program including health, hospitalization, surgical and life insurance provisions. 3. A wage increase to restore the buying power of wages to the level of June 1946, when OPA was destroyed."

PROGRAM NEEDED

None of these demands has as yet been spelled out. It is claimed, however, that together they will be equivalent to a 30-cent hourly wage increase. Certainly adequate pension and welfare programs for the auto workers are long overdue. It will be recalled that Reuther bargained these important demands away last year for meager wage increases.

Conspicuously missing from the demands as announced is the program of the 30-hour week, six-hour day with no reduction in weekly earnings. Layoffs at Kaiser-Frazer and Ford's Lincoln-Mercury Division underscore the immediacy of the need to fight for the shorter work week. By themselves the UAW demands mean little or nothing. Unless they are implemented by a program of struggle they will

remain on paper. It was only the determined strike action of the Chrysler workers last year that won even small wage gains for the Ford and General Motors workers.

Certainly it will take the full power of the UAW in united militant struggle to win the far-reaching demands that the UAW leaders have outlined. Reuther has raised such demands before and then bargained them away for utterly inadequate settlements. It is for this reason that the wages of the auto workers have lagged behind rising prices since the end of the war.

It is time for the UAW militants to raise once more the question of Reuther's "one-at-a-time" strategy that proved so divisive and costly in the 1946 GM strike and in the wage negotiations again last spring. It is imperative that a unified strategy, correlating all the forces of the union, be worked out and put into motion as soon as possible.

UNIFIED STRATEGY

The UAW position has been weakened in advance because of the different contract termination dates in the Ford, Chrysler and GM contracts and the two-year reopening clause in the GM contract. The auto workers will have to fight for uniform contract termination dates and one-year reopening clauses in all contracts to gain a solid springboard for future struggles.

The "Fair Deal" Pie



Full Support for Kutcher At Conn. CIO Convention

HARTFORD, Jan. 16—"I got a raw deal, and not a fair deal, from the Veterans Administration," the legless veteran, James Kutcher, yesterday told the delegates to the 11th annual convention of the Connecticut State CIO Industrial Union Council.

Kutcher was invited as a guest speaker on the first afternoon of the two-day convention proceedings. He was escorted to the platform by a special committee designated by state CIO President Mitchell Sviridoff, chairman of the convention. Then the victimized veteran was introduced to the delegates by the national secretary of the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee, George Novack.

As Kutcher stood up at the microphone and related the story of his dismissal and political persecution, a tense hush gripped the entire gathering in the Hotel Bond auditorium. The CIO delegates leaned forward to catch every remark Kutcher made. Several nodded agreement at his statement that the treatment he received after taking off his uniform was very different from the promises made to him and other GI's while they were in the armed forces.

Kutcher declared that he was appealing to the Loyalty Review Board of the Civil Service Commission in Washington for reversal of the decision in his case

and for complete exoneration of the Socialist Workers Party.

"In order to clear myself and get back my job," he stated, "the recent directive under which General Gray, the VA Administrator, upheld my discharge makes it imperative that the name of my party be cleared and that it be taken off the Attorney General's 'subversive' blacklist."

NATIONAL CIO STAND

Kutcher pointed out that at its recent convention in Portland, Oregon, the national CIO adopted a resolution on "Civil Rights and the Protection of Democracy"

which demanded the revocation of Executive Order 9835 "under which I have been discharged and the establishment of guarantees to protect the freedom of thought and the freedom of political views of government workers. If this can be done, government employees like myself would not be discriminated against and would enjoy the same rights and protection as other citizens."

"I am not asking for any special pity or sympathy because my legs are amputated," Kutcher concluded. "I am asking only for the assistance you would extend

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UAW Locals Give Moral, Financial Help to Legless Veteran's Fight

Following approval by the UAW International Executive Board at its recent meeting of the national CIO's efforts to win justice for James Kutcher, numerous UAW locals have generously responded to the appeal for aid from the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee.

Auto union locals contributing to the Kutcher defense fund this past week include Chevrolet Local 262, Hamtramck, Mich.; Local 533, Fostoria, O.; Local 975, Lima, O.; Local 377, Cleveland, O.; Local 641, Ottawa, Canada; Local 662, Anderson, Ind.; \$25.

The Pittsburgh branch of the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee reports that members of the Pittsburgh Fur Workers Union expressed their support by taking up a collection of \$27.50 for the victimized veteran.

Death Knell Sounds for Chiang Dictatorship

By Joseph Hansen

The announcement of the Chiang Kai-shek dictatorship Jan. 19 that its government headquarters will be shifted from the capital of China at Nanking to the southern city of Canton sounds the death knell of Chiang's hated regime. Chiang himself is evidently preparing to move to the island of Formosa, his last hope now apparently being to save standing for himself as a local warlord. He will be fortunate if he escapes the fate of Mussolini.

Chiang's defeat at the hands of the Chinese people is also a major defeat for the foreign policy of American imperialism. Wall Street calculated on using this despotic regime as a puppet government to give preference to American investments over the needs of the Chinese people. Washington considered Chiang as an ally in the projected war on the Soviet Union. For these reasons American imperialism gave this butcher full support in the civil war, sending him some \$2 billion worth of supplies and military aid.

The Truman administration is now trying to save as much face

as possible in the debacle. It turned down an appeal to act as mediator with the Chinese Stalinists and has indicated that it will maintain its diplomatic offices in Nanking despite the shift to Canton, evidently in anticipation of doing business with whatever central government replaces the Chiang regime.

BREAKING APART

The Kuomintang has broken apart at the seams. Chiang's generals, who for long paid little attention to orders from headquarters on field operations, are now trying to save their heads as best they can, every warlord for himself. Some are haggling for the best possible terms.

Others, fearful of seeing their armies disintegrate upon meeting the Stalinist-led armies, are withdrawing their forces from extended positions and hoing up. And Chiang's own cabinet, representing only a part of the Kuomintang, has asked for a cease-fire order prior to opening bargaining talks.

Whether the Stalinists will begin bargaining by issuing a cease-fire order remains to be seen. The position of the cabinet

is clearly a hopeless one if the Stalinists decide to move forward. But if this section of the Kuomintang can win a guarantee that capitalist property relations will be maintained by the Stalinists together with important positions in a coalition government for them, then they can hope for a comeback at some future time.

STALINIST PROGRAM

The spotlight thus focuses on the program of the Chinese Stalinists. On Jan. 14 Mao Tse-tung, chairman of the Chinese Communist Party, listed eight points as the basis for peace negotiations with Nanking "or any other Kuomintang regional government or military bloc":

(1) Punish war criminals. (2) Abrogate the bogus Constitution. (3) Abolish the Kuomintang's "legitimacy of traditional institutions." (Also translated as "abdication of rule.") (4) Reorganize the revolutionary armies in accordance with democratic principles. (This is aimed at giving the Stalinists control over the Kuomintang's armed forces.) (5) Confiscate bureaucratic capital. (This means riches ac-

Trial of C.P. Threatens All Labor's Rights

NMU Meeting Gives Setback to Purge Methods

Undemocratic Acts Rouse Apprehension

By W. F. Herndon

NEW YORK, Jan. 18 — The efforts of the CIO National Maritime Union leaders to simply read out of the union leading and active members of the Stalinist party have been only partially successful. It has become increasingly evident that the ranks will endorse punishment up to expulsion only in cases of clearly proven disruptive behavior.

The political purge formula advanced by NMU President Joseph Curran—that the Stalinists cannot invoke the union's constitution in their behalf since they are "in violation of the constitution"—has in essence been rejected.

Two factors have interfered with Curran's drive for a wide-purge. First, the resort by the Stalinists to the courts and the possibility of successful court intervention in those cases where the union's constitution has been bypassed.

MEMBERS INTERVENE

Second, the action of the last membership meeting in the Port of New York. This membership meeting, the largest and most important in the union, delivered a blow against anti-democratic conduct and procedure. The disregard by the administration leaders of democratic processes aroused wide apprehension and hostility in the ranks of the union who see in such procedure a menace to their own rights.

At this meeting the chairman was challenged on his ruling that only the counters he had appointed would tally the votes on the hotly-contested trial committee report. Although this procedure has become the practice during the last year, the membership decisively rejected the chairman's ruling and forced the selection of "double counters"—representing both sides. It was in effect a demonstration by the members

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Atmosphere of Police Terror Marks Thought-Control Case

By Farrell Dobbs

NEW YORK, Jan. 19 — Foley Square, scene of the government's thought-control trial of 11 Stalinists in this city, is like an armed camp. Over 400

mounted and foot police, plainclothes men, FBI agents and uniformed special guards swarm in and around the Federal Court House. Eight bailiffs ride herd on the handful of spectators who manage to crowd into the two-by-four court room where the trial is going on.

Inside the courtroom spectators are told, "Sit down and keep your mouth shut." In the court house corridors and on the streets outside, anyone who pauses for a moment receives the curt order, "Keep moving."

About half the seating space in the courtroom is reserved for the press. Another score or so of seats are set aside for relatives of the defendants. People stand in line for hours, under heavy police guard, hoping to get one of the seats available to the general public.

Press coverage is complete, with all the trimmings. Top-notch reporters are present for the wire services, many of the major daily newspapers, weeklies and feature magazines, radio, television, the newsreels and foreign press services, including Tass, the Soviet news agency.

The 11 defendants, all officers of the Communist Party, are Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., Carl Winter, John Williamson, Eugene Dennis, Henry Winston, Jack Stachel, Robert Thompson, Irving Potash, Gilbert Green, Gus Hall and John Gates.

TWO CHARGES

They are charged with conspiracy to "teach and advocate the overthrow and destruction of the Government of the United States by force and violence," under the Smith Act of 1940. If convicted, they will face a maximum penalty of 10 years' imprisonment and a \$10,000 fine. Following trial on the "conspiracy" charge, each may be tried separately on charges of individual violation of the Smith Act.

Trial of William Z. Foster, Stalinist National Chairman, also named in the conspiracy indictment, has been postponed because of his poor health.

Five Stalinist lawyers, each representing two or three of the defendants, are actively arguing the case. A secondary battery of

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SWP CASE--PRECEDENT FOR STALINIST TRIAL

NEW YORK, Jan. 19 — Farrell Dobbs, National Chairman of the Socialist Workers Party and its candidate for President in the last elections, today issued the following statement on the trial of the 12 Communist Party leaders:

Federal Judge Harold R. Medina, presiding over the trial of the 12 Communist Party leaders, denied the defendants' charge that their trial is a "political trial," and asked what evidence they have for this contention.

The attorneys for the defendants offered various supporting arguments. But both they and the Stalinist press, notably the

Daily Worker, have deliberately passed over the outstanding and conclusive piece of evidence that the trial of the CP leaders is strictly political.

I am one of the 18 people in this country best qualified to give that evidence. I was one of the 18 leaders and members of the Socialist Workers Party — the Trotskyists — who were indicted, tried, convicted and imprisoned for our political views under the Smith Act of 1940. This is the identical law under which the CP leaders are now being tried. Our case is the sole precedent under this law for the present prosecution.

The Worker, CP publication, Jan. 16 published the lie that the present trial "is the first time in America's century and a half that a political party is put on trial." Whatever the motives for this falsification—and I shall expose them presently — the Stalinists are playing directly into the hands of the prosecution by aiding in the concealment of the most relevant facts concerning the political nature of the CP trial.

THE INDICTMENTS

The indictment under which the SWP leaders were sentenced on Dec. 8, 1941, after a two-months' trial, charged us with "conspiring to commit certain acts prohibited by certain statutes of the United States, namely, Section 9 and 10 of Title 18 of the United States Code . . . and especially contrary to section 11 of Title 18 of the United States Code."

The indictment of the CP leaders charges them with acts "prohibited by Section 2 of the Act of June 23, 1940 (Section 10, Title 18, United States Code), commonly known as the Smith

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What American Labor Can Learn from Lenin

By Joseph Hansen

V. I. Lenin dedicated his life to the struggle of the working class to free itself from the poverty, hunger, bloodshed and oppression of the capitalist system. One aim guided him in all his activities — to establish the socialist system of enduring peace, abundance and boundless progress. This singleness of purpose, combined with mastery of the scientific method of Marxism, vast learning, keen intuition, creative imagination, extraordinary energy and an iron will, made Lenin one of the greatest revolutionary figures mankind has yet produced.

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels worked out the basic scientific analysis of world capitalism, demonstrated in theory the inevitability of socialism and helped organize the first international associations of the working class devoted to fighting for this goal. The fundamental views of Marx and Engels are still valid.

Lenin considered himself a disciple of Marx and Engels. Throughout his political life he waged war without quarter on the adulterators, detractors and avowed opponents of orthodox Marxism. That does not signify that Lenin kowtowed to dead dogmas, as his slanderers maintain. Marxism is a living, growing body of thought like any other genuine science. Lenin made precious contributions to Marxism in assessing new important developments in the evolution of capitalism and the revolutionary struggle for socialism.

Above all, he gave a practical demonstration to the working class of the entire world on how to apply Marxist theory in building a revolutionary party, leading insurgent masses to victory over the capitalist class and constructing a Workers and Farmers Government.

LENIN'S METHOD

Lenin's essay, "The Teachings of Karl Marx," written for the Russian Encyclopedia published by Granat, provides us with an instructive example of his method. He takes up first of all the most fundamental issue, "Philosophic Materialism," the realistic view

of the universe that sees mind as a derivative of matter. He then discusses "Dialectics," the most profound formulation of the principle of change and evolution yet worked out. Next he considers the application of dialectical materialism to history; then the class struggle, Marx's economic doctrine and the inevitability of socialism. Only after laying down these basic premises does he turn to the final crucial problem, "Tactics of the Class Struggle of the Proletariat."

This approach is the essence of Leninism. It was precisely in the field of the tactics of the class struggle, that is, the problems associated with the building of a revolutionary party of the workers, that he made some of his greatest contributions. Yet he understood better than anyone else in his time that a party of action can be constructed only on the foundation of absolute clarity of theory and agreement on fundamental program.

If the membership of the party are agreed on basic questions then they can achieve full striking power on the field of action. If differences are unresolved, however, then at the crucial moment they can arise as major obstacles to effective action. Even worse, lack of theoretical clarity can disorient the party and lead it into fatal errors.

PROGRAM COMES FIRST

It was precisely because he understood so thoroughly the importance of a homogeneous party in the class struggle that Lenin was so insistent on putting theory and the broad general questions facing the working class first. That is why Lenin was regarded by those who did not grasp his underlying purpose as a "hair-splitter"; and why, since his conception was a new one and radically opposed to the prevailing view, the history of the

Leaders of Russian Revolution



Trotsky (left) talking with Lenin (center) and Kamenev during the difficult civil war days when they headed the USSR. Stalin had Kamenev shot in the infamous Moscow Frame-up Trials and sent an assassin to sink a pickaxe in Trotsky's brain.

Bolshevik party is so full of factional struggles. To gloss over basic differences and reach rotten compromises at the expense of program, in Lenin's view—and he proved correct—could only lodge fatal flaws in the party as the revolutionary instrument of the working class.

Lenin's life work thus consisted of building a highly disciplined party of self-sacrificing, skilled working class politicians around a program that could lead to the victory of the socialist revolution in Czarist Russia. Lenin, of course, regarded this victory as but one link in the general chain of revolutions required to establish world-wide socialism.

All of Lenin's theoretical contributions thus had a highly utilitarian aim — to forge and temper a revolutionary socialist party.

The most obvious example of this is Lenin's concept of democratic centralism. Under democratic centralism the advantages of full democracy in the elaboration of program and selection of leadership and the education of the membership is combined with centralized command in action. This principle of organization gave the Bolshevik party its

unique strength and assured its victory when the opportunity came.

ANSWERS THE DOUBTERS

The same utilitarian aim motivated Lenin's contributions in fields that on the surface appear quite remote from the strictly organizational. A striking example is his book on philosophy, "Materialism and Empirio Criticism." This was written in the difficult period following the defeat of the 1905 revolution when demoralization and passivity swept the ranks of the Bolshevik party.

The pressure of triumphant Czarist reaction became visible in the revolutionary ranks as a questioning and doubting of the long-established basic tenets of Marxism. Many turned toward reactionary idealist philosophy and even religion. Such unhealthy moods, generated in the middle class when the labor movement suffers a setback, are echoed in the revolutionary movement predominantly by the intellectuals and those susceptible to the influence of the trade union bureaucracy.

Lenin's book was designed to counter this pessimism and

skepticism and to demonstrate afresh the validity of dialectical materialism, in that way repairing the breach in the party's ideological front and rearming the membership for struggle in this vital field. It remains to this day a model polemic in the continual struggle of the proletarian vanguard against the insidious encroachment of petty bourgeois thought.

SELF-DETERMINATION

The organic connection between means and end, theory and practice, is similarly visible in the development of the Bolshevik political program. Lenin, for example, foresaw national revolutions for decades to come. In accordance with this view, the Bolsheviks insisted on the democratic right of national minorities to self-determination—the right to secede even from a workers state if they so desire and set up whatever form of government they wish.

At the same time, to build a party to make this end possible, the Bolsheviks opposed any national distinctions whatsoever among the party members. The party, they pointed out, represented the international interests

of the working class which transcend all national differences.

The right to self-determination appealed powerfully to the numerous oppressed nationalities in Czarist Russia and became one of the keys to the Bolshevik success.

Lenin's view on this question was in opposition to the prevailing opinion and practice among the Social Democrats particularly in Austria-Hungary, which was a prison-house of nations like Czarist Russia. In sharp polemics, Lenin demonstrated how the oppression of national and racial minorities and colonial peoples becomes unbearably acute in the imperialist stage of capitalism. And he showed why a revolutionary socialist party in advancing the cause of socialism must give full support to the struggles of the oppressed minorities and colonial peoples for freedom and independence.

ATTITUDE TOWARD PEASANTRY

As with the problem of nationalities, so with the peasantry, Lenin's attitude was determined by his aim of building a revolutionary party capable of liberating Russia from the yoke of the capitalists and landlords. In a land where a backward peasantry constituted the overwhelming bulk of the population, the revolutionary party could break its neck or achieve a stupendous victory depending on how successfully it tied together the industrial workers and the poor farmers.

Lenin made a profound analysis of the economic and class relations in Czarist Russia and reached the conclusion that even though the coming revolution would be a capitalist one, still it could only be led by the working class in alliance with the peasantry. This meant fighting for the right of the poor farmers to divide up the big estates.

The older generation of Marxists opposed this view, holding that the liberal capitalists could play a progressive role. But Lenin's view won out in the Bolshevik party and when the hour struck the mighty power

of Russia's landless masses lifted the small working class with the Bolsheviks at their head into state power.

OPPOSED IMPERIALIST WAR

The First World War provided an acid test for the world socialist movement. The old loosely-knit parties in Western Europe, where the Social Democratic leadership had lost sight of the importance of adhering to basic program, succumbed to the war fever and came out in support of the capitalist governments in the various warring countries.

Lenin, however, remained in opposition. He understood that an imperialist war tends to develop into a civil war and that to stand on the side of the imperialists and their government means supporting the class enemy at a most critical moment.

Throughout the war years he worked persistently to prepare the ground for a new international party of the working class to take up the cause betrayed by the Social Democratic leadership of the Second International. The Bolshevik party's record of unyielding opposition to imperialist war was another proof to the Russian workers that this party would not betray at a crucial moment but would remain true to its program in the face of the fiercest persecution.

Thus Lenin's opposition to the imperialist slaughter was not simply a moral revulsion to mass murder; his opposition also had the practical aim of constructing a party capable of rooting out the basic cause of imperialist war. That is why Lenin's type of opposition to the wars of the capitalist system is so important as an example to the working class to this day. He demonstrated in theory and showed in practice the only effective way of ending imperialist slaughter and assuring enduring peace.

During the war Lenin wrote two important pamphlets which every worker should study: "Imperialism and State and Revolution." The one is an analysis of the development of the capitalist system since the days of Marx and Engels. The other is a presentation and commentary on the Marxist view of the real role of the government. They were designed to help prepare the Bolshevik party for the great tasks ahead; but State and Revolution remained unfinished, for the October 1917 revolution intervened.

LEADS REVOLUTION

The facts about Lenin's colossal role in this revolution can be read in Leon Trotsky's authoritative work, "The History of the Russian Revolution." Trotsky raises the question whether even the Bolshevik party could have successfully led the working class to power without Lenin. Of course, we can say that without Lenin there would still have been Trotsky, but he lacked authority in the Bolshevik party for it was not until the days of the revolution itself that he came fully to understand the importance of a revolutionary party inured to iron discipline in action.

Lenin was able to correct big mistakes made by the party, to correct even mistakes of his own

which Trotsky had pointed out long before (such as the view that the revolution while beginning as capitalist in character could not remain capitalist but only terminate in the Socialist Revolution) and to make these corrections in time. We must add that the very possibility of making these corrections was due to Lenin; first, because without him there would have been no Bolshevik party to correct and, secondly, because to the highest possible degree Lenin had designed the party as a self-correcting organism.

AN EMBATTLED FORTRESS

As the head of the Soviet government, Lenin became known to the entire world. It was now that his full stature as a genuine statesman of the working class became apparent. He viewed the Soviet Union as an embattled fortress. His aim now was to utilize this great conquest to the maximum in advancing the interests of the international working class as a whole. This required effective defense of the first workers state against its internal enemies and the surrounding capitalist foe and it required using the Soviet Union to directly help the workers in other lands achieve their socialist revolution as another step toward uniting the entire world under the planned economy of socialism.

The military defense of the USSR was placed in the able hands of Leon Trotsky while Lenin concentrated on building and cementing the structure of the Soviet Government. At the same time he founded the Third International as a new world organization of the working class embodying his basic revolutionary programmatic and organizational concepts.

The hopes of the Bolsheviks that the workers in industrially advanced countries would soon be able to lift the siege on their beleaguered fortress were not realized. As a result bureaucratic degeneration began to set in.

Lenin was keenly alive to this danger. It could destroy not only the Bolshevik party but undermine the workers state and the Third International and endanger the socialist cause in other lands.

In 1922 and 1923 as the danger mounted under the insidious leadership of Stalin, Lenin prepared to wage an all-out fight together with Leon Trotsky in defense of the democratic control of the Soviet Government by the working class. However, with his sudden death on January 21, 1924, the hand of this great revolutionary leader fell from the helm. The full burden of the struggle against Stalinism fell on Trotsky's shoulders.

As Trotsky observed, geniuses like Marx and Lenin appear only once in a century. Their contributions make it possible for the working class to shorten the long difficult road towards the socialist society of the future. Our task is not to wait for the appearance of new leaders cast in the full mold of their genius, but to study their writings and their actions; to try to assimilate their thought and their methods and above all to go forward to the best of our ability with the tools they prepared for our use.

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the bureaucracy on whose shoulders he rode to power. It is doubtful whether any other ruler in Russia's black past was more hated than Stalin is by the mass of the people.

ALL DOWN THE LINE

The differences between Lenin and Stalin pass from the heights of theoretical thought all the way down the line. Lenin was an internationalist to his very marrow, teaching the Russian workers never to approach any major political problem at home from any other standpoint, and to subordinate their immediate interests to the long range interests of the world socialist struggle. Stalin's outstanding mental trait is provincialism. His self-proclaimed theory of "socialism in one country" is the reactionary product of an ignorant mind, incapable of rising above narrow nationalism. If Stalin has instilled anything in the Russian masses it is the virus of Great Russian nationalism.

Lenin correctly prided himself on remaining throughout an

orthodox Marxist. In his eyes, Marxism—as a unified system of ideas, as a method of thinking and as a guide to action—was the most advanced conquest of the human intellect. An audacious and supremely gifted thinker, Lenin enriched Marxism in many key spheres.

To list only a few of his outstanding contributions, there is his analysis of the modern or imperialist stage of capitalism which has ushered in the epoch of world wars and proletarian and colonial revolutions. There is his work on the national and colonial questions and the key role of oppressed minorities and colonial peoples in the world revolutionary process.

Lenin's crowning achievements were, of course, his contributions as the architect of the Russian Revolution and of the first workers state. An inseparable part of this historic accomplishment was Lenin's building of the Russian Bolshevik Party and the subsequent creation of the Third International.

STALIN'S REAL ROLE

What was Stalin's part in all this? The Kremlin has falsified history so as to usurp for Stalin the role of Lenin's closest collaborator—in the October days, during the Civil War, in the early years of the Communist International and of the Soviet Union—a role, that was actually played by Leon Trotsky. Stalin's role in this entire period, as well as in the earlier history of Russian Bolshevism, was a minor and obscure one. Moreover Stalin opposed Lenin or intrigued behind

the scenes against him far more frequently than he worked with Lenin. He came to the fore only after Lenin's death, not as a representative of the revolutionary vanguard but as the champion of rising Soviet bureaucracy. His true role has been that of gravedigger of Lenin's party and Lenin's International. He has served as the chief instrument in the degeneration of the Soviet Union.

It is a mockery even to talk of Stalin's "contributions" to Marxism-Leninism. Stalin's ideas are, without exception, borrowed either from the cesspool of imperialist politics or the no less polluted channels of revisionist and opportunist thought and practice. Stalin's People's Front policies merely reproduce under new historical conditions what was done by the Russian Mensheviks under Kerensky or by the German Social Democrats under the Kaiser. His deals with the Nazis as well as his later deals with the "democratic" powers were conducted in the vile tradition of imperialist diplomacy.

NOTHING IN COMMON

He was not even the initiator of Soviet industrialization, let alone of planned economy, as is fraudulently claimed. On the contrary, it will never be blotted out of history that Stalin up to 1929 ruthlessly opposed the Trotskyist Opposition in Russia, the real proponents of the Five-Year Plans and of Soviet industrialization. It was, in fact, the struggle of this isolated minority that compelled the Stalinists to take the road of planning.

If there is any single idea to which Stalin has adhered consistently it is that brute force is the decisive power in history. His entire world-outlook may be summed up in the proposition that the survival of any regime, past, future or present, depends exclusively on whether it employs the brute force at its disposal in ample time and ruthlessly enough. Violence over men's minds and bodies, violence, violence and still more violence—that is the quintessence of Stalinism.

What has this modern Genghis Khan in common with Lenin who was the embodiment of an entirely different type of warrior, the fighter for the socialist emancipation of mankind? Nothing whatever.

DEFENDED DEMOCRACY

In Lenin we have one of the most consistent fighters for democracy that ever lived. He fought above all for workers'

democracy, placing its interests correctly above all else. But NOT to the exclusion of everything else. He taught the Russian workers to be extremely sensitive to the demands of all the oppressed minorities and colonial peoples. In this field, Lenin insisted, the workers, especially when they come to power, must make every possible concession.

The right of self-determination, including the right of secession, was written into the first Soviet constitution. It was no empty phrase; it was the gist of Lenin's teachings on the national question. Under Lenin this right was safeguarded jealously, even to the point of extending recognition to the setting up of capitalist Finland, Estonia, Lithuania and other Baltic countries in his lifetime.

The only ones to whom Lenin ever denied democratic rights were the oppressors fighting arms in hand to maintain their rule or to overthrow the established power of the workers or of the oppressed nationalities and colonial peoples.

They lie deliberately who tell the workers that under Lenin there existed the same dictatorial regime as under Stalin. The democratic liberties of the masses and above all of their mass organizations — the Soviets, the trade unions, the peasant co-operatives, and the Bolshevik Party itself—were jealously safeguarded so long as Lenin lived. The real continuators of Lenin, Trotsky and his followers, began their struggle in the USSR against Stalinism under the banner of extending and preserving Lenin's democratic regime, just as they struggle for its re-introduction today.

USSR—THEN AND NOW

All the detractors of Lenin bank on the younger generation's ignorance of the facts about the Soviet Union in Lenin's day. The truth is that Lenin's regime inspired the oppressed working people the world over with its progressive legislation, guaranteeing full economic, social and political equality of all nationalities and races.

The right of the youth to a full education and to a living while they learned was assured. Working women were granted paid vacations while pregnant and free medical and hospital care. Birth control was legalized. Scientists were given full freedom to carry on their work. Art, music and writing then flourished in the Soviet Union. Nowhere did such progressive legislation, cultural

ferment and freedom of thought exist as in the first workers state.

That is what the Soviet Union looked like in the days of Lenin and Trotsky. Why did it degenerate?

First of all, because of the frightful pressure of the capitalist powers who tried to drown the new workers regime in blood. When this did not succeed, world capitalism clamped a strangulating blockade on the USSR. The revolution was isolated.

Secondly, because Russia was one of the most backward countries in the world. Out of this vast sea of backwardness and isolation welled the Stalin regime of counter-revolution.

Thirdly, because even under the best of conditions the tasks of socialism cannot be solved in a single country. Socialism requires the united efforts of a number of countries, including the most highly advanced.

ROLE OF PARTIES

But weren't all other parties in the Soviet Union outlawed under Lenin and Trotsky as well? Those who point to this historical accident as proof of the identity of the past and present regimes in the USSR, omit a trifle. They hide the fact that no other party in Russia at the time was willing to place itself on the basis of Soviet power.

The Russian Mensheviks were not expelled from the Soviets, they walked out demonstratively, most of them to take sides with the White Guards in the Civil War that followed. The original Soviet government was a coalition of two parties—the Bolsheviks and the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries, the party of the revolutionary peasants. The Left S. R.'s were not driven from the seats of power, but resigned and then rose

in an armed insurrection against the government in which they themselves participated. Every other party, without exception, was engaged either in open struggle or overt conspiracy to overthrow the power of the Soviet. It was this set of circumstances, under conditions of four years of civil warfare, that brought about one-party rule in the USSR.

Far from considering the Russian developments as a fixed and unalterable political pattern, for the rest of the world, Lenin repeatedly stressed that the Russian Revolution and the young Soviet Republic were only the beginning, only the first forms. He expected that the Western European proletariat, in the first instance the workers of Germany, would "finish" the job the Russian workers had started and show them "how it is done." Although his expectations remained unfulfilled, Lenin never changed his mind on this score. To the end of his life, he confidently predicted that every other people on the face of our planet would make its great contributions to the evolution of the workers state and the world federation of these independent states. He further predicted a flowering of democracy, on this new social soil, such as the world had never seen.

A TYPICAL EPISODE

In the life of every human being there are episodes that epitomize the inmost character. One such episode in Lenin's life casts an illuminating light on his views concerning the use and abuse of power, the crux of all questions relating to the problems of democracy. One of Stalin's closest friends and a prominent Georgian Bolshevik, Ordjonikidze, slapped, during a conversation, a young comrade.

When Lenin heard of this, he immediately demanded the removal of this man from all governmental and party posts and his suspension for two years from the Bolshevik Party. This same Ordjonikidze became one of the pillars of Stalin's regime.

Finally, it is a historical fact that Lenin on his death-bed broke all personal relations with Stalin and was preparing to lead a political struggle against the very man who has since posed as his "heir." One of the last acts of Lenin was to demand Stalin's removal from the post of General-Secretary of the Party. He recognized Stalin for what he really is, namely, an enemy of everything that Lenin himself was and stood for.



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Monday, January 24, 1949



TROTSKY

"One need only reflect in order to understand the concentrated hate that this figure has called forth and will continue to call forth from all the enemies of the working class. For nature produced a masterpiece when she created in a single individual an embodiment of the revolutionary thought and the unbending energy of the working class. This figure is Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. . . Like many other comrades who have been for three decades in revolutionary work, I have had the opportunity to meet in different lands many varieties of the proletarian type of leader—the revolutionary representative of the working class. But only in the person of Comrade Lenin have we a figure created for our epoch of blood and iron."

—Speech by Leon Trotsky, 1918.



LENIN

Truman's War on Civil Rights

Truman's attack on the House Un-American Activities hearings as a "red herring" has misled many people into thinking he disapproves of the witch-hunt and wants to safeguard civil rights. What Truman's dispute with the House committee really shows is a difference over the best method for conducting the witch-hunt. He prefers the quieter police methods to the flashy klieg-light displays.

For instance, he is proceeding ruthlessly with the prosecution of the Communist Party leaders in an obvious frame-up attempt under an unconstitutional law, the Smith "Gag" Act. If he has his way, there is no question the CP leaders will end up behind bars. What is even worse than the fate of these individuals is that any persons or groups who advocate the ideas of Marxism are subject to the same frame-ups.

Hundreds of government workers have been fired or hounded from their jobs on charges of "disloyalty," without the right even to confront their accusers. Most of those driven from their jobs are blackmailed into silence by fear of scandal.

The "loyalty" purge is based on a blacklist of certain political parties, branded as "subversive" by one man, the Attorney General, without a hearing or even specific charges. Truman's decree explicitly prohibits a public hearing.

When a courageous individual like James Kutchner, the legless veteran fired from the VA for membership in the Socialist Workers Party, dared to challenge the purge system, then Truman's Loyalty Board hastened to issue a special order—Memorandum 32—to make the dismissal stick. Memorandum 32 makes it mandatory for the "loyalty" review boards to uphold the firing of all members of the Communist Party, Socialist Workers Party and Workers Party. This makes any "review" or hearing a farce.

The Kutchner fight is challenging these illegal "loyalty" procedures which have been denounced by the CIO and other labor and liberal organizations. But the administration is making it clear that it intends to go the limit and isn't retreating from its Gestapo methods.

Rather it wants to give them the sanction of law. That is one purpose of Truman's proposal to "tighten" the Espionage Act. He would make wire-tap evidence admissible in federal courts, permit the conviction of persons without showing proof of criminal purpose or intent and reduce or eliminate the statute of limitations.

Truman is out to destroy civil rights, not to protect them. Civil rights will be preserved, just as they were won to begin with, only by the most determined organized struggle of the labor movement and its liberal allies.

New Stalinist Right Turn?

The Kremlin has launched a "peace offensive" in an effort to secure a deal with U.S. imperialism. As was the case in all previous twists and turns of Moscow's foreign policy, the latest maneuver has been immediately reflected in the line of the Stalinist parties.

Part of the inducement Stalin is offering world imperialism is the abandonment of the "left" shift of recent years—that is, a return to the avowed line of "class peace" that prevailed from 1941 to 1945. Moscow has ordered the Stalinist parties, first of all in Western Europe, to put the damper on working-class struggles. They are obeying with the alacrity of trained seals.

The new line is being put into effect without a pretense of consultation with the ranks of the Communist parties and with cynical disregard of the interests of the workers. It was proclaimed in a speech by the French Stalinist leader Marcel Cachin to the Chamber of Deputies and an article in the French CP publication, *Cahiers du Communisme*.

Cachin then carried the instructions in person to the Italian Stalinist leader, Palmiro Togliatti, in Rome. Promptly Togliatti proclaimed that "complete" collaboration between the Soviet Union and the capitalist powers is possible, that Moscow has no

thought of "revolutionary war," that socialism in Europe can be won by "peaceful methods."

Overnight the Italian CP tossed overboard its "campaign of non-collaboration," abruptly called off a slow-down strike of 100,000 Milanese workers and announced the new "peace tactics"—that is, soft-pedaling of strikes, demonstrations and other workers' struggles.

Having failed with "left" gestures and threats during the last three years to make Washington call off its cold war, Stalin is now offering concessions again. But whether or not this latest maneuver will develop into a full-fledged right turn like the one followed during the war still remains to be seen.

And the decision does not rest on Stalin alone. Washington is pressing for nothing less than a major retreat of the Kremlin. While not averse to a favorable deal, Washington is far more interested at present in cementing a war alliance with Western Europe, and in building up its war machine. It wants to be able to dictate its own terms to the Kremlin, and it wants a higher price for striking a deal than Stalin has so far indicated a willingness to pay.

'Life' Magazine Is Bitter

Life magazine in its Jan. 17 issue pokes fun—mixed with bile—at the idea of eliminating private profit. It commends the "irony" used by the *Wall Street Journal* in attacking a proposal by Mayor Curley of Boston to tax profits 15% for the operation of city and town governments. The *Journal* asked why, logically, the state governments also should not seek a 15% slice of profits. With 30% total going to local and state governments, and 50% to the federal government, the *Journal* went on—"in ironical spirit," *Life* assures us—to ask why even 20% of their profits should be left to the corporations. Why not dispose of even this last 20% in "some other wholesome fashion"?

Taking off from this point, *Life* sneers and jeers at those who contend that profits are "immoral." It paints the imaginary picture of "the directors of A.T. & T. hitting the sawdust trail, abolishing the 1949 dividend and mailing the undivided profits to the shareholders of Mississippi" and of "Ben Fairless of U.S. Steel getting up off the mourners' bench to argue with his stockholders that it is their duty to divert all the 1949 profits to worthy causes."

Now we Marxists also ask the question raised by the *Wall Street Journal*—but in no ironic sense. Why shouldn't the profits—all the profits—of the corporations be disposed of in some "wholesome fashion"? But we don't consider profits from the standpoint of "good theology" or abstract morals.

Marx revealed the source of capitalist profits as unpaid labor. He demonstrated

that all profit is derived from the surplus value created by the workers' labor power, for which the capitalist pays the workers always less than the value created by their labor power. The capitalist system of production and distribution, based on the profit interests of the individual capitalists, is anarchic and planless, and leads to greater and greater crises, brutal competition and war. Marx showed. Haven't two world wars and the threat of a third, the world-wide depressions alternating with inflations in the last 45 years, proved Marx right?

Therefore, we Marxists don't propose merely to take away the profits after they are amassed by the capitalists. We propose to abolish the private ownership of the means of production and distribution. We propose, in short, to abolish the system of private profit. We are for the social ownership of the means of production and distribution operated under the cooperative control of society as a whole.

Under our system there won't be any directors of A. T. & T. or a Benjamin Fairless of U.S. Steel even to suggest turning over profits to the Mississippi share-croppers or for "good works." There won't be any share-croppers or other deprived and oppressed sections of the population either. Through socialist planning for human needs we will be able to provide all with abundance and to eliminate the sordid incentives for exploitation of man by man that dominate the capitalist profit system of scarcity and high prices, boom and bust.

The SWP Case--Precedent for Stalinist Trial

(Continued from Page 1)

Act" and "in violation of Sections 3 and 5 of the Act of June 28, 1940 (Sections 11 and 13, Title 18, United States Code), commonly known as the Smith Act."

The specific charges listed in both indictments are virtually identical. Our indictment read that we "would, and did, accept as the ideal formula for the carrying out of said objectives the Russian Revolution of 1917, whereby the then existing Government of Russia was overthrown by force and violence, and the principles, teachings, writings, counsel and advice of the leaders of that revolution, chiefly of V. I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky" and that we "did knowingly and willfully advocate, abet, advise and teach . . . and did print, publish, edit, issue, circulate, sell, distribute and publicly display written and printed matter advocating, advising and teaching the duty, necessity, desirability and propriety of overthrowing and destroying the Government of the United States by force and violence" and did "organize and help to organize societies, groups and assemblies" for that purpose.

"EVIDENCE" IN OUR TRIAL

The heart of the CP indictment reads that they "did conspire . . . to organize . . . a society, group and assembly of persons who teach and advocate the overthrow and destruction of the Government of the United States by force and violence" and that "it was further a part of said conspiracy that said defendants would publish and circulate, and cause to be published and circulated, books, articles, magazines, and newspapers advocating the principles of Marxism and Leninism."

In brief, except for the omission of the name of Leon Trotsky, this is conclusive proof that the Minneapolis Labor Case of the 18 Trotskyists is the forerunner of the indictment of the CP under the identical sections of the Smith "Gag" Act of 1940.

The chief "evidence" introduced against us in the Minneapolis Labor Trial of 1941 consisted of 130 pieces of printed and publicly circulated literature, including the *Communist Manifesto* written in 1848 by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels; the chief writings of V. I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky; the *Declaration of Principles* of the Socialist Workers Party; and numerous articles in *The Militant* and *Fourth International*. From the wording of the indictment in the CP case, it is likely that writings of the revolutionary socialist teachers, Marx, Engels and Lenin, will constitute the major "evidence" in the present trial.

We were tried under two counts, the first under an old Civil War emergency law for alleged "overt" acts to accomplish the "crimes" alleged. The jury threw the first count out. On Dec. 5, 1941 the jury found 18 of 28 defendants "guilty" of violating the Smith Act which makes mere "advocacy" of certain ideas a "felony." On Dec. 8, 1941—the day after Pearl Harbor—the judge sentenced us to federal imprisonment for terms ranging from 12 to 16 months.

LABOR'S OPINION

On Nov. 22, 1943, the U. S. Supreme Court refused to review our case, thereby denying, in effect, that any constitutional issues of free speech, press and assembly were involved. The Supreme Court repeated its refusal to review on two further occasions. On Jan. 1, 1944, after two years of appeals, we were incarcerated in prison and served our sentences.

That the trial of the 18 Trotskyists was a "political trial" was the publicly-voiced opinion of the American Civil Liberties Union, the Civil Rights Defense Committee, and of labor and liberal organizations representing more than five million members, which adopted resolutions to President Roosevelt urging repeal of the Smith Act and the immediate unconditional pardon of the im-

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prisoned SWP leaders. Roosevelt refused the pardon. Last year the appeal for a presidential pardon, so that the defendants might have their civil rights restored, was renewed. President Truman has failed to act on this latest appeal.

Many liberals along with a section of the daily press are mistakenly spreading the idea that the CP trial is the first of its kind under the Smith Act and that if the Stalinists are convicted the higher courts will eventually rule out the convictions on the grounds of the unconstitutionality of the Smith Act. That's exactly what many liberals said previously in our case. We have cited the public record in some detail to demonstrate that the Smith Act has been used before; that the previous convictions under this Act were in the case of the 18 Trotskyists; and that the Supreme Court has already three times refused to rule against the Smith Act.

Yet the Stalinists, knowing full well that our case is the precedent for their prosecution under the Smith Act, are maintaining silence about the case of the 18. They are even attempting to rewrite history and expunge the records of the federal courts to make it appear as though this precedent did not even exist.

They are also trying to hide the despicable role played by the Communist Party when it attempted to sabotage the labor movement's fight against the Smith Act and to secure a pardon for us. A typical example of Stalinist propaganda at that period is an editorial, titled "Abyssmal Spectacle," in the *Daily Worker* of June 16, 1944. This editorial attacked by name George Baldanzi, Executive Vice President of the CIO Textile Workers, Samuel Wolchok, then President of the CIO Retail Clerks, Thomas De Lorenzo, President of Brewster Local 365, CIO United Auto Workers, Roger Baldwin of the ACLU, and Norman Thomas of the Socialist Party for speaking on behalf of the Minneapolis defendants at a New York mass meeting of the CRDC.

A POLITICAL WEAPON

"Any labor leader who defends them (the imprisoned Trotskyists) ought to be made to answer to his membership. By defending Trotskyists . . . such a labor leader abuses and misrepresents his membership. It is time to put a swift stop to that sort of thing," says the *Daily Worker* editorial. This was repeated in numerous articles in the Stalinist press and was stated by Stalinist leaders in the unions in trying to block resolutions of support for the Minneapolis victims.

The indictment of the SWP leaders clearly demonstrates that the Democratic administration from the beginning has used the Smith Act solely as a political weapon to silence opponents of its foreign and domestic policies. We voiced a socialist opposition to American imperialism entry into the Second World War. The Stalinists—for entirely different reasons than ours—are now voicing opposition to the present U. S. foreign policy.

As the first victims of the Smith "Gag" Act, we warned time and again that our case would be a precedent for victimizing others whose views the Administration did not approve. The Stalinist leaders, betraying the most elementary principles of labor solidarity and even opposing the defense of elementary rights of free press, speech and assembly, refused to heed our warning.

For our part, despite the stab-in-the-back the CP dealt us and the civil rights of labor generally, we now warn the labor movement and liberal public opinion not to be blinded by hatred of the notorious Stalinist policies to the danger their prosecution represents to the civil rights of all. The facts are that the CP leaders are being framed up for their opinions, in a politically-motivated trial under an unconstitutional law that would establish thought-control in the United States. We must fight against this frame-up not for the sake of the defendants, but for the sake of democratic rights.

We therefore urge the entire labor movement to organize in defense of the CP leaders and against a frame-up that will set a precedent for future frame-ups and suppression of opposition political views.

And further, as National Chairman of the Socialist Workers Party, I publicly renew our offer to the Communist Party, originally made July 28, 1948, at the time of the filing of the indictment, for a united front to fight for repeal of the Smith Act and in defense of its latest victims.

NEW YORK NMU MEMBERSHIP PUTS CHECK ON POLITICAL PURGE MOVES

(Continued from page 1)

that they are serious about maintaining democratic processes.

The Stalinists saw in this decision a turn of the tide in their favor. But their high hopes were rudely dashed when the meeting immediately proceeded to vote approval of the trial committee report, which recommended suspension for three Stalinists, but without impairing their shipping rights. The mildness of the recommendations, when compared with expulsion, and the fact that shipping rights were not revoked during the period of suspension, undoubtedly played a big part in the adoption of the report.

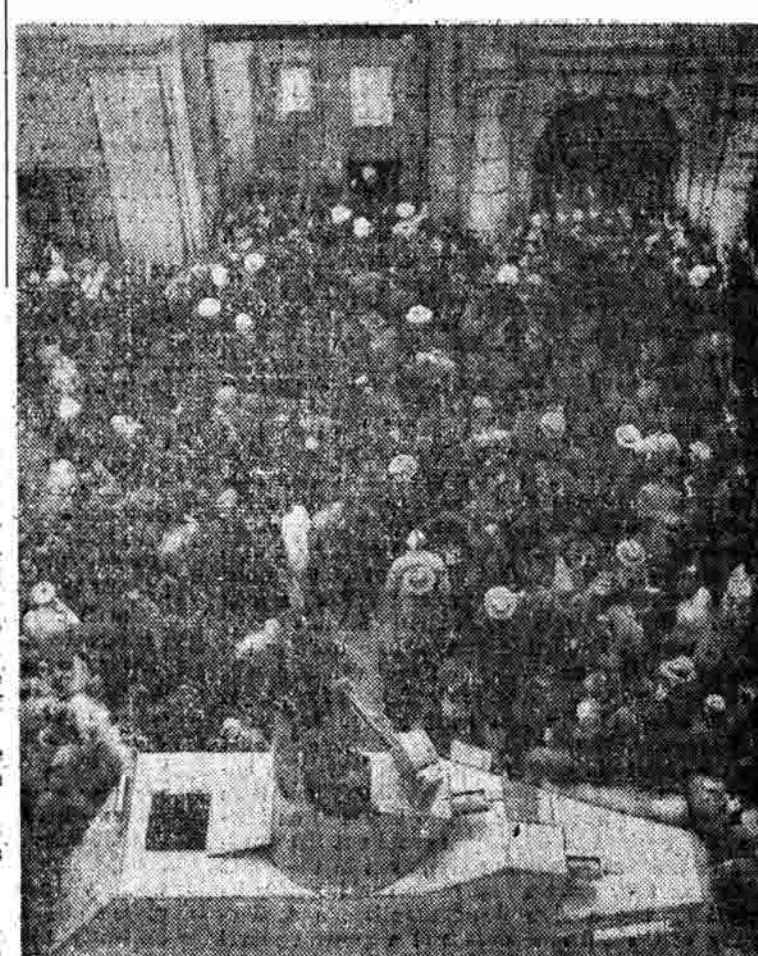
NEW MOVES

These developments represent a check by the members on the wholesale elimination of active Stalinists. However, during the past few weeks a number of resolutions have come from Gulf ports calling for a change in the constitution to make membership in the Communist Party incompatible with membership in the NMU.

These resolutions have been played up in *The Pilot*, the union's official paper. This seems to indicate the new line of attack favored by the Curran administration.

The NMU's great strength and appeal in the maritime industry

Storm Shanghai Banks



As the imminent collapse of the Chiang Kai-shek dictator became apparent to the civilians of Shanghai, some 200,000 stormed government banks to exchange paper money for gold bullion and silver dollars. Police supported by armored cars (foreground) attempted to disperse the crowd. Hundreds were injured and at least seven killed.

is its democratic structure, which excludes no seamen from its ranks. To change the constitution and bar Communists from membership and thus from the industry will be a stiff body blow to democratic unionism. It leads directly to machine-controlled unionism, something which was overwhelmingly rejected by the rank and file seamen when they threw the Stalinist leaders out of office.

The present democratic structure of the union is entirely adequate to deal with the beaten and discredited Stalinist gang whenever they violate the elementary discipline of the union.

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30-Hour Week and Morals

By Art Preis

One day after our Jan. 10 publication of an editorial advocating the 30-hour week with no reduction in weekly pay, that eminent Republican daily, the N. Y. Herald-Tribune, published what reads like a direct answer to us, an editorial entitled, "A Thirty-Hour Week?"

Of course, the Tribune cannot refute our arguments showing the economic advantages for the workers of the 30-hour week at the same take-home pay. It concedes that as "a palliative for a depression the thirty-hour week might be successful in spreading employment. It might maintain purchasing power at a crucial period of the economic cycle."

But keeping millions employed with no loss in purchasing power is a minor consideration for this mouth-piece of the employers. First of all, it opines, "there would be the immense administrative complications of staffing enterprises with men on such abbreviated shifts, as well as the dislocations caused by wages which did not fall proportionately with the cut in hours."

In short, the employers would have to hire more workers and raise hourly wage rates, thereby suffering a slice in their present all-time record profits — and that's bad, according to the Tribune. But this argument has too much of naked self-interest, so the Tribune comes out with the clincher, an argument right out of the Good Book, according to which "what profiteth a man if he gain the whole world, but lose his soul?" The editorial finds that it would be bad for the workers to have so much idle time on their hands, because you know what the Devil finds for people to do when they're just loafing around.

The worst thing of all, says the Tribune, "would be the social difficulties that would inevitably ensue when workers became something less than workers, and when their leisure bordered on idleness." It might be OK if you could put the workers to work at something else, "but in the great cities as they exist today there could hardly be anything but a slow demoralization, a debasement of the old standards and a general moral laxity."

Now the Herald-Tribune didn't invent this argument. In fact, Karl Marx, in his monumental book "Capital" back in the 1860's, traced this identical argument to the early beginnings of capitalism and showed how it was used to justify even working eight year old children until they dropped dead.

C. Curtis, in his January 1949 Fourth International magazine article, "The Position of the American Working Class — 100 Years After the Communist Manifesto," traces the subsequent history of this same argument in this country. During the struggle for the 10-hour day in 1870

in Massachusetts one employer stated "that he had 'invariably noticed that when men are kept at work until 10 P. M. they live in better health, as they keep indoors instead of sitting around doors smoking.' (The dissolute wretches!)"

In 1902 the president of the National Association of Manufacturers opposed an 8-hour day bill "as socialistic and converting the inalienable right of the individual to use his time as he saw fit." And 20 years later, a succeeding president of the NAM invoked the Lord and Holy Scripture in opposition to the five-day week, for "six days shalt thou labor and do all thy work! So reads the fifth of the great commandments and for sixty centuries it has been accepted as the divinely prescribed standard of economic effort. . . These constant attempts to amend the decalogue and to adapt by alterations the moral law to the appetites developed by easy and loose living constitute the outstanding peril of our unprecedented prosperity."

In 1929 — just before the economic crash and mass unemployment — another NAM spokesman expressed satisfaction that the workers "have for the most part been so busy at their jobs that they have not had time to saturate themselves with false theories of economics, social reform and of life. They have been protected in their natural growth by the absence of excessive leisure."

Curtis observes: "Some readers' credulity may perhaps be strained by these citations. . . These constant attempts to amend the decalogue and to adapt by alterations the moral law to the appetites developed by easy and loose living constitute the outstanding peril of our unprecedented prosperity."

Now there's one little question the Tribune doesn't answer. If the workers will suffer "moral laxity" and "debasement" working 30 hours a week, what will they suffer if they are unemployed and without any income? The latter is evidently the alternative the "moral" capitalist press prefers.

Of course, there are some idlers and loafers who might lend weight to the Tribune's argument. We refer to the idle rich. They flit from winter resort to summer resort and back again, steep themselves in vice and lap up all the good things of life that the labor of others creates. When you talk about these parasites, we'll agree that their work week is too short, and we'll make special efforts to discourage their moral laxity under socialism. But the Herald-Tribune considers socialism the most "immoral" condition of all. Which only goes to show how closely moral views relate to class interests.

No One Need Go Hungry

By Paul Abbott

Marxists have long contended that the capitalist system is responsible for continued hunger. Under a socialist economy that eliminates war and gives unlimited expansion to the productive forces, the Marxists point out, hunger can quickly be eliminated throughout the world.

In opposition, reactionaries have claimed that the food supply cannot keep up with the increase in population. Consequently, they claim, the population must be kept down, which of course is a neat argument to justify turning plows into guns and slaughtering tens of millions of human beings in imperialist war.

Last week two important items in the press gave additional confirmation to the Marxist view.

"We do not eat soil," Carl S. Miner, a 70-year-old specialist in industrial organic chemistry told the Society of Chemical Industry at a dinner in his honor. "The foods we eat are composed in largest percentage of carbon, hydrogen, oxygen and nitrogen, all of which elements are available in what appear to be ample quantities from air and water. The additional essential food elements of the inorganic class do not appear likely to become exhausted at such a rate as to affect importantly the starvation problem."

This scientist then outlined a whole series of projects whereby the food supply could be enormously increased. These include use of growth-provoking hormones, weed-killing herbicides, insecticides; the farming of seas, lakes and ponds; and even the production of edible food from petroleum hydrocarbons.

The second item is the report of two scientists, Dr. Melvin Calvin and Dr. Andrew Benson, who are working for the Atomic Energy Commission. They have been conducting research on photosynthesis, the mysterious process by which green plants manufacture food out of sunlight and

common elements.

When the secret of photosynthesis is discovered it will be possible to by-pass plants in the production of food. Through artificial photosynthesis factories will be able to duplicate the process by which, for example, sugar cane produces sugar, or wheat produces starch. Food could then be turned out in belt line quantities.

According to the columnist Stewart Alsop, who reports on the encouraging progress made in this research, "mass artificial production of food is theoretically possible in the same sense that the atomic bomb was theoretically possible before the Manhattan District came into existence. A somewhat comparable national effort would be necessary before artificial food production entered the realm of the practical at any time in the near future. Dr. Calvin guesses—and it is, of course, merely an informed guess—that with such an effort the trick might be turned in four or five years."

As is well known, it took \$2 billion to bring the first atomic bomb into existence. The capitalist government was willing to devote that sum on a weapon of destruction. Under socialism that effort would have been undertaken not to make bombs and radioactive clouds but to open up the dazzling possibilities of atomic energy for peaceful uses.

Today the capitalist government is not willing to invest \$2 billion on solving the secret of photosynthesis. Unless you can show Truman how photosynthesis can be tapped for bigger and better instruments of destruction that you can get out of atomic energy, the problem of food can wait. The \$15 billion for armaments next year is needed to prepare for something far more important to capitalism than ending hunger throughout the world.

Notes from the News

NO CRUSADE IN COLUMBIA — Columbia University President Eisenhower still has not replied to the request, made by Columbia's NAACP chapter a month ago, that he ban from the campus all fraternities discriminating against students for racial or religious reasons.

BIRDS OF A FEATHER — James Burnham, America's No. 1 propagandist for de Gaulle, has been given prominent space in the Social Democratic New Leader for a series of articles urging support for the general who wants to be fuhrer of France.

CAMPAIGN PROMISE — At last year's special session of the Republican-controlled Congress, July 27, Truman said: "I recommend that an excess profits tax be re-established in order to provide a Treasury surplus and provide a brake on inflation." His State of the Union message to the Democratic-controlled Congress on Jan. 6 of this year never even mentioned the subject.

ACADEMIC "FREEDOM" — Economics Professor Tucker Smith, Socialist Party candidate for vice-president last year, and four other professors have received notice of dismissal from Olivet College, Mich. No reason was offered, but all five victims of the academic axe are active members of the AFL Teachers Union.

TRENDS IN UE — In addition to the severe setback the Stalinists got in the big Westinghouse UE Local 601 in Pittsburgh, they were soundly defeated in the Schenectady GE local and Minneapolis Local 1140. Furthermore, the New Republic reports, in Dayton the anti-Stalinist group in the UE ran a write-in campaign that beat the business agent who had held office for 10 years. (At Westinghouse Local 601, however, the defeated Stalinist candidate for president was elected chief steward.)

NEW EDITOR FOR F.I. — George Clarke, who was National SWP Campaign Manager in 1948,

assumes the post of editor of the monthly Marxist magazine, Fourth International, beginning with the new (Feb.) issue.

77 JOBS ANYHOW — Connecticut Labor Commissioner Egan made an unqualified prediction of a recession in Connecticut within the next few months. In a speech at the state CIO convention he said unemployment has risen 108% in the last year and is still rising. Although he admitted he had no solution, he did plead for 77 more clerks so that unemployment checks can be mailed out in four weeks instead of eight.

'LOYALTY' PURGE LOGIC — The AFL Cleveland Citizen's editorial on the Katcher case ended with the following ironic remark: "Now all the Justice Department has to do is put the Democratic Party on the subversive blacklist and we will have an entirely new administration."

DEPARTMENT STORE FIGHT — Since CP-dominated locals broke from the CIO retail clerks union and the CIO gave jurisdiction over department stores and clerks to the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, both the AFL Teamsters Union and the AFL retail clerks international have announced big organizing drives in this field. In New York, the Stalinist-led independent union has now secured a two-year contract with Gimbel's and Saks-34th St., and will be on the ballot along with the CIO and AFL clerks' union in an NLRB election at Macy's next month.

DIXIE DEMOCRACY — The Georgia legislature, carrying out Gov. Herman Talmadge's white-supremacy program, is preparing to pass a poll tax and new rules for "voters' qualifications" which would drastically reduce the number of voters, especially Negroes.

NEW ADA CHIEF — Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey, darling of the union leaders and Social Democrats, has been chosen as chairman of the Americans for Democratic Action.

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THE MILITANT

Little Discussion Of Problems at Conn. CIO Parley

HARTFORD, Jan. 16—After a total of 20 minutes' discussion from the floor during two full days' sessions, the 11th Annual Convention of the Connecticut CIO adjourned this afternoon. Ironically enough, there were only two speakers who held the full attention of the delegates—Chester Bowles and James Katcher.

In his written report President Mitchell Sviridoff had warned the Democratic Party, state and national, to keep its campaign promises or "Labor will of necessity look elsewhere in its future political efforts." But his statement to the delegates that "Bowles is the real hero of this convention" turned out to be the overwhelming theme.

Gov. Chester (Little FDR) Bowles, speaking at the convention, admitted that before the election he was resigned to leading a "strong minority party" and that it was only the intervention of the "fellows sitting here" that saved his political neck.

But Bowles warned sharply that the convention should not expect a "labor's program" but a "people's program." In explaining what he meant by that, he said labor must never forget that capitalists are entitled to a "generous profit."

There was no organized opposition on a state-wide scale at this convention. One motion that would in effect have taken the post of secretary-treasurer out of the hands of paid officials and made it available to rank-and-file members, failed in utter confusion because opposition delegates were completely unprepared.

Similarly, an attempt by UAW delegates to make a public demonstration against "piece-work" contracts signed in this state, also came to naught. When these delegates threatened to protest against these contracts by abstaining on Sviridoff's candidacy for CIO president, UAW Regional Director Kerrigan moved in and prevented the holding of a state-wide UAW caucus meeting. The abstention move was thus nipped in the bud although it did not satisfy the opponents of the rotten contracts.

"DIDN'T HAVE TIME"

While capitalist politicians were given unlimited time, a resolution for a Congress of Labor was bottled up in committee. After the Resolutions Committee unanimously recommended favorable action on a resolution advocating a Congress of Labor to force the Democratic Party to live up to its election promises, the convention found it "didn't have time" to consider it. It was referred to the incoming State CIO Council.

Things got so bad in this respect that the officers' reports were accepted on Saturday and delivered on Sunday. The Secretary-Treasurer's report was given with a total of 25 out of 310 delegates in their seats. The incumbent slate of officers was elected finally without an opposing nomination.

From an imposing force only two years ago the Stalinists were reduced to absolute zero. The few locals in the state they do influence did not take part in the convention.

Connecticut CIO Backs Veteran

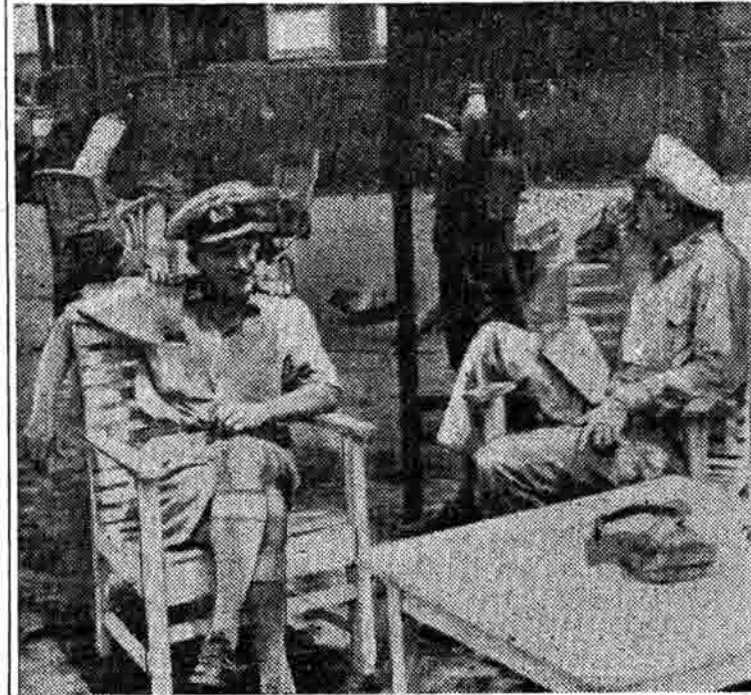
(Continued from Page 1) to any other individual who is being persecuted solely because of his ideas and who is denied a chance to defend them in a democratic way. I feel I am making this fight, not only for myself, but for all other government workers who are threatened with similar victimization."

ON RADIO TOO

The delegates gave the legless veteran a thundering ovation as he finished his talk. They voted a contribution of \$100 to the defense fund and support to the Katcher Civil Rights Committee. According to Secretary-Treasurer John J. Driscoll, every local in the state CIO organization will be asked to give moral and financial aid to Katcher's fight.

Shortly before addressing the CIO convention, Katcher and Novack had set forth the facts

By-Passed



When the Dutch by-passed the United Nations and launched blitzkrieg war on the Indonesian Republic, these UN observers took it easy at a Java airport. They were supposed to report back to the UN Security Council on the invasion, but the Dutch imperialists refused to permit them freedom of travel.

Trial of C.P. Threatens The Rights of All Labor

(Continued from page 1)

defense lawyers sits at their elbows.

Two lawyers from the Department of Justice in Washington sit with the staff of the federal prosecutor.

Federal Judge Harold R. Medina, presiding over the trial, has so far done most of the arguing against defense counsel, while the federal prosecutor has rarely spoken.

The first three days have been devoted entirely to legal argument over defense motions to postpone the trial. Although the argument is still going on, it appears certain that the prosecutor and judge are determined to go right through the trial without delay.

TRIAL BY PREJUDICE

The defense opened with a protest against the manner in which the trial has begun. The government propaganda against the defendants has led to an all-out smear campaign in the press and over the radio. Prospective jurors are subjected to this atmosphere of hysteria which becomes still thicker as they pass through the heavy police lines to enter the court house. An attitude of prejudice against the defendants is thereby implanted in the minds of the jurors, depriving the defendants of their constitutional right to be considered innocent until proven guilty.

Judge Medina overruled the protest, as he did the request for a bill of particulars to clarify the vague indictment and enable preparation of a defense against the government's charges.

Now under debate is a defense challenge of the anti-democratic system of hand-picked federal grand juries and trial juries. Evidence is introduced to show that jury panels are predominantly composed of people from the silk-stocking districts, with only token representation from working class neighborhoods and from among racial minorities.

To make sure the "right people" are picked, a special type of tele-

phone directory is used. It is indexed according to addresses, instead of the usual alphabetical listing of names, facilitating selection of persons from "suitable" neighborhoods. Also used are Who's Who, the Social Register, lists of college graduates and Poor's Directory of business men. Nobody seems to doubt that the challenge will be overruled and the jury selected from the hand-picked panel.

ANOTHER FALSITY

Still another frameup is perpetrated by the government when it accuses the Stalinists in the indictment of "advocating the principles of Marxism-Leninism." They are not and cannot be Marxists-Leninists precisely because they are Stalinists.

The Stalinists betray the interests of the working people to serve the gang of murderers in the Kremlin who have usurped power in the Soviet Union. Marxism-Leninism teaches unwavering loyalty to the working class.

The Stalinists betrayed the struggle to defend civil rights in America by cheering the conviction and imprisonment during the war of 18 Trotskyists under the same Smith Act that is now used against them, and they sought by every foul means to sabotage efforts to secure a presidential pardon for the imprisoned Trotskyists. Marxism-Leninism teaches solidarity of the labor movement in united front struggle to defend democratic rights from attack by the capitalist government.

WHY THEY WAITED

In the present trial, the Stalinists, for unprincipled and treacherous factional reasons, seek to conceal the fact of the Trotskyist conviction under the Smith Act. They do so when broad public knowledge of the true history of that infamous thought-control law would serve as a powerful means to arouse the American workers to the need for solidarity in defense of their democratic rights. Marxism-Leninism teaches honesty and truthfulness in talking to the workers.

By their treachery, lies, slanders, deceptions and repeated betrayals of the workers, the Stalinists have aroused the wholly justified hatred of millions of workers and have thereby aided the government in whipping up a lynch spirit against them. Thus the government is able to obtain worker-support for their witch hunt against the Stalinists and then use the precedents so established for an attack on the rights of the whole working class.

This deception of the workers by the government is further proven by the language of the indictment. The question might be asked, "Since the Smith Act became law in 1940, and the Trotskyists were convicted under it in 1941, why did the government wait until 1948 to indict the Stalinists?"

The government got around that question by dating the charges against the Stalinists "from on or about April 1, 1945." That is, coincident with the expulsion of Browder and the reorganization

A postwar peak in unemployment—possibly four million jobless by this spring—is predicted by government and labor economists in Washington, reports a Jan. 14 United Press dispatch.

According to the Bureau of Employment Security, unemployment benefit claims are rising more rapidly than in 1946 during reconversion lay-offs. All but five of the 48 states reported a rise in claims for the week ended Jan. 1—the fifth weekly consecutive increase.

This year's first reports from several key states show a continuing rise in layoffs. For the week ending Jan. 8, some 58,000 persons were added to unemployment insurance and veterans compensation rolls in New York State, bringing the total to 468,000. The increase in three months is almost 70%.

Relief applications in New York City rose 17% in the five weeks ending Jan. 1. Welfare Department Commissioner Hilliard reports. He notes that "the public assistance rolls follow the unemployment insurance rolls after a lag of six to nine months." Only when workers exhaust their unemployment insurance and still cannot find jobs do they seek relief.

A report by New York State Industrial Commissioner Corsi

says that "lack of orders" is the principal reason given for layoffs in scores of industrial plants. Officials admit that the unemployment figures do not tell the full story, since many factories are operating on a two and three-day basis while others are operating on a skip-week basis. In the two weeks ending Jan. 5 a total of 41,000 were dropped from unemployment insurance rolls because they had drawn their full benefits. Thousands of unemployed are not reported because they are not covered by the unemployment insurance system.

"WILL RISE FURTHER"

In the month of December, unemployment compensation claims jumped from 60,000 to 105,000 in Michigan, according to the latest Michigan Unemployment Compensation Commission report. For the one week ending Jan. 5, such claims rose 10% in Massachusetts, with 11,000 more jobless being added to the rolls. The total figure is expected to reach 125,000 by Jan. 12, according to preliminary reports. Heaviest layoffs are in textile and shoe manufacturing. The December "Labor Market Information" bulletin of the Ohio State Employment Service reported: "Job-seekers registered with OSES jumped one-fourth in 30 days . . . to 73,000 on Dec. 1. . . . Unemployment will probably rise further in January and February."

All reports claim there is nothing to be "alarmed" about—yet. But neither are they making any claims that the present upward trend in unemployment won't continue. At any rate, labor can't say it isn't getting advance warning of large-scale unemployment ahead. Wisdom dictates immediate preparations.

First of all, every union has the duty to protect its unemployed members. Unemployment and placement committees should be set up in every local to aid jobless members in getting prompt payment of unemployment insurance or in securing relief without a runaround.

WORK WEEK REDUCTION

The unions should now fight in earnest for the inclusion in their contracts of protective clauses providing for a sliding scale of hours, an automatic reduction in the work week with no loss of weekly pay in the event the employer insists he hasn't enough work to keep all employees on the job.

Nationally, the labor movement should mobilize a united aggressive campaign for the 30-hour week, six-hour day with no reduction in take-home pay. This demand, long in the programs of almost all the unions, was put into cold storage during the war. With mass unemployment once more becoming a serious threat, this demand must now become a fighting slogan.

At the same time, a serious struggle must be launched for a adequate unemployment compensation — equal to full trade union wages for all unemployed for the full period they are out of work. Present compensation ranges from \$4 to \$26 a week for six to 26 weeks, according to the state. Even the present highest compensation is nothing but a hunger ration. It barely tides a worker over a few weeks of temporary unemployment when jobs are plentiful. It spells slow starvation in a period of prolonged mass unemployment.

That is why the Socialist Workers Party, despite its irreconcilable political hostility toward the treacherous Stalinists, has offered to make a united front with the Communist Party to fight for repeal of the Smith Act and in defense of its latest victims.

That is why the Socialist Workers Party calls upon all true believers in the protection of democratic rights against government usurpation to join in this fight.

Detroit SWP to Celebrate National Negro History Week

The Detroit Branch of the Socialist Workers Party will celebrate National Negro History Week with a meeting Sun., Feb. 6, 3 P.M., at its headquarters, 6108 Linwood Avenue. Speakers will discuss past struggles of the Negro people and practical program to stop Detroit police brutality. Refreshments will be served and the public is invited.

READ

Fourth International

Committee to Help Katcher Formed In So. California

LOS ANGELES, Jan. 15—At a luncheon talk before the newly-formed Southern California Katcher Civil Rights Committee, Loren Miller, prominent attorney and NAACP leader, stated that it is the duty and obligation of every American citizen to lend all possible support to the struggle of James Katcher to regain his human and civil rights.

Members of the local committee include such well-known members of the community as author Carey McWilliams; A. L. Wirin, ACLU counsel; attorney Clore Warne; Dr. Stephen Fritchman of the First Unitarian Church; Lee Merriweather of AVC Chapter 24; Hyman Schneid of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers; and Cass Alvin of the United Steel Workers.