

POLITICAL AFFAIRS *A Marxist magazine*

devoted to the advancement of democratic thought and action

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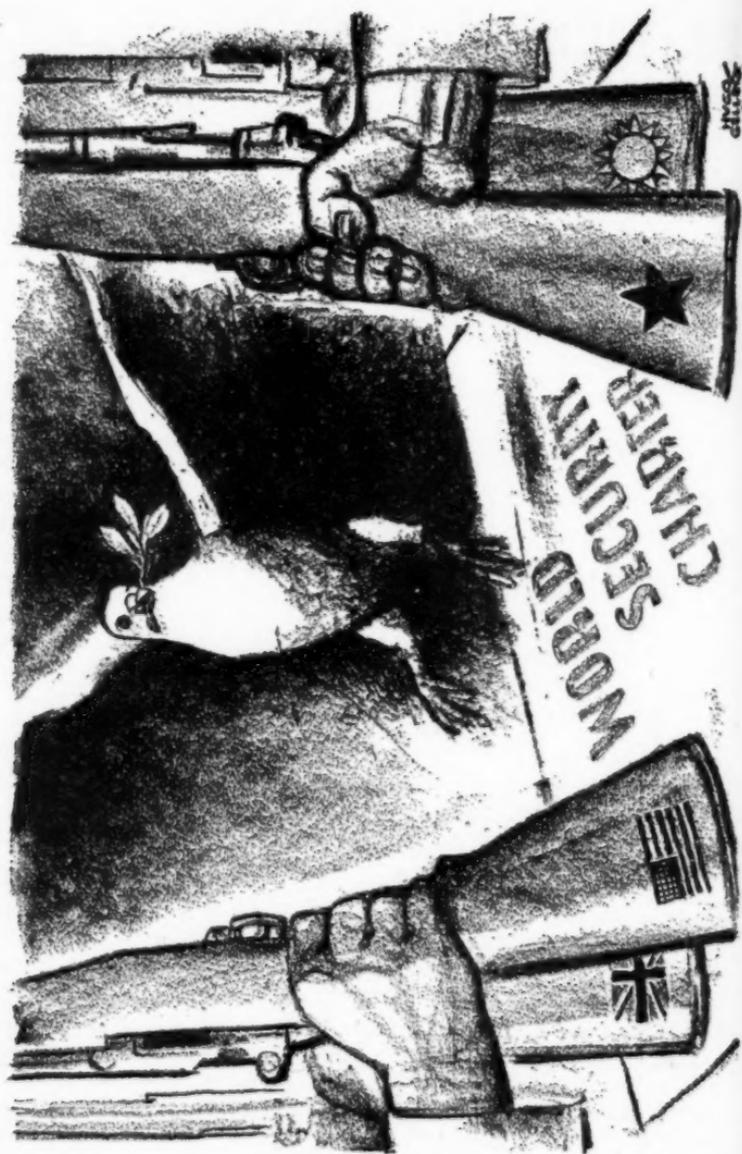
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SAN FRANCISCO BALANCE SHEET

BY FREDERICK V. FIELD



THE CHARTER of the United Nations organization, drafted at San Francisco, provides the essential elements for checking aggression in the post-war world. It also provides means whereby some of the most flagrant economic sources of international insecurity may be mitigated. At the very time when the remnants of Nazi militarism were surrendering to the Allied powers, the United States, Britain, and the Soviet Union, associated with 47 other nations, thus took an historic step toward preventing the recurrence of another such war.

Some months earlier, shortly after the conclusion of the Dumbarton Oaks conference, Marshal Stalin was asked how future German aggression could be prevented and how aggression, should it break out, could be effectively and swiftly curtailed to prevent it developing into a big war. He replied: "to establish a special organization made up of representatives of the peace-loving nations to uphold peace and safeguard security; to put the necessary minimum of armed forces required for the averting of aggression at the disposal of the directing body of this

organization, and to obligate this organization to employ these armed forces without delay if it becomes necessary to avert or stop aggression and punish culprits."

The Charter now before the American Senate and the governments of the other 49 nations for ratification meets these essential conditions. In urging support for the Charter the chairman of the American delegation, Edward R. Stettinius, now United States representative to the United Nations organization, has pointed out that the Charter is far from perfect. If one reads the several speeches delivered by chiefs of delegations on the closing day of the San Francisco Conference one finds in them a similar theme which was repeated in the address of President Truman.

To say that the United Nations Charter is not a perfect document, to point out, as did many delegates, that it represents a compromise at some point or other on the part of every single nation is to commend it for its realism. The fact that the Charter does not completely meet the desires of any one nation is merely a reflection of the coexistence

of nations in various stages of economic, social and political development.

A document which any one of the participating nations could have hailed as perfect would have been unrealistic, something apart from the realities of the world situation. As the Soviet government newspaper *Izvestia* commented on the day following the close of the conference, [The Charter] represents the solution of a great problem which heretofore had never been successfully solved. Perhaps to some this solution may not seem ideal. But so far it is the best possible solution."

It has been repeatedly emphasized by leaders of the United Nations that the Charter is at most nothing but a good document which provides the means whereby world security can be maintained. And correctly so. For it is well known that a document may mean one thing to one person or nation and quite a different thing to another. We have recent and dramatic instances of this. The Yalta formula calling for the expansion of the provisional government of Poland to include other democratic Polish elements was for several critical months stubbornly interpreted by Prime Minister Churchill to justify his support of all the pro-fascist, reactionary Polish scoundrels that could be found in the garbage heaps of Europe.

Or, to cite another example, the provisions in the American Constitution guaranteeing equality to all

persons is a tragic farce to the American-Mexican who is not allowed in certain movie houses, swimming pools or restaurants in our Southwest and to the American Negro soldier who is Jim Crowed in the very performance of his heroic duty on the battlefields.

When President Truman reminded the delegates at San Francisco that "The successful use of this instrument [the Charter] will require the united will and firm determination of the free peoples who have created it," he was expressing a fundamental truism. In the hands of the Hoover-Dewey-Vandenberg clique in the United States, under the guidance of regimes like that currently terrorizing the people of Argentina, with the dominant leadership of such representatives of feudal reaction as Señor Ezequiel Padilla of Mexico or the present government of Bolivia or the Tory Rightists in Britain or the medievalists of Chungking the United Nations Charter would become an instrument of reaction.

Its viability, therefore, rests upon the continued and growing strength of those forces in the world who genuinely desire national and international security and who strive for that cooperation among nations necessary to achieve it.

* * *

The documentary outcome of the San Francisco Conference consists

of the Charter of the United Nations, comprising 19 chapters, the Statute of the International Court of Justice, the principal judicial organ of the United Nations, and Interim Arrangements to provide continuity between UNCIO and the time when the United Nations organization, having been duly ratified by the required number of nations, formally comes into being.

The heart and life-blood of the new organization is to be found in its governing body, the Security Council; its body and limbs are the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, the International Court of Justice, and an international Secretariat.

The over-all purposes of the organization are expressed in a preamble and in Chapter I, Purposes and Principles. These, however, are amplified and more specifically expressed in three other sections of the charter: Article 55 of Chapter IX defines the objectives to be promoted by the Economic and Social Council; Chapter XI expresses certain obligations assumed by the member nations regarding all dependent peoples; and Article 76 of Chapter XII puts forward "the basic objectives of the trusteeship system" to be administered by the Trusteeship Council.

The texts themselves should be consulted by every reader, but for the sake of emphasis the following sections are quoted:

The purposes of the United Nations are:

1. To maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace;

2. To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples. . . .

3. To achieve international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion; and

4. To be a center for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends.

In defining the purposes of the Economic and Social Council the Charter again refers to "the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples" and repeats the phrase "fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion." It further states that "the United Nations shall promote" such ends as higher standards of living, full employment, and other social and economic objectives.

The highly disputed section covering all dependent peoples is conspic-

uous by the absence of the word "independence." It recognizes "the principle that the interests of the inhabitants of these territories are paramount" and accepts "as a sacred trust the obligation to promote to the utmost... the well-being of the inhabitants..." The United Nations, aside from promising to ensure the cultural, political and economic advancement of dependent peoples and agreeing to make regular reports to the world organization, oblige themselves

To develop self-government, to take due account of the political aspirations of the peoples, and to assist them in the progressive development of their free political institutions, according to the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples and their varying stages of advancement. . . .

As a distinguished American Negro remarked during the conference, "If the delegates are as anxious to get rid of the White Man's Burden as they pretend to be instead of going through all of this nonsense it would be much easier if they simply removed the burden from the backs of the colonial people."

The section giving the objectives of the trusteeship system goes further than the section dealing with all dependent peoples in one very important respect. It states as one of its purposes the promotion of "progressive development toward self-government or independence" (emphasis mine—F.V.F.). In view of the rather important fact that no people or ter-

ritory was assigned to the Trusteeship Council and that no one anticipates the assignment of any but the most remote and politically unimportant areas in the future, the inclusion of "independence" in this section is hardly inspiring.

* * *

How is it proposed to carry out the various purposes of the United Nations organization?

"The heart and soul of the new organization is the Security Council, of which the United States, Great Britain, the USSR, China and France are the permanent members," says the *Izvestia* editorial of June 27. This is the body upon which the success or failure of the United Nations depends. Unless it can prevent the growth of new sources of world infection the other organs of the new organization, the Assembly, Economic and Social Council, Secretariat or Trusteeship Council, will labor in vain. Unless peace and security, world cooperation and the principles of justice, equality and non-discrimination can be upheld, all other objectives stated in the Charter will remain pious words.

The essence of the Security Council is its five permanent members, the United States, Britain, the Soviet Union, France and China, and the principle of unanimity in voting on all questions requiring decision which binds them together. These countries account for nearly half the

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population of the world. They possess overwhelming economic and military strength. On them must fall the major responsibility for maintaining peace as it has for winning the war. Should these nations, and especially the Big 3 which dominate the coalition, fall apart the basic premise of world security would have been shattered, the most perfect conceivable international organization would be incapable of handling the conflict.

In placing these nations in the Security Council as permanent members and in providing for their unanimous consent to any matter involving enforcement, the United Nations have done no more than express the realities of present international relationships. But these realities they have recognized. In doing so they achieved the greatest victory of the San Francisco Conference.

With them on the Security Council will be associated six other nations to be elected at regular intervals by the General Assembly. In selecting these nations, however, the Assembly is instructed to preserve the principle of associating responsibility with the ability to carry out that responsibility. Due regard is to be paid "in the first instance to the contribution of Members of the United Nations to the maintenance of international peace and security and to the other purposes of the Organization, and also to equitable geographical distribution." This means, to take an example from the

western hemisphere, that a nation like Brazil which has made a substantial contribution to the war against the fascists and which is undergoing a rapid process of internal democratization, would have obvious preference over a nation like Argentina which was sneaked into the back door of the United Nations at the last minute and which has consistently sabotaged world security.

While any one of the permanent members on the Security Council may veto decisions regarding enforcement action, the unanimous affirmative vote of all five permanent members may also be vetoed by the negative vote of any five of the six non-permanent members. For the voting procedure on decisions requires "an affirmative vote of seven members including the concurring votes of the permanent members."

The power of the Big 5 is tempered at those points where the anticipated strain upon world relations will be less severe. On all procedural matters the affirmative vote of *any* seven members is sufficient. Moreover, when a question is merely at the stage of discussion, that is before negotiations reach the point where a decision must be taken, no one nation has the right to prevent that discussion from taking place or from continuing. Finally, in cases of disputes which are to be settled by peaceful means (rather than by means of enforcement) any party or parties to the dispute who happen

to be on the Security Council must abstain from voting. Thus in a situation to be settled by peaceful means involving one of the Big 5 that nation abstains and the rule calling for the concurring votes of the permanent members applies only to the remaining four.

Marshal Stalin, in the statement already quoted, called for an armed force readily available to the directing body of the world organization and for obligating the organization to use this force without delay to curb threats to security. President Roosevelt frequently expressed the same idea, noting that such provisions would overcome one of the major defects of the old League of Nations. The new Charter meets these requirements.

Under it the Security Council is provided with a Military Staff Committee composed of the chiefs of staff of the five permanent members. The organization is further empowered to enter into treaties with all of its members providing for the allocation of armed forces and other forms of military assistance to the use of the United Nations. These military adjuncts of the Security Council can then be brought into immediate action under the Military Staff Committee upon the decision of the Security Council.

It goes without saying that the use of military force by the new organization is a case of last resort. Before employing its military arm the Security Council is authorized to

invoke all forms of economic and diplomatic sanctions.

It is not necessary to describe in detail the functions of the other principal organs of the United Nations organization. As we have stated, the others are subordinate to the Security Council in the sense that nothing will work if the Security Council fails. Such organs as the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, the General Assembly and the International Court deserve, however, special treatment which, we hope, the pages of this magazine will in due course include. For the purposes of the present article it will suffice if we refer indirectly to these other aspects of the Charter in the following section which deals with some of the struggles which took place during the drafting at San Francisco.

* * *

San Francisco was a testing ground for the new relationship of world forces released by the downfall of Hitler's armies. All those sectors of world capitalism which, while fighting against Hitlerism, had done so reluctantly and from imperialist motives were in the process of reorganizing themselves for a struggle against democracy. The correctness of the draft resolution of the National Board of the C.P.A. which says: "From the very inception of the struggle against fascism, American finance capital feared the democratic consequences of defeating Hitler

Germany" was demonstrated at UNCIO.

All the great struggles of the conference revolved around the effort of imperialism to reassert itself against the forces of democracy to which the war had given such impetus. This effort was symbolized by and achieved its greatest success in the seating of fascist Argentina and in the exclusion of democratic Poland. The Farrell-Peron regime represented a place d'armes of reaction and fascism in the postwar world. The Warsaw Polish government represented the democratic realities of a Europe finding the way to peace and security. Poland reflected the changing character of nations liberated from fascism; Argentina the oppression of fascism itself. As on so many occasions at San Francisco on the Argentine and Polish issues the Soviet Union stood forth as the leading champion of democracy.

There is no doubt that on April 25 when the Conference opened there was present at UNCIO a small but shrewd minority of delegates intent upon using the occasion to promote a Third World War. This articulate and conscious minority was able to associate with it on several occasions a much larger, but less coherent group, which for a variety of reasons was willing to follow a reactionary leadership. The motives of this larger group ranged from political dependence upon feudalism or upon colonialism to slavish devo-

tion to monopoly capitalism, from personal ambition, opportunism and careerism to ignorance and inexperience.

If the motives of the larger secondary group are difficult to define those of the reactionary leadership are not. They were governed by a consuming hatred of Socialism as exemplified by the Soviet Union and as conceived in their own twisted minds by every democratic advance of the people. These were the spokesmen for the trusts. These were the agents who would embrace the fascist whore rather than remain wed to democracy. They were men who are not merely so frightened by the vanguard of democracy that they run to reaction. They were fascists at heart.

These pro-fascist reactionaries employed a resourceful strategy at San Francisco. No doubt a few of the most fanatical of the lot hoped that the juncture of the western and eastern Allies in Germany would lead, not to the joyous welcome of comrades in arms, but to an immediate turning of the war against the Red Army on the soil of the defeated Nazis. But the principal objective of their work at San Francisco was more reasoned. It was to force such amendments to the Dumbarton Oaks and Yalta proposals as to make of the new world organization an international instrument pointed against the Soviet Union.

The fulfillment of this strategy required them to strike at the heart

of the plan for world security drafted by President Roosevelt and Marshal Stalin, to which Prime Minister Churchill had acquiesced. The heart of that plan being unanimity among the five leading powers and especially among the Big 3, the authority of the Security Council and its ability to act quickly and decisively, and the projection of broad principles of international conduct which would encourage and fortify the people of the world, these were the very things which they most vigorously attacked.

The attack on the Security Council took a number of directions. Efforts were made (1) to weaken the authority of the Security Council by broadening those of the General Assembly; (2) to lessen its jurisdiction by providing that the International Court have compulsory jurisdiction over disputes, even those of a political nature; (3) to enlarge the size of the Security Council and thereby reduce the power of the five permanent members; (4) to elevate the authority of regional blocs so that they would challenge the efforts of the world organization; and (5) to destroy the unanimity principle among the Big 5 by making all decisions of the Security Council subject to the vote of any seven members or even of a mere majority.

Other attacks were launched against vital points in the United Nations organization. The notorious "Vandenberg amendment" was an attempt to give specific authority to

the organization to revise the treaties which the Soviet Union had negotiated with its neighbors and with Great Britain and France in liquidation of Nazism and as protection against its resurrection. Under the demagogic slogan of "peaceful change" the reactionary American leader sought to turn the world organization into its opposite. All the anti-fascist forces at UNCIO wanted an organization capable of progressively adjusting itself and the international scene to an increasingly democratic future. Vandenberg wanted an instrument which could be used to erase the democratic steps which the United Nations had already taken.

Another line of attack taken by reaction was on the question of amending the Charter. Having failed in their immediate purpose, these gentlemen argued for adoption of an amending procedure whereby their defeat could be liquidated as soon as they had opportunity to regroup their pro-fascist forces. They therefore tried to make it mandatory upon the United Nations to hold a constitutional convention for the purpose of revising the Charter at a stated date in the near future and at the same time to provide that amendments could be adopted without the concurrence of the Big 5. Had such proposals been accepted the work accomplished at San Francisco would have been in jeopardy the day after the conference adjourned.

The question as to whether or not one of the objectives which the new Economic and Social Council was pledged to promote should be full employment brought the reactionary gang out into the full limelight. Among the leading opponents of the elementary democratic right of full employment were the American delegation under the spell of the reactionary wizard Vandenberg; the Canadians, whose spokesman on that issue was M. J. Coldwell, leader of the Dubinskys, John L. Lewises and Norman Thomases of that country; the South Africans whose discrimination against their black majority reads like some page out of the middle ages; and the peers of the British Empire.

The shamelessness of reaction's victory in seating fascist Argentina had served, however, to readjust the balance at San Francisco in favor of unity and progress. The latter had scored an early victory, even before the Argentine question came up. Its significance was little understood at the time. At the very first meeting of the conference Steering Committee Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov put forward the proposal for a joint four-power chairmanship of UNCIO as against the effort of the United States, Britain and their satellites to turn this powerful position over to Mr. Stettinius alone. American and British spokesman sought to conceal the strategic and political importance of the chairmanship with talk of diplomatic courtesy and internation-

al protocol. The Soviet leader sought to establish the principle of big power unity in electing the conference leadership. His victory on this matter was of the first importance.

Democracy and unity won out on the major issues involving the composition and authority of the Security Council, amendments, and the principles to guide the work of the Economic and Social Council. The importance of these victories should not be underestimated; for they assured a basically sound Charter.

However, it was not on all important matters involved in the drafting of the Charter that democracy won out at the UNCIO. In now estimating the problems we face it is well to examine one or two of the places where the forces of unity and progress failed. One such place, to which we have already alluded, was on the question of the colonial peoples. San Francisco made hardly a dent on the colonial system. The colonial overlords left that city for their imperial capitals with scarcely a hair out of place. On the contrary there could be discerned a smug contentment on their lordly countenances as they departed confident in the thought that the very failure of the conference to inaugurate the liquidation of colonialism gave that shameful institution a new lease on life.

While it is not reflected in the Charter, the issue of colonialism was sharply raised during the debates at

San Francisco. Chairman Molotov of the Soviet delegation not only came out strongly for the right of all dependent peoples to be free, but he also linked their liberation with the needs of world security. He was backed by the Ukrainian and Byelorussian Republics, by the delegations from liberated European countries, by the Philippine group and to a certain extent even by the Chinese. The debate therefore reflected the struggle between the two worlds in which the United Nations coalition is divided, the world of imperialism and the world of socialism. The presence of the Soviet Union in the Trusteeship Council which UNCIO set up is a guarantee that the issue of colonial liberation will always be placed before the court of public opinion.

Another very important victory scored by reaction was in excluding from UNCIO the 60 million strong World Federation of Trade Unions. In supporting the Charter before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on July 13, President Philip Murray of the C.I.O. stated:

It is, however, unfortunate that the representatives of the world organized labor movement were not given recognition at the San Francisco conference and afforded the opportunity in a consultative capacity to express the viewpoint of labor and participate in the forging of the charter of world peace.

This error cannot be repeated, without disastrous consequences, in the work of the United Nations Organization.

The manner in which the WFTU was excluded at UNCIO was highly irregular. The conference Steering Committee, under the chairmanship of Edward R. Stettinius, had informed the various technical committees that each was free to bring into its sessions in a consultative capacity such organizations as it might regard useful. Committee 3 of Commission II, which was dealing with problems of economic and social cooperation, voted to invite the WFTU. Under Stettinius' initiative the Steering Committee thereupon rescinded its previous ruling on this matter and withdrew the invitation to the WFTU. The vote, though not made public, is believed to have been 33 to 10 in support of Stettinius' position. No reason for the action, no plausible reason that is, was ever given.

The Soviet writer, I. Nikolayev, presented a sharp analysis of this question which appeared in *The Worker* of July 8. He quotes the British delegate, Clement R. Atlee, as explaining that "The United Nations Conference is not the concern of the trade unions but exclusively of the governments." Nikolayev then writes:

Every government that fought Hitler Germany highly appreciated and in every way encouraged the participation of the workers and their organizations in the war effort of the United Nations. But now that the workers and their organizations have assisted the United Nations in vanquishing the

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dangerous foe and in proceeding to tackle the peace arrangements problem, *certain politicians are already inclined to consider that "the Moor has done his work, the Moor may go."* (Emphasis mine.—F. V. F.)

Nikolayev points out that the United Nations cannot possibly perform the task of organizing international peace and security without bringing the working population into close cooperation with the governments. He cites an example: "if by decision of the Security Council economic sanctions are taken against an aggressor, upon whom will the chief burden arising out of the application of these sanctions fall? Upon the workers, of course. How then can it be asserted that even this question 'is not the concern of the trade unions?'"

The defeat of the democratic forces on such issues as colonialism and the participation of workers' organizations reveals a strategy of reaction. Of all the issues which came before the San Francisco meeting these were the two which involved the participation of the great masses of the world's population in the work of organizing international security. In both instances this participation was denied. The 750 million colonial people are to be kept enslaved, they are to be kept off the highway of democracy. The organized workers have made their contribution, now let them be discarded! That is the strategy of reaction. That

was their their temporary triumph at San Francisco.

* * *

We have noted that the Vandenberg and the Padillas and the British lords are shrewd and resourceful. In the work of drafting a Charter they won on the important points just mentioned, but they lost on their primary aims. The essential requirements of a world security organization as outlined by President Roosevelt and Marshal Stalin were written into the United Nations Charter. Reaction was routed on the crucial sector of the fascist front.

It cannot thereby be said that reaction has been overwhelmed. Beaten on one sector, it fights the more desperately on others. This became apparent while the San Francisco Conference was still in session—and for more reasons than the setback world security sustained on the issues of colonialism and workers' participation.

The admission of Argentina's fascist government to the world organization had a profound meaning. It signified that reaction had the power to violate the principle of big power unity, that it was capable of organizing a solid bloc of reactionary votes, that in order to combat the influence of democracy it was perfectly willing to deal openly with fascism, that it had sufficient strength to utilize a gathering of the nations which were defeating fascism on the battlefields

for the purpose of salvaging its economics and its politics.

The Argentine issue must be seen alongside the Polish question; the officially inspired anti-Soviet campaign; the imperialist struggle over Lebanon; the efforts to make deals with Nazism in Germany itself; the reactionary electoral speeches of Churchill; the powerful movement in the United States on the part of many industrialists, State Department officials, newspapers and others to appease Japan; and the international conspiracy to subsidize the feudal-militarist regime of Chiang Kai-shek against the people of China.

The Argentine question was brought directly into the San Francisco Conference, the others were part of the poisonous political atmosphere that was consciously created by reactionaries within and outside UNCIO. All of them had the objective of creating a political world in which the best of all possible United Nations charters would be stifled.

It must be said that reaction had considerable success in these efforts. At the time of writing it is too soon to know to what extent the Big 3 Berlin meeting has been able to overcome the immense damage done by reaction and fascism since V-E Day. We have no hesitance, however, in predicting reaction's continued assaults on the same front.

Under these circumstances it should cause no surprise that Van-

denberg and his Senatorial cronies, perhaps even including Taft and Wheeler and Johnson of California, are making no fight on the issue of ratifying the United Nations Charter. They are indeed paying lip service to it. They are trying to claim full credit for the democratic victories at San Francisco which they themselves struggled to prevent. And why should they not do so? Is it not a principle of reactionary politics to take demagogic credit for a progressive accomplishment which they will seek to negate at the level of deeds and action?

We already see the method of reaction in its support of the United Nations Charter—still no more than a document—and in its simultaneous attack upon the Bretton Woods agreements—a substantive action on the part of the United Nations. We can anticipate a similar attack when it comes to bringing the San Francisco Charter to life. There will be the question of financial appropriations for the United Nations organization, the treaty whereby it will be provided with a military contingent, the matter of giving the American Security Council delegate sufficient authority to act speedily and effectively in times of crisis, the ratification of standards and conventions established by the Economic and Security Council, the assignment of areas to the Trusteeship Council, and a host of other actions without which the world organization will never get beyond the paper stage.

As indicated by Vandenberg in his Senate speech on the Charter, we know that he has not given up the hope that the United Nations Organization will be used to annul the Soviet Union's favorable treaty position in Europe. On every possible occasion he and other reactionaries in this country and abroad will raise boundary issues, the problems of migration, the "Red" scare. All for the purpose of dividing the Big 3 and the Big 5, to destroy unity, to poison harmonious and friendly relations, to create an atmosphere favorable to fascism.

We must therefore ask ourselves whether we are prepared to struggle successfully against these forces of reaction. Any one who has followed the discussion over the CPA resolution must have noticed how frequently in admitting past errors the phrase "developments since V-E Day, and especially those at the San Francisco Conference" is used. (Emphasis mine—F. V. F.). Why is this? It is because labor was not prepared to insist upon recognition of its independent role at San Francisco. It is because the American people were insufficiently mobilized on the crucial issue of colonialism.

It is because progressives were caught unprepared when the reactionaries demanded the admission of Argentine fascism. It is because the Vandenberg and Dulles' were able successfully to spread much of their anti-Soviet poison and because the American people had permitted their government to become shot through with pro-fascist personalities and to allow the nation's foreign policies in China, toward Japan, in Europe and in Latin America to become threatened, and in instances even dominated by the enemies of democracy.

Reaction and fascism now find their most dangerous support within the United States, for the simple reason that this country is today the most powerful in the capitalist world. To a very large extent the future of the United Nations Organization therefore rests upon the ability of the American people to defeat reaction in our nation. The United Nations Charter was originated and was made possible by the war-time strength of progressive American forces. It is our great task to translate that document into the living terms of deeds and actions for the organization of world security and peace.

Statement of the Secretariat of the Communist Political Association on the Charter of the United Nations

THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS adopted by the representatives of 50 nations at San Francisco, is an achievement of world significance. Its objectives represent the profound aspirations of the American people, and the peoples everywhere, for a durable and stable peace.

As the peoples fought with self-sacrificing heroism in the victorious battle against Hitler Germany and the Axis, they yearned for the creation of a world security organization that would prevent the recurrence of aggression by German and Japanese imperialism. They wanted a New World organization that could settle the differences among the nations peacefully. They wanted to check aggression anywhere before it threw the world into another holocaust.

The new international security organization embodies these objectives. The United Nations Charter sets itself the realistic aim of curbing and defeating aggression by the united efforts of all peaceful nations, recognizing that upon the unanimity and concerted action of the Great Powers rests the major responsibility for maintaining the peace of the world.

The American people realize that the Charter in itself does not and cannot safeguard the peace of the world. A stable peace depends first and foremost upon the continued unity of these powers that possess the greatest military might, the United States, Great Britain and the Soviet Union, whose successful wartime cooperation brought Hitler Germany and the Axis to defeat.

The agreements of the Big Three at the Moscow, Teheran, Dumbarton Oaks and Yalta meetings paved the way for the San Francisco Charter. Their resolve to overcome differences and obstacles in the path of cooperation at the San Francisco conference determined the success of the Charter. Only such continued unanimity can make the Charter work. Only the further extension and consolidation of this unity can assure the effectiveness of the United Nations.

This vital prerequisite was underscored by Ambassador Gromyko when he cited Marshal Stalin, that "the actions of that organization would be sufficiently effective if the great powers who carried the main burden of the war against Hitlerite Germany would continue to act in the spirit of un-

animity and accord. These actions will not be effective if a breach of this indispensable condition occurs."

The fulfillment of President Truman's declaration that "the United Nations will remain united" places a special obligation on the American people to see that the collaboration of the three mighty states which were the principal architects of victory—the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R. and Great Britain—is maintained and extended. A fundamental guarantee of this is the further strengthening of the American-Soviet alliance and friendship.

Furthermore, a stable peace depends upon the initiative and action of all the democratic forces, here and abroad. It depends especially upon the strengthened national democratic coalition of all peace-loving Americans, and especially upon the unity and strength of labor.

The American people, like the peoples of the entire world, have sufficient evidence that there are sinister forces who conspire to break the "indispensable condition" of the unity of the Three Great powers. Our President highlighted that period when he warned that the "forces of reaction and tyranny" will try "to make one ally suspect the other, hate the other, desert the other."

This warning acquires its fullest meaning when we realize that the enemies of durable peace are particularly strong and active in our own country which emerges from the anti-Hitler war as the most powerful imperialist state in the world. Inside America the enemies of peace comprise dangerously powerful groups—the reactionary trusts and monopolies—who strive to establish the domination of American imperialism over the entire world.

The influence of these reactionary forces reached into San Francisco when Mr. Stettinius and the American delegation in conjunction with the British, fought for the admission of fascist Argentina into the conference and fought against the pledge of colonial independence. Their influences prevented democratic Poland from being seated, while they tried to keep the door open for the inclusion of Franco Spain, and obstructed the admission of the World Trade Union Congress representatives. It was their influences which inspired a wave of anti-Soviet reactionary slanders and moves to cover up their sabotage of the purposes of the San Francisco Conference.

Sen. Vandenberg was the spokesman, openly and deviously, for these enemies of peace—these enemies of labor and the Negro people—who include public figures like Herbert Hoover, John Foster Dulles, Sen. Taft, Clare Luce and other reactionaries. This camp, which throughout the war resisted and sought to impede the war policies of President Roosevelt, during the conference, sought to "make one ally suspect the other, hate the other, desert the other." The infamous Hearst, McCormick, Roy Howard, Patterson press carries on this work of division.

The fulfillment of the promise of the United Nations as an instrument for peace demands utmost vigilance against these reactionary, imperialist and pro-fascist forces who will continue openly and covertly to hinder and sabotage the effectiveness of the international security organization. The consistent, effective, united action of labor and the entire people can thwart and isolate the enemies of peace, guarantee a speedy ratification of the Charter and make the promise of San Francisco the assurance that our children will not suffer the horrors our generation has lived through.

The maintenance of peace is vital for the world and America, our national interests, the interests of labor and of the people as a whole. It is important that all peace-loving Americans realize that it is possible to achieve a stable world peace. In this connection, it is essential for the American people, in view of the recurring reactionary anti-Soviet intrigues, to realize the outstanding and constructive role of the Soviet Union toward this end—a role expressed so unmistakably in the defeat of Hitler Germany and in its consistent efforts to facilitate the success of the United Nations conference.

At the same time, we must understand that the *loyal and effective* participation of the United States in the security organization is an indispensable condition for realizing the possibility of postwar peace.

The American people must therefore be on the alert against the new tactics of the reactionary forces at home who now appear to vote for and to support the Charter, but who plan to continue the struggle to obstruct the unanimity and cooperation of the Big Three—the chief guarantee for the success of the new world security organization.

Integral also to the achievements of a long-term peace is the necessity to carry out fully the Crimean decisions, so that the roots of German fascism as well as Japanese imperialism be utterly destroyed, and so that each liberated nation have the right to establish its own democratic government.

Further, the nations who suffered grievously in the war against fascism must be helped with food, in the reconstruction of their wartorn lands—must be helped without reactionary interference in their internal affairs. The colonial peoples must be genuinely aided in their age-old striving for national independence, freedom and prosperity. International cooperation in the economic and social fields in the interest of the peoples of the United Nations is an essential condition for the success of the new world organization. The American people have the great obligation to help realize these anti-fascist objectives.

All peace-loving Americans must unify their anti-fascist strength, must work in full cooperation in the broadest coalition to achieve the stated goals of the Charter.

In the first place, this is the responsibility of the working people and labor, which bears the brunt of war. This means that all labor in America must unite to form the driving force of that broad democratic front which will fight to give life and reality to the San Francisco Charter. The A. F. of L., the C.I.O., the Railroad Brotherhoods—all—must unite in the interests of a stable peace. Labor, on an international scale, through the World Trade Union Congress, must be accorded an effective role in the work for realizing this peace program. Such participation of the most consistent, anti-fascist and peace-striving force in every nation is indispensable to the effective working of the peace organization.

Labor and all democratic forces of the people, including the Communists, can and should register their support of the San Francisco Charter and their will for its effective implementation by organizing broad, nonpartisan mass rallies, meetings and conferences, involving the communities, the trade unions and other organizations of labor, the Negro people, farm groups, church, fraternal and cultural organizations, civic and businessmen's associations.

Such public gatherings, with their publicly adopted resolutions, petitions and other public actions can demonstrate the wide-sweeping sentiment of the people in favor of a solid peace structure based on the unity of the Big Three. Such public gatherings and democratic expression can become a strong weapon in the struggle against the die-hard Munichites and all other pro-fascists.

The Communist Political Association pledges to cooperate with all anti-fascist and democratic forces to ensure the earliest ratification of the San Francisco Charter. It pledges to rally all its strength for the destruction of Japanese imperialism and the complete elimination of fascism in Europe or wherever it appears. It pledges to work with all progressive and peace-loving people for the creation of a powerful, democratic, anti-fascist coalition in America that will strive for continued unity of the Big Three powers, that will isolate and defeat the enemies of peace and democracy in this country.

The C.P.A. will do all in its power to help achieve the unity of labor and all democratic forces in this country toward these ends. It will afford all support to the world labor movement which has the decisive strength in guaranteeing the fruition of San Francisco's achievement and promise.

Secretariat, Communist Political Association

WM. Z. FOSTER,
EUGENE DENNIS,
JOHN WILLIAMSON

JULY 8, 1945

RECONVERSION— THE LABOR ASPECT

BY GEORGE MORRIS



THE TOUCHSTONE of our reconversion from war to peace economy is our handling of the so-called human aspect of the problem. Economists of the Roosevelt camp have often stressed that the chief base for economic expansion, profitable business and "full employment" are expanding wage standards and, thereby, a higher purchasing power of the people. This concept was at the very base of labor's support of the Roosevelt Administration.

But predominant monopoly interests in business hold that the key to what they call prosperity is a return to pre-war wage rates and a lowering of corporation taxes by spreading the tax burden over a wide base. This they say would stimulate investment and trade and thereby employment. In the final analysis, they hold, a show of high profits must come first. Increasing standards for labor, they claim, could only come as a by-product of high profits. To refute this, we need only recall the few very profitable years of the post-war 'twenties, when so many millions lived in poverty, and the bankrupt 'thirties that followed. It was the very breakneck rampage for

profits that speeded us headlong into economic disaster.

What is the Truman Administration's position? If we are to judge by the many reports and statements on reconversion that have been coming out of various offices, there is an abundance of language to comfort big business, small business and labor. But, if those words are measured on a scale of practical results, the picture is different.

Reports on reconversion policy by Fred M. Vinson, then still director of the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion; chairman J. A. Krug of the War Production Board; Paul V. McNutt of the War Manpower Commission; and William H. Davis, Economic Stabilization Director, when stripped to practical terms, generally hold out immediate aid to business, but distant promises to labor. Great emphasis is put on lifting government controls and letting "free enterprise" run wild wherever immediate high profits attract it. To stimulate further this freedom of capital to run its "natural" course, a bill was rushed into Congress to enable corporations to draw in advance on their carry-back tax refund.

The 1942 tax law provides that corporations be guaranteed their 1936-39 average profit for the first two years after the war. If a loss is incurred or if profits fail to reach the 1936-39 average of a corporation, the United States Treasury shall make up the difference. However, a corporation would have to wait until it became apparent whether profits fell short. The pending bill, to permit corporations to draw in advance, is ostensibly to help get reconversion under way. Actually it means that business needn't rush into civilian fields, for its profits are assured.

Profits apparently are also due to be the measuring rod of the utility of government-owned plants estimated to be valued at some fifteen billion dollars. The \$100,000,000 Willow Run bomber plant at Ypsilanti, Michigan, operated by the Ford Motor Co., was declared as "expendable as a battleship" by the younger Ford and is closed. The men and women who worked in the plant are either looking for work or have taken lower-paid jobs. The plant is a symbol of hundreds of others that may be regarded as equally "expendable." No one has a future for them or for the workers in them. The government has given no indication of plans for them. Big business wants them kept shut.

WORDS AND ACTIONS DO NOT JIBE

Labor received mostly nicely worded endorsements of legislative

proposals which, in the present Congress, have a slim chance of getting through within reasonable time. Administration spokesmen have given no end of praise for the Murray-Patton Full Employment Bill, a measure that places responsibility of guaranteeing full employment upon the government. Also, the Administration is favoring an increase in unemployment insurance rates to \$25 a week for 26 weeks. But Administration leaders in Congress are exerting little energy to have either of the measures passed.

As for the frequently stated "high-wages policy," the four-year-old Little Steel formula is still retained. No indication of a change is in sight. On the important issue of substandards, Vinson suggests legislation to raise the Fair Labor Standards Act minimum from the present 40 cents to "at least 50 cents" an hour. This is hardly of much benefit, in view of the 55 cents minimum the War Labor Board has already set. Davis went so far as to suggest legislation for minimums up to 65 cents. But he is fully aware that the War Labor Board has the power to raise substandards to any figure it deems advisable. To suggest legislation when a direct decision could accomplish the purpose is only to throw the problem into the hands of a hostile Congress, in which the old "dime-an-hour" bloc of poll-taxers has the whiphand. This criticism was leveled against the W.L.B. also by the Pepper sub-committee of the Senate

which noted that 10,000,000 of 28,000,000 in non-agricultural trades earn below 65 cents an hour.

Meanwhile, earnings are dropping sharply, unemployment is spreading and *the very base for a high purchasing power is being undermined*. The Department of Commerce, reporting for the month of April, when we were still at war in Europe, revealed that income payments to individuals had dropped 4 per cent since the preceding month. This was the sharpest drop in a single month within six years. Obviously this is a reflection of only a cut in hours.

The census bureau revealed that for May, the first month after V-E Day, non-agricultural employment declined by 500,000. This was the first big drop in employment in six years. Those are straws in the wind.

As for profits, business will slide into the postwar period with the level of profit at an unprecedented height. The 1936-39 annual average of corporation profits was four and one-half billion. For 1944 the net profit rose to twenty-four and one-half billion. Those were before tax deductions. After tax deductions, the 1944 profit was ten billion, as against the peacetime average of three billion. If business succeeds in its objective of removing excess profits taxes, the level of profits after taxes will go even higher.

Labor has long ago warned of the danger that our reconversion may be steered to a path that leads to a

short, inflated boom and to an inevitable crisis. Labor, with the support of all progressives, in the interest of protecting the conditions of the American workers and the right to work, put forward a program of struggle for the realization of maximum possible employment in the postwar period.

It is the great strength and influence that labor had acquired in the country that gave impetus to the late President Roosevelt's "economic Bill of Rights" and 60,000,000-job goal. This involves such objectives as higher living standards, especially for those in lower income groups, and expansion of economy in the direction of advancing health, housing, education, electrification, road and air communication, etc. etc.

In raising the watchword that a worker's purchasing power must go up, not down, labor did so, not only from its own standpoint, but in recognition of the fact that wage levels determine the general economic level. This is why labor's banners today put such great emphasis on maintenance of take-home pay; higher unemployment insurance; severance pay; a guaranteed annual wage; a higher minimum wage and more adequate and much broader social security. Labor has rightly stressed, as did the late President, that only if such a higher level is guaranteed, will it be possible to operate our vast new plant capacity, our greatly increased productivity of labor and augmented manpower.

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The other alternative, going back to our pre-war level, can only assure us an even greater unemployment than we had. Labor has therefore demanded that the government consciously steer our economy in a direction of full employment. The same progressive view also holds that the steps taken now will decide the course of reconversion. It will be too late to give it direction when the war ends.

This is why labor is so apprehensive now; for the first signs of reconversion reveal only a green light to "free enterprise" and a confidence that the rate of profit will draw investment where it is really needed. Meanwhile, nothing is done to prevent a sharp fall in earnings. This is why a tide of dissatisfaction and protests are beginning to sweep the country.

HOW EARNINGS HAVE DROPPED

What is happening to wages?

When the new Secretary of Labor Lewis Schwellenbach took office his first statement was to describe the situation in the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics as "lousy," and to order a reorganization of its work. Labor, both C.I.O. and A. F. of L., has long ago exposed the false yardstick of our wage policy. A joint A. F. of L.-C.I.O. survey showed that the actual rise in the cost of living was 43.5 per cent, when the B.L.S. index claimed it was 25.5 per

cent. It was on the basis of B.L.S. figures that the War Labor Board declared in the summer of 1942 that the cost of living as of that time since January, 1941, had gone up 15 per cent and workers who had not yet received a corresponding increase were entitled to it to maintain their standard of January, 1941. Even the false B.L.S. index as of June, 1945, shows the cost of living up by 28 per cent, as compared to January, 1941. Since the War Labor Board itself found the index off 4.5 per cent, we have the cost of living, by admission, up by nearly 33 per cent. But the Little Steel formula is still being maintained. The truth is, as every housewife could easily prove with down-to-earth evidence, that the rise is now well above the 43.5 per cent labor revealed nine months ago.

Workers had been able to raise earnings beyond 15 per cent mainly through shift from lower-paid civilian work to war plants, overtime hours, incentive wages, night and afternoon shift differentials, payment for worked vacation time and through promotion to higher classifications. In those fields where such opportunities did not exist, especially in white collar, retail and government employ, the condition of many workers was and remains tragic.

Base rates have not gone up substantially above the Little Steel limit, and in many fields, especially where unions are weak, they have not even reached the 15 per cent limit. In the

coal mining industry, for example, the same base rate of a dollar an hour remains that miners received at the time of Pearl Harbor. When coal mining is back at 35 hours weekly or less, earnings of miners will drop from 30 to 40 per cent.

For the eight or more million workers in arms plants who are shifting back to civilian work as cut-backs take effect, the prospect is just as serious. The first wage cut takes the form of a drop in hours from 48, or more, to 40 a week, which means a loss of an hour and a half pay for every hour. On the average this amounts to a 30 per cent wage loss. Night and afternoon shifts, and with them differentials ranging to 10 per cent are being cut out. As cut-backs take further effect, rearrangement of working staffs confront many workers with the alternative of either taking a demotion in work and pay or loss of job. When the war plant finally closes, the worker shifts back to his old civilian work, where he usually takes his worst cut. Shipyard workers go back to textile mills, canneries, cigarette and other like plants, to find rates of less than 50 to 65 cents an hour in place of the \$1.00 or \$1.25 they had been earning. Those who married and became family heads during the war years are, indeed, in a serious predicament.

The most ironic case is that of the seamen, who have been hailed as war heroes in film, song and literature. With victims of U-boats so numer-

ous that they reached over 6,000 by V-E Day, a war risk bonus was the least that could be offered to attract manpower. Actually, with the war risk bonus, an able-bodied seaman received less than \$50 a week. But it was a substantial increase over former earnings, and many seamen for the first time took advantage of the right to marry and have families. But the War Shipping Administration did not forget that most of the wartime wage raise given to seamen was on the basis of war risk, and called for its pound of flesh when the risk was technically over. Now the seamen, heroes up to a few weeks ago, are waging a struggle for the 55 cents hourly minimum the W. L. B. applies to all industry. And in the maritime industry there is a manpower need of 115,000, Vinson's report said, while 8,000 are leaving the industry every month, and the war with Japan is on in all its fury.

The War Labor Board, in holding tight to a policy of wage freezing while wages slide down, is in effect aiding those in the ranks of business who say that a low wage is the first step in reconversion. It should also be remembered that the War Labor Board, in a report to the President last February, suggested that after V-E Day an upward revision of wage policy would be in order. Until that time, the Board argued, wage raises would stimulate purchase of scarce goods and cause inflationary price rises. Now stabilization authorities, forgetting their own promise,

argue that wage raises will bring corresponding demands for price increases from employers and we would have inflation from that angle. Hence, any way you approach the problem, our stabilizers have a ready negative answer.

There is one more indicator of the sort of thinking that guides the War Labor Board's public members. They have now embarked on a policy of sanctions against striking unions. At this writing, rubber, typographical and New York News delivery workers have suffered by withdrawal of earlier orders providing vacations, retroactive pay and by cancellation of union shops contracts.

The War Labor Board is now raising an anti-union club, although scores of cases of employers who defied the Board's decisions remain pigeon-holed. The turn of attitude in the War Labor Board, coinciding with the spread of unemployment, causes more than suspicion among the workers and hardly much confidence in it as the impartial disputes machinery that it set out to be.

On top of all this there is another extremely threatening cloud—the black market. No machinery for gathering statistics has as yet really estimated what this "illegal" robber takes from the worker's pay envelope. But it already amounts to dollars every week. Sabotage of price ceilings is reaching undreamed of proportions. Meat and poultry at twice ceiling prices is the ordinary condition—where these essential

food needs are obtainable. Even work stoppages have occurred at mines and automobile plants because meat was unobtainable for weeks. The more menacing form of the black market is the appearance of all sorts of newly labeled goods priced greatly above the vanished popular-branded and superior food or clothing products. The appearance of higher priced but horrible-tasting new cigarettes is just a sample of the wage-cutting technique that is now spreading.

In face of what is only beginning to develop, the joint A. F. of L.—C.I.O. appeal to the President for an upward wage revision of 20 per cent is a modest demand.

SLOW MOTION ON JOBLESS INSURANCE

What is the situation with regard to unemployment insurance?

President Truman asked Congress for "emergency" action on his proposed jobless benefits increase to \$25 weekly for a maximum of 26 weeks a year. He warned that if during the period of reconversion we fail to prop the purchasing power of unemployed workers, our economy may be so undermined that a pickup would be impossible. He called attention to the very low benefit rates in most states which, under present price levels, could hardly be called real insurance.

A review of the situation in the

states shows that the picture is, indeed, serious. In 1943, for example, weekly benefit payments for the country as a whole averaged \$13.84. In North Carolina the average weekly check was \$7.10; in Maine, \$9.09; in Kentucky, \$9.31; in South Dakota, \$9.54; in Delaware, \$9.57. In 1942, the average for Arkansas was \$7.63; for Illinois, \$14.20; for New York, \$12.95; for Pennsylvania, \$11.82; for California, \$15. Those figures do not tell of the number of weeks one is eligible to receive those checks. This is usually tied to earnings credited. Minimum amounts run from the low rate of \$2 weekly in Alabama, with Arkansas and Florida, Louisiana and several other chiefly Southern states next in the \$3 class, to the highest minimums of \$10 in California and New York.

In 1944 there were 39 million eligible to some earnings; of these five million were in the services. Three million workers in small concerns are now excluded from coverage, as are a like number of federal employes, 200,000 merchant seamen, and others.

As for the much boomed savings of workers that are supposed to pour out, the necessity by Detroit banks to set up special booths to handle cashing of war bonds when the first cutbacks began to take effect should be a mere hint of what is to be anticipated. The plain fact is that reduced earnings and the black market are already eating into workers' reserves. A section of wage

earners in the higher brackets have reserves; but this is not the group that is feeling the effect of layoffs most seriously. The first to suffer layoffs are generally workers with less skill and low seniority. That we are in for a disillusionment on saving reserves was well shown in a study of the Committee for Economic Development, entitled "Providing for Unemployed Workers in the Transition" and prepared by Richard A. Lester (McGraw Hill & Co.). The C.E.D., incidentally, the major capitalist organization on postwar planning, has itself laid much stress on a postwar boom based on filling deferred needs.

"Savings by wage earners during the war," says Mr. Lester, "have not been as large as one might suppose before examining the available statistical data."

After examining the available data, the study concludes that wartime savings "cannot be relied upon to furnish most of the means for meeting transition unemployment."

An estimate of all types of savings of all with incomes of \$10,000 a year or less by the middle of 1944, is placed by Lester at a total of 30 billion. Obviously, saving accounts grow larger per family as we get closer to the \$10,000 class. But even that total, if spread evenly among 55 million wage workers, at 1.4 workers per family, gives average savings of \$750 per family.

But Lester cites a U.S. Chamber of Commerce survey based on inter-

views with urban and rural families in the summer of 1943. It showed that half of the families in the lowest income group (\$1,500 or less and \$1,500 to \$2,500) were not buying war bonds. Also, that 90 and 74 per cent of those two groups respectively, were not depositing money on saving accounts.

By the end of 1943, the C. of C. survey showed, only one out of every four families with incomes of \$1,500 or less expected to have accumulated savings amounting to 10 per cent of their annual income. On the other hand, seven out of ten families in the income groups of \$1,500 to \$4,000 were then putting at least 10 per cent of their incomes in banks.

"On the basis of such data," says Lester, "it seems safe to conclude that at least a quarter, and probably a third, of the wage earners' families in this country had by 1944 accumulated little if any savings in spendable form. Such families were for the most part in the lower-income levels. Generally speaking, the families with little or no wartime savings are the ones most likely to experience severe unemployment in the postwar period."

He further observed that "the bulk of the wartime savings by workers has occurred in families with an income above \$3,000 a year." If we take into account that 10 per cent of an annual income of \$2,500 is only \$250, we can very well see, judging by present-day prices, how savings could be exaggerated.

MORE ROSE-COLORED FIGURES

Those are the facts that make the President's call for an increase in jobless benefits an "emergency." But how has Congress reacted? The \$25 for 26 weeks bill was not even introduced until about two months after the President's message. No one became excited about it. Chairman Doughton of the House Ways and Means Committee, who introduced the bill as a formality, said he was opposed to it and saw no hurry for it. What else could be expected in face of the Administration's own estimate that by July, 1946, unemployment is not likely to rise any more than by 1,500,000 (Vinson's, Krug's, McNutt's estimates). We had more unemployed than that number in the boom days before the '29 crash. Surely, in face of such over-optimistic predictions, Representative Robert L. Doughton, now past four score, of the poll-tax state of North Carolina, couldn't possibly become concerned with unemployment insurance.

The cited C.E.D. study quotes the report of the Postwar Planning Committee of the House which concluded that "the number of temporarily unemployed may reach a peak of as many as 5,000,000 workers, even if industry is expanding rapidly and providing large numbers of new civilian jobs."

Lester adds that "under diverse circumstances the total might approach 10 or even 15 million," and he

stresses that the uncertainties of our economic future means that "adequate preparation should be made to meet a peak of from four to 15 million unemployed."

Both the realities of our unfolding reconversion and data from every available postwar planning source, point to far greater unemployment than Administration estimates. As on the cost of living, the Administration would have us look through rose-colored statistics. The labor movement has the job of debunking false optimism, as it debunked the cost of living index, if its campaign for the \$25 for 26 weeks bill is to bring results.

The situation with respect to our old age and survival program is not any brighter. Last year, a million workers past 65 were eligible to retire under Social Security benefits. By the end of our transition to peace, many will undoubtedly retire. But the reluctance to do so will continue even in days when work is slack and ages reach four score and ten. Benefit checks in a great majority of cases would be below \$50 monthly. Aged folks without a substantial savings reserve cannot depend upon such money these days.

There is an important relationship between the current support gathering for the Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill and the general fight for full employment and adequate standards. Higher old age and survival benefits would enable a greater number of aged to retire from the labor market,

as they should. Also, survivors below 18 would not be swelling the army of working minors and children which is at a peak point today.

Connected with this is the entire system of government-sponsored health and hospitalization insurance, which the bill provides. This opens a vast avenue for utilization of our manpower resources in a sphere where possibilities are great—construction of hospitals, laboratories, and sanatoriums, and staffing them with a professional personnel, as well as creating a tremendous demand for physicians, dentists, surgeons, etc. So far, however, we have had only mild Administration lip service in support of the bill, but little effort to pass it.

PREPARING FOR "BOOM" ILLUSIONS

The plain facts on the state of the real purchasing power of the mass of people should have a sobering effect upon many of us. They should arm us against "boom" illusions which threaten to have a strong corrupting influence on the minds of people in the next few years. Above all, they should indicate to us that the struggle for maintenance and betterment of the workers' living standards is the key to our approach to all basic problems—in the first place, to reconversion.

There is no shortage of fine statements from public figures, Cabinet members and even industrialists, endorsing a "high wages economy" and

"full employment." They all stress the important role that government must have in making such perspective possible. Secretary of Commerce Henry Wallace even made the forthright statement that "there is not a shred of evidence" that private enterprise, unaided "could assume final responsibility for the smooth functioning of the economy." Vinson, too, flatly declared that government must be responsible for full employment. But while those statements are educational, they read like essays on something that is hoped for in the distant future. Meanwhile, the very base for the future they conceive, is melting away. The only way to show that those fine words are meant is to take steps now to protect the purchasing power of the mass of common people. Inaction or delay, means letting matters take their usual course toward the next big depression.

That monopoly-dominated reaction will throw all its strength against even mild progressive reconversion steps goes without saying. Reactionary monopolists want an army of unemployed. It regards it as a necessary club both against organized labor and as a means of depressing wages. An unemployed army and competition for the job, are also viewed by reaction as the necessary condition to divide veteran and worker, Negro and white, Jew and gentile, foreign-born and native.

Reactionary forces are not just

talking of the future. They are already pressing from all directions for a program that is closely patterned after developments of the postwar 'twenties. They hope to reduce the labor movement to impotency, as it was in the 'twenties. They aim for a class collaboration policy with the reactionary aristocracy of the labor movement after smashing the basic and strongest industrial unions of the C.I.O. and A. F. of L. This plan of reaction is of a twofold character. On the one hand, they aim to "strait-jacket" labor and wipe out the Wagner Act through such legislation as the Ball-Burton-Hatch Bill they are now sponsoring. This would take the keystone out of the entire structure of progressive laws that have been enacted in a decade. On the other hand, as is already evident, full advantage will be taken of the temporary boom to glorify "free enterprise" as the key to "prosperity."

Reaction has not forgotten how effectively prosperity illusions poisoned the minds of labor, and stifled its struggles in the 'twenties. They well remember that even labor's vanguard, the Communist Party, was then seriously infected with the view that the working class was "bourgeoisified," that America holding an "exceptional" position in the world, would enjoy a long prosperity and that it was futile to look forward to struggles of workers for a long time to come. Mass stockownership, the trend toward company unions, labor

banking and joint collaboration between reactionary labor leaders and big business, was usually cited as evidence that the class struggle was practically over.

How costly those illusions were for the working class was only too well shown through the crisis and its subsequent results. Communists today have the historic task of not only pointing to the trend of events, but also the duty of showing the workers how their vast newly acquired strength could be a means of influencing and changing the course of events.

Labor has in the past decade grown fourfold and has won great influence in the country's life. Its war role has broken down much anti-labor prejudice. Organized labor, if both its wings would work jointly, could really give leadership to a great section of the population which in former days usually followed the big bourgeoisie. Labor has to be an aggressive, independent force if it is to impress any real influence on the government's reconversion policy. This independence has to be shown in the most forceful ways available to labor today—not through strikes which endanger the war effort and alienate the servicemen and other sections of the population, but through gigantic mass demonstrations, and such other forms as show the common people that labor is the backbone of progress.

The reconversion picture, thus

far, is discouraging to progressives. But it is a mistake to conclude that the die is cast. Developments have mainly served to indicate the hesitancy and weakness within the Administration and its forces in Congress in face of reactionary monopolist pressure.

The very developments to date should serve to rouse the labor movement and other groups of the population from a complacency that has lingered far too long. Already workers are finding ways to make their pressure felt effectively without resort to strikes. The seamen, picketing War Shipping Administration offices in scores of cities, have won the applause of wide sections of the population. Detroit focused its efforts on a huge Cadillac Square demonstration. In a number of cities, as in Trenton and Baltimore, the A. F. of L., C.I.O. and Railroad Brotherhoods joined in a common movement to meet reconversion problems.

The people's program of transition is taking definite shape in pending bills in Congress, in objectives that millions of people are beginning to understand and fight for. Pending bills call for Full Employment, a 65-cent wage minimum, \$25 for 26 weeks unemployment insurance, the Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill for expanded social security, the Seamen's Bill of Rights and improvement in the GI Bill of Rights.

Other outstanding issues labor is pressing call for an upward wage

adjustment of 20 per cent, a guaranteed annual wage which is now under study of a presidential commission, a shorter work week where war work ends, and immediate financing arrangement and plans for public works, housing development, school, hospital, and road construction, rural electrification, etc.

The fact that President Truman and members of his Administration publicly support this program of bills

and objectives, is evidence of the great popular pressure for it. This also stresses, as labor learned so well under Roosevelt, that to the degree that this popular support is brought out throughout the country will the program take practical effect. This presents labor with an unprecedented opportunity for leadership and, in fact, gives it the key to both a speedy victory over Japan and constructive reconversion.



INTERNATIONAL CARTELS AND THEIR AGENTS*

BY V. LINETSKY

LATELY THE PUBLIC in Allied countries has been displaying keen interest in the past, present and future of international cartels. The American press has been devoting particular attention to the agreements between monopolists. This interest is far from academic. It is fostered by at least two circumstances. Firstly, the activities of international cartels are regarded as one of the main obstacles to the expansion of foreign trade after the war. Secondly, the existence of international cartels is regarded as a grave danger to future peace, as a menacing possibility that the economic base of German aggression will be preserved.

Americans still have a lively recollection of the economic crises that followed the First World War, of the industrial undertakings which were engendered by the war and killed by it, of the millions of men who, after doffing their military uniforms and turning in their rifles to the arsenals, were unable to find employment. In the light of this experience there is a natural fear that

the cartel system, which hinders both international trade and the development of the home market, will hamper the growth of business activities in the United States. The question of postwar markets is a constant theme of discussion in the American general and specialist press. The *Free World* has formulated this problem in the following vivid manner:

"When the war ends," wrote that journal, "we shall find ourselves with . . . a tremendous supply of goods ranging from blankets and canned peas to trucks and bulldozers, and, most important of all, millions of men and women trained in the techniques of production and eager to keep their skills at work, whether in the laboratory, in the drafting room, at the machine, in the mine, or on the farm."

The cartel system, with its division of the world market into spheres of influence and its screwing up of prices, restricts both the home and the foreign market and by no means helps to reduce the vast superfluous stocks left over after a war or, consequently, the number of potential unemployed. In this connection the book by Wendell Berge, Assistant Attorney General of the United States and Chief of the Anti-Trust Division of the Department of Justice, which appeared last year,* represents a convincing, documented indictment. In this book the author relates a number of edifying facts

* From *The War and the Working Class*, No. 7, April 1, 1945.

* The reference is to Wendell Berge's *Cartels, Challenge to a Free World*, Washington, 1944.—The Editors.

about the the deliberate manufacture of goods of inferior quality when that helps to maintain a monopoly position and increases profits; about the deliberate restriction of new industries; about the artificial raising of prices, abuses of the patent laws, and so forth.

These fruits of cartel activities are compelling those who wish to increase the postwar competitive power of American industry seriously to ponder over this problem. If, as Francis Biddle, the Attorney General of the United States, believes, new opportunities will be created for American industry after the war as a result of the development of technical inventions and improvements, and also as a result of the damage caused to German industrial undertakings by air bombing, the activities of international cartels are hardly likely to facilitate the realization of these hopes. Biddle believes that this danger can be averted by expanding markets and increasing the number of industrial enterprises, which, in his opinion, should hinder the conclusion of monopolist agreements—if, he adds, the peoples allow any such agreements to be concluded at all in the future. It is well known, however, that international cartels exist in opposition to the will of the peoples. It is also well known that their activities are by no means conducted in the interests of the peoples. In discussing the possibility of the revival of international cartel agreements the democratic press quite rightly emphasizes that these agree-

ments harbor the danger of a resumption of economic war among the powers.

But not only economic war. The history of the origin of the Second World War will not remain silent about cartel agreements. Everybody remembers that the activities of international cartels, in which German monopolies played such a prominent role, favored the growth of the economic power of post-Versailles Germany. They were one of the important means by which the German war machine acquired fresh strength. Furthermore, these agreements enabled the German monopolies not only to control the production of individual branches of American industry, but also to hinder this production in the interests of German militarism. It is sufficient to recall the following facts which we have gleaned from the American press. The comprehensive agreement concerning patents and technological processes existing before the war among the four chief members of the chemical cartel—du Pont de Nemours and the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey in America, the British Imperial Chemical Industries and the German I. G. Farbenindustrie—was operated in such a peculiar way that I. G. Farbenindustrie, and, consequently, the German General Staff, obtained extremely full information about the output of the American chemical industry, from insulin to dynamite, and from dyes to explosives. The result of these cartel "gentlemen's

agreements" was that in the decisive hour for the destiny of the United States, which was struck by the guns at Pearl Harbor, branches of American industry of vital importance for the war proved to be insufficiently prepared for the fulfilment of the task that confronted them. This applied to the chemical industry, the synthetic rubber industry, and the manufacture of aluminum, magnesium, optical glass and medicaments. Here the cartels were in command. Here, closely screened from the eyes of the people, dollars were made, which flowed in a broad stream into the underground strong rooms of the banks connected with the international monopolies.

The war disturbed but did not break the connection between the American and German monopoly concerns. The report of the Kilgore Senate Sub-Committee published in America last year contained striking illustrations of the permanence of the agreements, which were sanctioned by a common striving for superprofits. It states that certain American corporations helped German firms to evade the net of the British blockade; that the Standard Oil Company decided to announce its severance from the I. G. Farbenindustrie only on receipt of a summons to appear before a court; that the Bendix Aviation Corporation of America, in the endeavor to rehabilitate itself in the eyes of the Department of Justice, tried to obtain the government's permission for its representatives, members of the cartel,

to go to Germany. This firm could think of no other way of cancelling its cartel agreement with the German monopolies!

For the international cartels the war has been merely a vexatious interlude which has temporarily interrupted their domination of the world markets. They envisage the postwar economic order as an automatic resumption of pre-war relations, and even as an expansion of such connections. As the *Iron Age*, which reflects the opinions of big American industrialists, stated quite a year ago, certain spokesmen for business circles in the United States insist on the cartelization of all the most important branches of industry, and in this meet with influential support in Congress.

The chief concern of these circles at present, when the war is in its last stage, is to maintain their positions and to prepare the ground for the international renaissance of cartels. They are taking under their protection the property of the enemies of the American people, safeguarding it from confiscation by placing it under the provisional trade names of various American firms, or firms of so-called neutral countries. They demand a complete "free hand" after the war, and are already taking preventative measures to ensure themselves against outside interference likely to upset their plans and calculations. The demand for so-called "free enterprise," which figured as the Republican Party's standard in the election campaign last

autumn, is directly connected with these narrow and selfish calculations. It was the interests of the big monopolies which fear "state competition" that prompted the fierce campaign waged by so-called business circles for separating the Reconstruction Finance Corporation from the Department of Commerce now headed by the new Secretary, Wallace. According to the *Journal of Commerce*, Wallace's appointment to this post gave rise to serious alarm among business circles who fear that Wallace would control the funds of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, begin to exploit the government war enterprises to manufacture civilian consumers' goods, and subsidize small industry at the expense of the big.

The practical measures taken by business circles go hand in hand with a sort of theoretical preparation. This is based on the thesis advanced by the well-known ideologist of international cartels, Professor de Haas of Harvard University. De Haas' philosophy is by no means involved. It consists in the exaltation of international cartel agreements, and even contemplates the inclusion of legislation on cartels in the future peace treaty. It is characteristic that de Haas tries to scare his auditors with the prospect of—Soviet competition! He says that it is impossible to find a proper place for the products of Russian industry in the world market by means of state regulation. This task can be fulfilled

only by private manufacturers if they act in sufficient coordination to meet the united front of Russian production in an organized manner.

Thus, according to de Haas' scheme, the private manufacturers will erect a dam across the channel through which the products of Soviet industry might flow into the world market. At the same time they kindly extend a hand to the magnates of German industry. Wendell Berge relates in his book that a clause was inserted in the agreement between Standard Oil and I. G. Farbenindustrie providing that if the operation of the agreement was interrupted by the outbreak of war it was to be resumed after the war "in the spirit of the old," and, consequently, the two wayfarers could calmly resume their interrupted pilgrimage to the Temple of the Golden Calf.

In the spirit of the old! This is the goal of the political and economic dreams of the American cartels, which even through the acrid fumes of war which divides the world into two camps continue to regard Germany merely as a customer and a partner in a new joint exploitation of world markets.

The American cartels have once before helped their German partners to get on their feet again. The German militarists struck out the disarmament clauses of the Versailles peace treaty with the unconcealed assistance of the American corporations. The benedictions of these cor-

porations accompanied German militarism along its entire road from the Canossa of Versailles to the Munich deal. These dark forces are now resuming their old game.

The role of political agents of the international cartels is being played by the authors of numerous schemes, which, in spite of their different labels, are united by a common object, *viz.*, to create favorable conditions for the preservation of the German monopolies and, consequently, of Germany's industrial base. The impending consummation of the war, which is bringing Germany inevitable and utter defeat, has activated the bloc of paid and unpaid agents of the German industrial monopolies. United in this bloc are reactionary United States Senators supported by du Pont de Nemours, by the newspapers of Hearst who at the very beginning of his shady career inherited metal mines of enormous value, by the McCormick press which is closely connected with the big International Harvester Company, and by a number of journalists who are closely connected with business circles.

Within this bloc, particularly among Senators of the type of Wheeler, Bushfield and Revercomb, were hatched the fantastic schemes for a "Federation of European Countries." Here, too, were hatched plans antagonistic to the proposals drawn up at Dumbarton Oaks. One of these plans, for example, is that of Mundt, member of the House of

Representatives for South Dakota, who proposed in place of an international security organization an international aircraft patrol of five thousand airplanes with bases in American airdromes in Newfoundland, Scotland, Cairo and Brazil. This bloc of solicitors for the German monopolies also includes Senator Butler of Nebraska, who recently demanded that the German frontiers should be treated with special care and consideration so as not to rouse the dissatisfaction and irritation of the Germans and described the restitution of lands seized by the Germans to their lawful owners as stupid from the economic point of view.

Such are the activities of the political agents of the international cartels in America. They constitute an attempt, on the one hand, to preserve German industry, and, consequently, the base of new German aggression, and, on the other hand, to isolate the Soviet Union in the postwar world politically and economically.

The adventurist sorties against the decision of the Crimea Conference to "eliminate or control all German industry that could be used for military production" sufficiently reveal the real faces of the agents of the cartels. These faces are distinctly seen even by the *New York Post* which sometimes suffers from severe attacks of myopia. This newspaper wrote:

The fight against the Crimea deci-

sions is the old fight to exclude the Soviet Union from Europe and to preserve the same forces which made the present war inevitable.

These forces do not slumber. They are sending their friends across the ocean signals of distress. Their dreams of a "symbolical defeat," of a "soft peace," of a second edition of the Versailles peace, find, as we see, energetic support in definite circles which are closely connected with the American branches of the international cartels. They are already sending their agents and emissaries to the different so-called neutral countries. It was no accident that Stinnes' arrival in Switzerland and Schnurre's in Sweden coincided with the battles of the Oder and the Rhine.

These activities leave no trace of the legend that the international cartels are "non-political." Wendell Berge writes:

The American producers, whether they knew it or not, were entering into an international game to divide markets in which every market and every type of product was involved if the full scope of the cartel agreements of their partners were revealed. They were dealing in secret international diplomacy.

But the veil of secrecy has already been torn from this "international diplomacy" which obtains its inspiration from fireproof safes.

International cartels are inimical to the cause of peace. They are inimical to democracy. Naturally, the

democratic public in the Trans-Atlantic Republic are aware of the harm which cartels cause their country and the danger they represent to the vital interests of the peoples. In spite of all the artificial obstacles which might be raised to its solution, and no matter to what farces trials for violations of the Anti-Trust Law may sometimes be reduced, the problem of what is to become of the cartels is attracting increasing attention among broad democratic circles in America. Lately voices are being heard in that country demanding ever more loudly and persistently energetic measures to curb the cartels, to destroy their omnipotence, and to annul international cartel agreements. Indicating the methods by which the chains of the cartel system can be smashed, the subcommittee of the United States Senate headed by Senator Kilgore proposes that "international cartels be outlawed."

The public in all democratic countries are vitally interested in ridding the world of the underground smithy of war and in clearing the path to such an organization of international economic ties as will be consonant with the interests of the peace-loving nations. Vigilance in regard to the designs of the international monopolist organizations in the economic as well as in the political field is particularly essential now, on the eve of the consummation of the war and of the laying of the foundations of the postwar arrangement of the world.

ORGANIZATIONAL PROBLEMS OF THE FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY

BY MAURICE THOREZ

*(Secretary General of the Communist Party of France, Deputy from the Seine Department, and Member of the Consultative Assembly)**

OUR RESPONSIBILITIES are increasingly heavy, commensurate with our growth and our increasing role in the life of the country. We are a governmental party, a party which has delegated two of its members to the government of the Republic. Communists have been called to high offices in the administration of the state. Others serve in the army; others in production. Our militants administer several thousand Communes, among the largest. They have also been placed at the head of large organizations by the confidence of the masses. We have our representatives in the Consultative Assembly, in the Council of National Resistance, in the departmental and local Committees of Liberation. In all of these we must rise to the level of

our responsibilities both to the Party and to the country.

To speak quite plainly, if before the war our militants were excellent propagandists, if during the war they have been the organizers and intrepid leaders of combat groups against the Germans and their Vichyite accomplices, they must now become men of politics, the organizers and guides of wide masses of the people. In the words of Lenin, we must now count in millions, and this obliges us to consider attentively several problems of growth.

PROBLEMS OF IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL DIRECTION

The first of these problems which arises from the considerable increase of our members, concerns education, the Marxist-Leninist instruction of new members of the Party. We must reinforce and develop our educational work through courses and schools. We must work out new methods of aiding our oldest militants, those who already serve in responsible functions, guiding their reading and calling, for their special needs, conferences on the most important problems of everyday policy.

The Party instructs the masses and the masses instruct the Party. Marxism-Leninism is a unity of theory and practice, of thought and action. We want no Communists who are merely vain doctrinaires, reasoning in the abstract and apart from the realities of daily life. Neither do we want limited militants who are not interested in more deepened study

* From the Report presented to the Tenth National Convention of the C. P. France, on June 26, 1945.

of political problems, who will fall into a narrow practicalism and lose their perspective.

Theory is a task which always faces responsible leaders, militants of the first rank, who too often permit themselves to become absorbed in, and side-tracked by, their practical tasks. Now, no one can work properly in any branch of militant activity without undertaking to assimilate Marxist-Leninist science, the key to all ideological and political problems. The greatest scholars, like our friend Langevin, declare that they have made real advances in the knowledge of their particular science only through the enlightenment of dialectical materialism. A Communist, whatever may be his function inside or outside the Party, journalist or director of a cooperative, mayor or secretary of a trade union, professor or regional secretary or administrator of a great nationalized enterprise, has no less need for this great enlightenment to advance his own work in the service of the Party and of the people of France. It is a great task to which the Central Committee must address itself, in the first place in ceaselessly reminding our militants of the lines Marx wrote in 1872 to his French editor: "There is no royal road to science, and only those will have the opportunity of reaching its luminous summits who do not fear wearying themselves by climbing steep paths." The second problem is the indispensable drawing into political discussions in the basic organ-

izations - of each member of the Party, new or old. The conditions of clandestine work, broken up into groups of three, could not permit wide discussion. Groups of three, relying on the directives of the Central Committee—who merited that reliance—were above all executive organisms. The reconstituted cells must again become political organisms where discussions, the aim of which is to increase effectiveness, take place.

Our Communist Party cannot function without the unity of will and the complete unity of action of all members of the Party; but such a common will and such joint action, with the iron discipline which constitutes our strength, does not exclude but, on the contrary, rests upon criticism, discussion, struggles of opinion within the heart of the Party. In 1929, fighting a sectarian group which stifled all political life in the Party and cut us off from the masses, we carried on, as the old comrades remember, a public campaign under the slogans "Let the mouths be opened," "No mannequins in the Party." (Applause.) The internal discipline of Communists is not a blind discipline; it is a discipline freely granted, the understanding discipline of each one of us. Once discussion is exhausted, the decision is obligatory for all, for the eventual minority as well as the majority.

What the Party does not permit, what it rejects as incompatible with the unity of the Party, is the organ-

ization of trends, groups, factions, which lead to the formation of several direction centers, and consequently to the relaxation of discipline, to the division and disintegration of the Party.

It is also quite evident that the discussion must revolve around the fundamental principles of the Party. Freedom of opinion in the Party is not the freedom to introduce into the Party opinions which are foreign to it. (Applause.) Where would the Party be if, in 1934, we had permitted the traitor Doriot to propagandize among our ranks his opportunist, liquidationist and Hitlerian "opinions"? Would we have been able to organize and successfully conduct the struggle of the French workers against the Hitlerian enemy?

We still have need to exercise vigilance! The Party is not on the moon. Its hundreds of thousands of members are enveloped by the masses of workers and peasants in the varying strata of the people of the country. Any particular stratum may exercise influences contrary to the interests of the working class and of the people. Such influences, foreign and even hostile to our ideas, to our principles, can in one manner or another, even penetrate into the Party.

We must combat the opportunist, liquidationist concepts of certain people who think, without always clearly formulating it, that "We have passed beyond the stage of the class struggle." To a Catholic jour-

nalist who questioned me on this subject the day after the session of the Central Committee at Ivry, I made the following reply, already published in *L'Humanité*, which you will forgive me if I repeat: "It is facts which answer this question as well as others.

"If one seriously analyzes the causes of the defeat of 1940 and the dramatic situation in which our country found itself, *and still finds itself* involved, one will discover that the fundamental cause is the egoism of certain privileged circles who have deliberately sacrificed the interests of the nation to the defense of their privileges. That is a fact. The class struggle is a fact." (Applause.)

One must add, as my interlocutor moreover observed, that Communists take facts into account. Opportunists concepts always lead to the liquidation of the independent role of the working class, the most active element in the union of the toiling strata of the nation. Such concepts lead to the liquidation of the Party. Several leaders of the American Communist Party fell into this grave error. We didn't hesitate to offer our advice through an article by our comrade, Duclos, which, we hope, will help the American Communists to rediscover the correct path. (Applause.)

We must also combat the "Leftist" concepts of certain sectarians who think, without always formulating it clearly, "Have we perhaps abandoned the revolutionary line?" The sectarians confuse "a revolutionary

line" with "gesticulation." It seems to them that everything was much easier when one could mouth the most "revolutionary" slogans without changing one iota of the situation of the workers and of the country. It is true our task is much more difficult, much more complicated than in previous times. It demands much more reflection, explanation, patience, calm, when one knows that on our slogans and on our practical activity depends in an ever-increasing measure the very future of our country.

Sectarians and opportunists of the Right are united in an identical scorn of the masses, an identical fear of mass action. The opportunists have no faith in the masses and want to "save" them in spite of themselves, by combinations from above, parliamentary and other. Sectarians have no faith in the masses, and want to "save" them both despite them and without them, solely through the means of a pseudo-revolutionary phrase-mongering. We must also be vigilant to ferret out and drive from our ranks troublesome elements, provocateurs, enemy agents, Hitlero-Trotskyites, who most frequently cover themselves in "Leftist" phraseology.

PROBLEMS OF ORGANIZATION AND CADRES

After problems of ideological and political direction come those of organization. These are not the least important. Militant Communists must keep in mind Stalin's thought

that, "after the correct line is established, the work of organization decides everything, including the fate of the political line itself, its success or failure."

How shall we assure ourselves the best organizational work, how facilitate the day-to-day practical direction of all Party activity in the different echelons of organization, and above all how aid the cells in the application of correct Party policy? Experience shows us that it is first through bringing closer and closer to one another the direction of regional sections and basic organizations. Long before the war we gave up regional organization, to return to departmental organization. At a certain period the Marseilles region of the Party extended over no less than seven departments. How could the regional committee direct, and, most important, aid in a practical way the comrades of Corsica, for example? We had also abandoned too large sections, at one time called *rayons*, to return more and more to local organization. In 1925 to 1926 the first *rayon* of the Parisian region extended, in the geometrical form of a sector, from the Halles (markets) of Paris to the limits of the department of Seine-et-Oise.

In the provinces we still have sections that are too large. In Paris some of our *arrondissement* sections have more than four thousand members divided into more than two hundred cells. This is beyond the capacities of the best section com-

mittee. The solution is most assuredly in dividing such sections in two in order to render their direction more concrete, more vital.

Such a solution presents the enormous advantage of promoting new militants, both men and women, to positions of leadership. In time past, in order to justify the system of large intermediary organizations, it was claimed that there were insufficient cadres. That was an error. Seven departmental (or federal) committees could have brought many more militants into positions of responsibility than a single regional committee. The same goes for two, three or four section committees in place of a single one. Now, however, complaints about the lack of cadres are a veritable heresy; they must be condemned with the greatest vigor. (Loud applause.)

Can we say that we lack cadres when the Party numbers nine hundred thousand members, when the sale of *L'Humanité* every Sunday mobilizes thousands of sellers, when Communists see themselves entrusted with posts in the administration of organizations with millions of members? Indeed, if we lack cadres, that is our fault; it is because we are not yet working well enough. The cadres are there, in that mass of men, women and young men and young women devoted to the Party and passionately eager to devote themselves to useful work for the Party and under the direction of the Party. It is our job to bring forward these cadres, to develop them,

to promote them to responsible positions.

The Central Committee and the Regional Committee, the section committees, the leaders of the large cells in industry must learn to recognize these cadres, to discern the qualifications and also the defects of each of our militants and to assign those militants according to their abilities. The editing of a paper should not be entrusted to a militant who is capable of organizing, but who writes badly or with difficulty; one should not entrust organizational work to a comrade who is perhaps an excellent propagandist but certainly a deplorable organizer. We know many comrades who never gave their full measure until they were assigned to posts which finally brought into play their best qualifications.

We must take the utmost pains with our cadres, aid our militants in a practical way, fraternally help them in the correction of their faults, their weaknesses and not leave them to themselves to face difficulties which might rebuff them. We should never fear that we are wasting time in talking to our militants, in patiently listening to them. The task of a true leader is to think first how he can help the work of his comrades.

More boldness is required in promoting the younger cadres, naturally without setting aside the older, and without setting one against the other. The older cadres have experience; the younger have a sharper

sense of the new, a precious qualification for a Communist. We must work to fuse the younger and the older cadres for the greatest good of the Party and the nation.

There are occasionally complaints of limitation in the choice of cadres, there is a lack of confidence in young people, in women, and more or less generally in new members. Our old militants are dear to us; those who held fast to our colors in the difficult years, particularly in 1939 and 1940 are doubly dear to the Party; but the Party does not judge men by their past merits, it judges them by their present work. The Party never ceases to advance; and the militants, on pain of being passed by, must advance with the Party. (Applause.) They must not fear to bring forward the young.

What considerations should guide us in the choice of cadres? 1. The most complete *devotion* to the cause of the workers, to the cause of the people of France, *fidelity* to the Party, a devotion and fidelity tested in combat and in ordeals. 2. The closest bonds with the masses. Not pedantic doctrinaires, but *leaders of the people*, knowing the masses well and known by them. 3. A spirit of *initiative* and *responsibility*, the capacity to orient one's self rapidly and to make one's own decisions in any situation. 4. A spirit of *discipline*, Communist *firmness*, both in the struggle against the enemies of the people and *inflexibility* with regard to any deviations from Marxism-Leninism and the

resolute *application* of all decisions made by the regular organizations of the Party.

The application of decisions, control over their execution—it is these, along with the choice of personnel, that are essential in the domain of organization. It is not solely a question of discussing and determining a line, of making decisions. Above all the line must be applied. A close watch must be kept on the execution of all decisions. Less idle chatter, fewer interminable sessions where one talks about everything without deciding anything. Less paper work. The best section secretary is one who writes little and who may be found every evening in a cell, who considers it as his essential task to give practical aid to the secretaries of the cells. The same goes for the regional secretary, who should spend the least possible time in his office and the most in studying, on the spot, with the secretaries and the members of the section committees the problems that have to be solved.

We must also learn not to scatter our efforts, to concentrate the attention of our militants and our organizations on the essential, on the principal tasks, the accomplishment of which will necessarily lead to a greater activity in all areas. For instance, what are our principal tasks at this moment? They are: (1) to speed reconstruction, develop production; (2) to elect a sovereign national assembly which shall give to France her new constitution; (3) to found, with our Socialist brothers,

the great French Working-Class Party. All organizations, all members of the Party must concentrate their activities toward the accomplishment of these primary tasks.

Finally, let us remember that self-criticism remains the condition of all good work, of all progress on the part of the Party and the movement of the masses. The great successes of the Party sometimes bring a kind of dizziness to certain of our militants. They lose all modesty, that essential

qualification for a Communist. They make mistakes which they find difficult to recognize and correct. "To be able to recognize an error openly, to discover the causes of that error, to analyze the situation which gave rise to it, to examine attentively the means of correcting it," it is that, Lenin taught us, which is the mark of a serious party, a party which like ours, wishes to fulfil its obligations to the working class, to the people, to France. (Applause.)



Pre-Convention Discussion Articles

DISCUSSION ARTICLE BY CLAUDIA JONES

IT IS EXTREMELY NECESSARY TO examine thoroughly how our revisionist conclusions, under the name of Marxist-Leninist science, affected our work in all fields, so that we may now draw the correct conclusions with which to arm the working class and all the oppressed in our country for full victory over reaction and fascism.

I want to discuss in this article one aspect of the line we adhered to, namely Browder's thesis, contained in his article "On the Negroes and the Right of Self-Determination," which was included in the Workers Library Publisher's pamphlet, *Communists in the Struggle for Negro Rights*.

That this thesis was first put forth in October, 1943, and published in the January, 1944, issue of *The Communist*, is further evidence of what has already been noted by some contributors to these pages: that our revisionism was not something born overnight, but that it had a history, which must now be self-critically examined by each of us who shared in unquestioning and formal acceptance, without study, thought, or true conviction.

I was one who accepted this thesis as part and parcel of our whole estimate of the relationship of forces on a world and on a national scale.

The thesis on self-determination and the Negro people was thus presented by Browder:

... the crisis of history has taken a turn of such character that the Negro people in the United States have found it possible to make their historic decision once and for all. Their decision is for their complete integration into the American nation as a whole, and not for separation. . . .

The decision of the Negro people, is therefore, already made. It is that the Negro people do see the opportunity, not as a pious aspiration for an indefinite future, but as an immediate political task under the present system of approximating the position of equal citizens in America. This is, in itself, an exercise of the right of self-determination by the Negro people. By their attitude, the Negro people have exercised their historical right of self-determination. . . .

Browder bases his thesis, first and foremost, on the premise that this "decision" had taken "definite form which no foreseeable development could now change." But Comrade

Foster's basic Marxist-Leninist analysis of the revisionist class-peace policy advocated by Browder is utterly upheld in this field by current developments. Witness the vehemence with which the permanent FEPC is being fought, and more recently the scandalous libel and lynch spirit of Senator Eastland's attack upon the 800,000 Negro troops, even before victory has been completely won, which signalize the attempts to rupture the war-time Negro-white relations.

Where are the "decisive forces" reputedly at work for "Negro equality"? It is obvious that any such illusion could only disarm the working class which has not yet been advanced and united enough to compel anti-lynch legislation to be placed on the statute books of the land!

On what was the premise that "the Negroes had made their historic decision" based fundamentally? Was it based on a fundamental appraisal of the present economic, political and social status of the Negro people in the Black Belt, where (only) the question of self-determination holds?

Was it based on the prospect of a long-term alliance of the working class and the Negro people to achieve the "guarantees" of which Browder wrote: "Guarantees that there will not be a disappointment such as was administered by the Republican Party after the Civil War"?

Or was it based on a pious hope that the struggle for full economic,

social and political equality of the Negro people would be "legislated" and somehow brought into being through reforms from on top? (Some nine million Negroes live in the Black Belt under Jim Crow oppression. They are the mainstay of the source of cheap labor for monopoly capital in the United States. Their status is upheld and backed up by the Southern feudalists who are the foundation of monopoly capitalist oppression of the Negro people in the nation!)

It cannot be denied, of course, that Browder's thesis was supported and accepted on such apparent evidences in our national life as the influence of the Roosevelt Administration, which removed to a material degree the deeply rooted official sanction of discrimination against the Negro people; on the growth of unity and political maturity of the Negro people, together with the progressive labor movement; especially as evidenced in the fight for realizing the war-time FEPC; on the first election of Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., to the City Council of New York by the combined votes of Negroes and whites; as well as on the drive for abolition of the poll tax—the touchstone of political disfranchisement of ten million Negroes and poor whites in the South.

Of course, the Negro people sought to achieve equality and to renounce their second-class citizenship status! Does this fact, however, have to lead to a fundamental reversal of

the basic position of the Communists on the right to self-determination? Are the two concepts mutually exclusive?

Definitely not! What is the right to self-determination? It is not basically determined by an "attitude" of an oppressed people. It is a scientific principle that derives from an objective condition and upon this basis expresses the fundamental demands (land, equality, and freedom) of the oppressed Negro people.

The weight of emphasis in Browder's thesis on "the attitude of the Negro people" as the determining factor, and our acceptance of it, was a subjective and unscientific approach to the question. The end result of Browder's erroneous analysis, in my considered opinion (unless corrected now), would amount to this: If the Negro people made their historic decision for self-determination, through integration, and would inevitably receive freedom "under the existing American system," what need to mobilize and heighten the fight against white chauvinist ideology? What need to mobilize independent and militant struggle against the Hitler-like discriminatory practices (including social exclusion) which still beset the Negro people, despite important gains registered especially during the last twelve years?

Browder's harmful analysis led of necessity to the strengthening of bourgeois nationalism among the Negro people and to an undue re-

liance on Negro reformist leadership.

Instead of fully utilizing the potential of an anti-fascist war of national liberation, which, as Browder correctly states, fired the political maturity of the Negro people, to root out determinedly the white chauvinist prejudices among the American people (and among new sections of our own membership), we did not take that initiative.

It must be borne in mind that the gains referred to were fought for *consciously* by the Negro people and the advanced win-the-war forces in the labor movement. The very fact that each such gain was an incentive to press for new and greater ones should have shown us the temper of the Negro people, and should, likewise, have made us draw far different conclusions than those we did. It was this *conscious* indignation and organized fight that forced changes from on top; they were not granted willingly, but were the "logic" of such protests. That we spoke of the realization of some of these war-time gains as a "military necessity" *only*, was in many cases closer to a true estimate than we realized, insofar as the commitment of bourgeois class forces was concerned. But that concept led to a weakening of the struggle for Negro rights; for we failed to criticize sharply the liberal-bourgeois policies of the Roosevelt Administration (as in regards to Jim Crow practices in the armed forces) and tended to "put a wet blanket" on those win-the-war forces who ag-

gressively sought to press the demands for Negro rights.

The trends for struggle among the Negro people were not fully evaluated by the C.P.A., or, when they were, the full conclusions were not drawn. In fact, many times as a result of an all too formal national unity policy in the day-to-day struggle for the special needs of the Negro people, we ignored and glossed over the deep concern of the Negro people for their postwar status and the shape of the postwar world. This concern was instanced in the Double V slogan (Victory abroad and Victory at home) raised in 1941 in the Negro press. While not applicable at all stages of that period, it was indicative of the instinctive anti-fascist, anti-imperialist sentiments of the Negro people. In the very pamphlet under discussion, in reprints from the *Negro Digest* debate, "Have the Communists Given Up the Struggle for Negro Rights?" leading comrades, Ford, Davis and Patterson, reflected, although to an insufficient degree, the deep postwar concern of the Negro people. The historic struggle of the Communists for Negro rights and the profound trust of the Negro people in our uncompromising fight are likewise evident in the question posed in that debate, despite its heavy load of Red-baiting opponents. The record negative vote of the *Negro Digest* readers shows this to be a fact beyond any doubt.

To heighten the fight for Negro

rights becomes more important than ever today. It suffices but to mention the chauvinist ideology which still penetrates the core and culture of our national life, rendering many sections of the people susceptible to infection from this social disease.

That Negro comrades accepted Browder's opportunist thesis makes the error all the more grave, because in effect we accepted the false and bankrupt logic of reformism as a solution to the problems of the Negro people. Not only that, we accepted a "less than equal" status for the Negro people for "generations to come"—something "approximating equality."

Only by sharply dealing with this major question shall we be able to overcome the serious errors of this period and fully explain to the Negro people and the white working class the source of our errors. This, too, is the way to guarantee continued enlistment of the strength and organic support of the Negro people to the common goal.

I have one proposal, which I believe to be practical and necessary, to recommend to the National Board of the C.P.A. That is: to set up a Commission to examine our work in this field, with the aim of making a basic appraisal and study of work in Negro communities, especially presenting a factual study and analysis of the status of the Negro people in the Black Belt, in industry, in consumer, industrial and agricultural spheres, and in the trade unions.

DISCUSSION ARTICLE BY A. B. MAGIL

THE NATIONAL BOARD's resolution amended by the National Committee is a considerable improvement over the original version and shows we are making progress in freeing ourselves of the opportunist habits of thought that permeated our movement in the recent period. However, I confess myself disappointed that the latter part of the resolution, dealing with our errors, is virtually unchanged. In the light of our discussion I feel that the generalizations in section 6 are highly inadequate: they do not dig deeply enough or precisely enough into the nature and origin of our mistakes. To say that these mistakes "consisted in drawing a number of erroneous conclusions from the historic significance of the Teheran accord" is a half-truth. The fact is that the Teheran accord merely served as the occasion for transforming a gradual accretion of uncorrected errors into a full-scale revisionist system. As Marxists we cannot content ourselves with examining a phenomenon only at the point where it has reached maturity. It would be wrong to minimize the qualitative change in our opportunism that took place after Teheran; but it is also wrong to ignore the process of its growth over the course of years.

Throughout its history the Com-

munist Party in this country has had to contend with the fact that it was a relatively weak organization functioning in the most powerful imperialist country in the world and within a labor movement dominated by capitalist ideology. This situation has reflected itself in the wide oscillations from opportunism to sectarianism and back that have characterized our movement. The roots of our recent revisionism need to be traced through at least the past ten years. It was not the "intelligence" of any section of the bourgeoisie, but the impact of sharp class struggle, manifested in the great strike wave of 1934 and in the surge toward unionism of hundreds of thousands of unorganized workers, that split the American bourgeoisie and caused its liberal wing, led by President Roosevelt, to support concessions to labor and the people in an effort to shore up a capitalist system in acute crisis. And it was during those years, particularly after the 1936 election, that in executing the correct policy of the democratic front we developed a tendency to *rely* on the leadership of the liberal bourgeoisie. As a result, we were caught unprepared for the tactical shift necessitated by the outbreak of the imperialist war. We then swung to what seemed like the opposite extreme: we interpreted the

diplomatic agreement between Germany and the Soviet Union as a truce between socialism and fascism and left the leadership of the anti-fascist masses to the liberal bourgeoisie, which by that time, however, had been reunited with the reigning reactionary wing.

After June 22, 1941, we swung back: the correct tactic of unity with the major big business groups, which for their own reasons and in their own way were supporting the war against Germany, was pursued in such a fashion that the errors of the past were reproduced, so to speak, on a "higher level." And for those who may be tempted to believe that one man has had a monopoly of those errors, it is well to recall that for nearly a year after June 22, 1941, Earl Browder was in jail—a fact which in itself should have warned us against the illusions which he and we so readily embraced.

I believe too the resolution tends to gloss over the fundamental character of our opportunist mistakes when it declares: "While we Communists were beginning to re-examine our postwar perspectives and to react correctly to some of the recent international developments, we were, however, readjusting ourselves too slowly to the new world developments. . . ." The science of meteorology does not consist in carrying an umbrella when it rains and leaving it home when the sun shines. And the science of Marxism does not consist merely in "reacting" and "readjusting" our-

selves to world events. Nor did the chief trouble lie in the slowness of our readjustment. The fact is that whether we reacted rapidly or slowly, so long as our reaction and readjustment were based, not on Marxist science, but on the liberal ersatz that we had swallowed, we were rudderless and therefore increasingly incapable of truly guiding the labor movement and the nation. That is why I feel a more fundamental economic and political analysis of our errors ought to be a part of the resolution, even though a document of this kind cannot discuss the subject exhaustively.

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The economic essence of the revisionism which Comrade Browder continues to uphold consists in the fact that in the epoch of monopoly capitalism (imperialism), when the contradictions of the system have been enormously accentuated — of which the war itself is gigantic proof — this theory projects a softening of contradictions and even the resolution under the present setup of the principal one—that between the expanding productive forces and the contracting market—together with the liquidation of the general crisis of capitalism. Of course, this is not explicitly stated in Comrade Browder's writings, but this is the economic meaning of his interpretation of the Teheran accord.

The political essence of this revisionist theory is the conception that

the bourgeoisie is historically the progressive and decisive class in contemporary society. I emphasize the word "historically" advisedly. For it certainly is true that on specific issues and for limited periods the bourgeoisie or a major section of it is capable of taking a position that is objectively progressive, as is the case in the present war. And in this limited sense the bourgeoisie can also be decisive in shaping the future, as was the case with the German bourgeoisie—whose fascist decision, however, lasted only twelve years, thanks above all to the working class of the U.S.S.R. But this is quite different from Comrade Browder's non-Marxist conception of the bourgeoisie, or at least its leading groups, as playing a decisive and progressive role over an entire historic epoch—the very epoch in which, as Lenin said, "the political superstructure of the new economy, of monopoly capitalism . . . is the turn from democracy to political reaction." The practical effect of this theoretical view is to subordinate working class policy to capitalist policy not only for today, but for the indefinite future.

Comrade Browder himself has given us the best evidence that this is the political essence of his theory in his article in The Worker of June 10. It is no accident that this article is preoccupied with the question of what the American bourgeoisie will or will not do, to the virtual exclusion of everything else. Only near the end does Comrade Browder remember to say: "It is, of course, un-

derstood in all this argument that the decisive force for realizing a lasting peace is a powerful labor movement with a clear policy at the head of all the democratic masses." But this is a kind of ritualistic formula and has, in fact, no organic connection with Comrade Browder's thesis. For his entire argument is designed to show that unless the main groups of the bourgeoisie take a certain course, the peace envisaged in the Teheran-Yalta accords is doomed. He therefore wants us to direct our major efforts toward influencing the bourgeoisie. And in the course of his argument he abandons Marxist materialism for philosophic idealism, insisting that the subjective consciousness or "intelligence" of the bourgeoisie can override the contradictions inherent in its class position.

Comrade Browder's approach would in reality make impossible a successful fight for the fulfillment of the Teheran and Yalta objectives because it is oriented, in the words of the History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, "on the strata of society which are no longer developing, even though they at present constitute the predominant force," rather than on "those strata which are developing and have a future before them, even though they at present do not constitute the predominant force." (Since those words were written, the whole relationship of world forces has in fact shifted in favor of "those strata which are developing and have a future before

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them.") It is no wonder that with such an approach Comrade Browder is no longer able to think clearly about national and international events, as witness his statement at the March meeting of the C.P.A. National Committee: "The reactionary coalition [in the United States] is melting away." (*America's Decisive Battle*, p. 19.)

* * *

In combating the revisionism which permeated our movement there is always the danger of committing new errors of over-correction. One error of this type is writing and speaking as if our movement had achieved nothing at all; the fact is that even in the recent period our practical work, despite the harmful effects of our revisionist theory, adds up to a plus.

More serious is the danger of sectarianism against which Comrade Foster warned in his article in *The Worker* of July 8. Let us not ignore the fact that there is a powerful pull in that direction. One of the principal forms it takes is that of obscuring the differences within the bourgeoisie. In practice this means rejecting the Leninist policy of taking advantage of "every antagonism of interest among the bourgeoisie of the various countries and among the various groups or types of bourgeoisie within the various countries," of utilizing "even the smallest opportunity of gaining a mass ally, even

though this ally be temporary, vacillating, unstable, unreliable and conditional." I feel that in this respect the amended resolution is still not entirely satisfactory, for it practically obliterates all conflicts of interest and policy among the monopolists. It is true that section 3 says that "labor should cooperate with those capitalist groupings and elements who, for one or another reason, desire or endeavor to promote democratic objectives." This, however, stands in contradiction to section 2, where the present role of the bourgeoisie is described as if it were a homogeneous unit. Missing from section 2 is not only some indication of the real cleavages that exist, even though they are subordinate to the basic reactionary drives, but also recognition that these alignments are not rigid, that shifts are taking place, and that particularly in this period, after the defeat of Germany, bourgeois policy is transitional and fluid. I think we need a richer and less one-sided analysis if we are to function most effectively in an enormously complicated situation

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It is of course relatively easy to beat someone else's breast. I am not part of our national leadership, but there is no reason why the thousands of readers of *New Masses*, of which I am an associate editor, should for that reason overlook the fact that I too helped lead them astray. It was none other than I who in June 1944 wrote two articles in *New Masses* on

cartels, in the first of which I ridiculed the bourgeois and Social-Democratic theories after World War I that cartels would be instruments of stability and peace—and in the second article defended this idea in regard to cartels after the present war. And my arguments were very “plausible”—even if untrue. When I ask what led me to such folly, I must note that, apart from the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois pressures that affected the movement as a whole, in my own case habits of lazy thinking were a contributing factor. I regarded myself as an interpreter rather than a formulator of policy and hence

felt free of the responsibility to grapple with basic problems. Lazy thinking also manifested itself in a tendency to seek in the Marxist-Leninist classics not illumination on the problems of today, but apt quotations to corroborate ready-made solutions. I know it will not be easy to rid myself of all vestiges of the opportunism which corroded that which for every Communist must be his dearest political possession, Marxist-Leninist science. But this is a battle I must wage together with our entire membership until it is won for myself as well as for our organization as a whole.

DISCUSSION ARTICLE BY J. MINDEL

ONE OF THE REASONS for the errors committed by the Communist Party was complacency and an easy-going approach to theoretical mistakes. Another was the trust the comrades had in Comrade Browder. We always expected Browder to be the first one to acknowledge mistakes and help correct them. This led to the substitution of the bourgeois practice of one-man leadership for the Communist principle of collective leadership. Such an attitude led to the loss of initiative and self-criticism, and made it impossible even for Comrade Foster to raise his warning before the entire Party. Even lately many trusted Comrade Browder to correct the mistakes committed and to help strengthen and unify the Communist Political Association. Browder failed to correct his mistakes.

The answer to this is to be found in an examination of Browder's speeches and writings. They will disclose that the change in the line of the C. P. and the dissolution of the C. P. itself were influenced not by the historic Teheran conference alone. Teheran did not demand a policy of retreat. Teheran demanded and demands now a policy of struggle, the mobilization of all the anti-fascist forces for its support. The dissolution of the C. P. was not dictated by Teheran. The dissolution was a con-

cession to reactionary finance capital, a policy of retreat before their attack upon the war effort of the nation, the Roosevelt Administration, organized labor, and the Communists.

One has only to recall the difficulties the country encountered in converting industry to serve the war needs, the sabotage of certain monopolies, such as aluminum, and the refusal of others speedily to convert their plants for war production and to build new plants.

The industrial leaders as a whole proved their inability to cope with and meet the needs of the nation in the crisis of war. The government, under the leadership of the late President, had to assume the initiative in planning production for war, building new plants with the people's money and renting them out to the same monopolies for their private gain. The economy of the country has thus been run on the basis of state capitalism on the one hand and private enterprise on the other. An unrestricted market and high profits were provided by the government for the goods produced. The representatives of big business occupied the key positions in the apparatus created by the government to serve the needs of war. Labor and the public received some secondary positions.

The initiative and patriotic zeal shown by labor, especially organized labor, in promoting the steady flow of war supplies alarmed the monopolists. The seven-point program advanced by Roosevelt to curb war profits and regulate prices enraged most capitalists. A frontal attack upon the Administration and labor was made by the monopolists and their agents, and the President's seven-point program was defeated in Congress.

Roosevelt accepted the defeat and compromised with the financial oligarchy.

Instead of resisting the attacks of monopoly capital and assuming the leadership in mobilizing labor and the win-the-war elements to resist the reactionaries, we, under the leadership of Browder, retreated.

Probably the President was correct in judging that any further pressure in that direction would cause disaffection from the war effort among capitalists, whose prejudices would be outraged, and that would do more harm to the war than the increased economic efficiency would do good.—Earl Browder, *Teheran*, p. 72.

The further retreat during the elections was adequately dealt with by Comrade Foster in his report to the National Committee. But what escaped our attention is the fact that Browder already completely absolved American finance capital of being imperialist. In his article in

Political Affairs for February, 1945, Browder stated:

They [a few obvious conclusions] confirm the fact which we noted in January 1944, that the decisive sections of the American capitalist class have abandoned the old policy of hard-boiled reaction and imperialism and are seriously trying to adjust themselves to the democratic currents and needs of the nation at war.

The United States is indeed a land of miracles! The "decisive section" of the American bourgeoisie changes its nature by the simple educational process of improving its mentality. Its new "intelligence" becomes now the decisive factor that determines its actions. This new discovery on the part of Comrade Browder makes all the work of Marx and Lenin outdated. Imperialist capitalism is no more. The inner contradictions of capitalism and the law of uneven development are done away with at the stroke of a pen.

The economic and political development of the different parts of the United States is uneven. The different levels of development produce friction and antagonisms in the ranks of the capitalist class itself. The recent industrial development in the West is obstructed by the monopolists of the East. New forces are struggling for the industrial development of the South, for the abolition of the feudal remnants there, for more education, for the development of a local market for their commod-

ities. In this effort they are obstructed by finance capital of the North and the bourbons of the South, this reactionary alliance obstructs and seeks to defeat every effort for progressive action to remove the economic, political, and social inheritances of the slave system. Browder's revisionism led to the dissolution of the Party in the South, and to abandonment of the Negro and white people of the Southern states to the mercy of the reactionaries. The logical conclusion of Browder's new theory, that the decisive section of the monopolists and financial oligarchs can be progressive, led in practice to the belief that their allies, the Bourbons of the South, the allies of finance capital, will also become infected with "intelligence" and humanism and will voluntarily give up the system of oppression and persecution and the reactionary laws operating in the southern states. The Negro and white people in the southern states and labor need not worry about the future. The feudal remnants existing in the South will fall of themselves as soon as the Bilbos and the Rankins become "intelligent."

Finance capital is the fusion of industrial and banking capital. This fact, nevertheless, does not diminish the contradictions within the capitalist class itself. On the contrary, it sharpens them. As exporters of capital, finance capitalists seek to perpetuate reaction, feudalism, and fascism everywhere. As monopolists they seek to control the natural re-

sources of every country, take possession of the land, and turn every country into a producer of raw materials.

On the other hand, as producers of commodities they are in need of extended markets. These markets can be secured in the U.S.S.R., in the reconstruction of Europe, in the industrial development of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples and in raising the standard of living at home.

Monopoly cannot do away with competition altogether; alongside the monopolies new industrial enterprises are created. New capitalists seek a place in the economic and political structure of the country. This explains the difference between the Kaisers and Eric Johnstons, on the one hand, and the du Ponts and Pews, on the other. This is the basis of the contradictory foreign policy of the United States.

The forms of struggle adopted by American imperialism to gain hegemony in world affairs has differed from time to time. One of these forms is known as the policy of isolation. Isolationism is not a policy of keeping America out of foreign entanglements as the official proponents of isolation want us to believe. The policy of the American trusts of participation in cartel agreements for the economic division of the globe belies their assertions.

American imperialism believes it can rule the world with the power of money, and therefore makes every

effort to defeat any international agreements that may curb that power. Vandenberg, Taft, and Wheeler are not accidental individuals who represent their private views in Congress. They are the agents of finance capital in the halls of Congress and continue the work of Lodge, Harding, and Hoover.

The Teheran and Yalta agreements among the United States, England, and the Soviet Union were of great historic significance. They made certain the defeat of Nazi Germany and laid the basis for the destruction of fascism everywhere—politically and morally. The defeat of Germany and its satellites makes certain the defeat of the remaining member of the fascist Axis, Japan.

Teheran and Yalta also laid the basis for the close alliance of all peace-loving nations to ensure peace for a long time to come. The result of these conferences is the United Nations organization formed in San Francisco. The continuance of the collaboration of the big powers, especially the United States and the Soviet Union, was achieved in spite of the machinations of reactionary representatives of finance capital at San Francisco.

Comrade Browder sees the solution of all the contradictions inherent in world capitalism in one single factor—the peaceful coexistence of the two social systems—the socialist and capitalist. The idea that peaceful coexistence of the two social systems is possible was long ago envisioned by

Lenin and Stalin; and that the U. S. is a powerful factor to insure it was part of the Soviet foreign policy since the inception of the Soviet state. At the Genoa Conference, in 1922, the Soviet delegation, on the instructions of Lenin, made the following declaration:

While remaining true to the principles of Communism, the Russian delegation is of the opinion that in the present period of history, which renders it possible for the old system and the new and growing social system to exist side by side, economic collaboration between the states representing these two systems of property is imperatively demanded in the interests of universal economic restoration. . . .

Stalin reiterated this statement in 1927. But neither Lenin nor Stalin ever thought that this coexistence is automatically insured or that agreements between the capitalist states and the Soviet Union by themselves insure peace, or do away with the contradictions inherent in the capitalist system, which are the real cause of war, crisis, unemployment, and starvation.

Comrade Browder is not certain himself that his theory of a "new epoch" can be built only on the collaboration between the United States and the U.S.S.R. But once he made that the cornerstone of his theory he had to find the force that would insure that collaboration. This new force was forthcoming—the "intelligence" of the American imperialists.

Browder is not altogether certain

that the higher "intelligence" will penetrate the skulls of what he calls the reactionary minority. But he finds a solution to this perplexing problem. He advises the C.P.A. to mobilize the working class and all progressive forces in support of the "intelligent" capitalists, who will in their turn press upon the reactionaries to drop their imperialism.

The tendencies of individual capitalists Browder ascribes to the whole capitalist class. The reform policies of Roosevelt which grew out of the crisis and the war, Browder accepts as a permanent policy of the capitalist class as a whole.

The truth of the matter is that while individual capitalists may join, or even initiate, progressive and democratic movements, this nevertheless does not change the nature of the class itself.

Every Marxist knows . . . that classes retain their distinguishing characteristics regardless of the free movement of individuals from one class to another; similarly, movements in political life retain their distinguishing characteristics regardless of the free migration of individuals from one movement to another, and despite all attempts and efforts to fuse movements.—Lenin, *Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution*, p. 21.

Comrade Duclos' article was of real service to the American Communists. It hastened the process of the examination of our policy, and it will bring about a stronger and more unified C.P.A. Theory, criticism, self-criticism, and collective work will become the weapons of all militant workers in the struggle for an enduring peace, democracy, security, and jobs.

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POLAND

AFTER LIBERATION*

BY K. RUDNITSKY

ONLY THREE MONTHS have passed since the Red Army's winter offensive began, but what enormous changes have taken place in this short period! The victories achieved by the Soviet troops led to the complete liberation and reunion of Poland. It may be said without exaggeration that these months constitute an epoch in the life of the Polish people. At every step one sees evidence of profound change in the most diverse fields of public life. Irreversible processes have taken place which will determine the entire future development of the country. In the kaleidoscopic succession of events one can already clearly discern the features of the new, democratic Polish republic, differing radically from the pre-war Polish state, which from the moment it came into existence marched to the defeat and destruction it met with in September, 1939.

* From *The War and the Working Class*, No. 8, April 15, 1945. This article was written prior to the formation of the new Polish Government of National Unity in Warsaw, which has been accorded recognition by the governments of France, Great Britain, the United States, China, Sweden, Norway, Switzerland, Italy, Denmark, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Canada. The U.S.S.R. extended its previous recognition of the Polish Provisional Government to the present government. *The Editors.*

First of all, the geographical contours of Poland have altered. Her borders have extended westward and she has thereby obtained at last natural, ethnographical frontiers. For the first time in her history Poland is becoming a solid national state in which all Polish lands are united. The new frontiers, which run along the Oder and the Neisse, and include the Baltic coast and the southern and western sections of East Prussia, will strengthen her independence and greatly enhance her economic and military potential. Poland will become a first-class industrial state. With the reunion of the ancient Western Polish lands she receives scores of coal pits and blast furnaces and hundreds of metallurgical and chemical plants at which Polish engineers, technicians and workers are employed. Poland has become the mistress of a large section of the Baltic coast with first-class ports. This opens up wide prospects for the development of shipping, commerce and industry and the building of a maritime fleet. Lastly, the Western regions represent an immense land fund consisting of the large estates of the German Junkers and Hitler chiefs. Here hundreds of thousands of landless and poor Polish peasants will settle and become a reliable bulwark against the German *Drang nach Osten*.

That is why, in the struggle to reunite the Western lands with Poland and to restore to them their Polish character, the entire Polish people rallied around the Provisional

Government. This is proved by the immense demonstrations which were held in Warsaw, Cracow, Katowice, and other towns. Representatives of the most diverse sections of the population whom one meets express their immense joy at the restitution to Poland of her ancient lands which had been seized by the German robbers. The participation of the Polish Army in the liberation of the Western lands revived the national pride of the Poles which had been trampled upon by the arrogant German invaders. It is characteristic that even those circles of Polish society who at first adopted a wait-and-see policy toward the Provisional Government are now not only declaring that they support it, but are taking an active part in the practical work of assimilating the new lands. Many important and complicated tasks are arising in this sphere, and the Poles are setting to work to solve them with the greatest eagerness. The consequences of the prolonged and violent Germanization of the Polish towns and villages must be eliminated; the industrial and commercial enterprises, the machinery of administration, and so forth, must be purged of the Hitler scum and their hangers-on. It goes without saying that to carry out these tasks the most active assistance of the broad masses of the people is needed; and the people are rendering the Provisional Government this assistance in full measure. Thousands and thousands of peasants,

workers, intellectuals, shopkeepers, artisans and manufacturers in all parts of Poland have expressed their willingness to settle in the new lands, and the Provisional Government is methodically meeting their wishes. The peasants of the Katowice and a number of other districts are, on their own initiative, and in spite of their own impoverishment, collecting food for the Polish population in the Western regions that was starving.

With what scorn the Poles speak of the bankrupt politicians in the London emigre clique who, through the mouth of Arciszewski, expressed opposition to the annexation of Lower Silesia and Western Pomerania to Poland on the plea that "Poland did not need" these lands. Once again it was proved that these renegades have lost all ties with their country. They do not know what the Poles are thinking and feeling. They are betraying the national interests, the strivings and the aspirations of the people. A wide gulf lies between them and all their hangers-on, and the people of liberated Poland.

* * *

During the twenty years that pre-September Poland was in existence the peasants constantly demanded land, but not a single Polish government either could or would settle this question so vitally important for the country. At the present time the agrarian reform has been in the main

carried out in Poland. By April 1 about half a million hectares of former landlord land passed to the peasants in the Cracow, Lodz, Warsaw and Bialystok *województwa* as a result of the reform. In the territories liberated after January 12 this year the percentage of peasant families who were allotted land is approximately two and a half times as great as the percentage in the Lublin area. As many peasants in the newly liberated districts informed us, the reform was carried out at a much more rapid rate, in a more organized manner, and more effectively in these districts than in the Lublin region, although the area of land to be distributed was several times larger. This was due, firstly, to the greatly enhanced prestige of the Provisional Government and the improvement in its machinery of administration, and also to the exceptional activity displayed by the peasants themselves who were eager to divide up the land before the sowing season commenced. This spring the peasants are sowing their own land, and, considering the difficulties created by the shortage of draft animals, seeds and implements in the rural districts which have been devastated by the German invaders, the sowing is proceeding more successfully than might have been expected.

For the first time in Poland's history the peasants have to deal with a government which not only promised but gave them land and is ren-

dering them all possible assistance. Interest in the agrarian reform was not confined to the rural districts; it became a nationwide affair. The workers, intellectuals and a section of the clergy took a most active part in carrying out the reform. Economic ties between town and country are only just being established, and renascent Polish industry, which is working primarily to supply the needs of the front, will not be able to immediately provide the rural districts with manufactured goods. Nevertheless, the Polish peasantry, fully appreciating the situation, regard it as their patriotic duty to keep the towns supplied. The vast masses of the Polish peasantry have become active and are taking an energetic part in public and political life. Tens of thousands of peasant activists who came to the forefront in the course of carrying out the agrarian reform have joined the ranks of the democratic parties and the *Rady Narodowe*, or People's Councils. They are at the head of the peasant mutual aid societies. We have seen these new men and women of the Polish countryside. It is not surprising that they don't want to have anything to do with the pre-September politicians, with the phantoms of the past. They are organizing the activity of the peasants; and this activity is great, and is constantly growing. The zeal with which the peasants have set to work to restore the cultural institutions in the rural districts is characteristic. In

the Minsk-Mazowiecki district alone the mutual aid society has established and is maintaining two peasant high schools. Such a thing was absolutely inconceivable in pre-September Poland.

The agrarian reform has laid the foundation for the economic and cultural development of the Polish rural districts, for the strengthening of the political independence of Poland and for the consolidation of her genuinely democratic regime.

In this extremely important matter too the reactionary emigre politicians have been thrown overboard. The Arciszewskis, and others too, tried to scare the Polish peasants with the specter of famine and chaos, which, they maintained, would be the inevitable consequence of the agrarian reform introduced by the Provisional Government. These bankrupts, who were carrying out the orders of the Polish land magnates, had the effrontery to describe as "absurd" the agrarian reform, which for the first time created for the Polish peasants conditions for a human existence. Their agents in Poland did not confine themselves to anti-popular propaganda. While the reform was being carried out in the Lublin area there were frequent cases of terroristic acts committed by the cutthroats of the so-called Armia Krajowa who were operating on the orders of the diehard landlords. These adventurers tried to intimidate the peasants and assassinated representatives of the democratic

parties. In the territories liberated after January 12 these hostile mercenaries displayed far less activity and the peasants resorted to stern and swift measures to thwart their attempts to hinder the distribution of the landlords' land.

The Poles with whom we had occasion to converse expressed surprise that there were still people here and there who allowed themselves to be deceived by the fairy tales told by the reactionary emigrants in the Arciszewski-Raczkiewicz clique and by their accomplices about the "chaos and famine" which, they alleged, are raging in Poland. They pointed to the successful carrying out of radical reforms in the Polish countryside in such a short space of time as the best possible refutation of the hypocritical statements of these renegades.

* * *

The Raczkiewicz - Arciszewski clique have given their agents the treacherous instruction to multiply and aggravate the difficulties confronting the Polish state and to sabotage the Government's measures to restore industry and to supply the population with food. But none but a handful of inveterate and incorrigible reactionaries respond to these criminal exhortations. The emigre clique counted on being able to drive the country to economic disaster and create political chaos in the midst of which they would be better able to

wage their struggle for power, but these calculations have utterly collapsed.

It goes without saying that the results of the five years' rule of the Hitlerites in Poland are making themselves felt in every branch of the national economy. The people will still have to exert enormous efforts to raise the country out of the state of economic ruin; but the main thing is that they are responding to the measures taken by their Provisional Government to overcome this state of affairs with tremendous eagerness and enthusiasm.

The German invaders wrecked a large number of industrial enterprises, and particularly the railways, shipped part of the industrial equipment and raw materials out of the country, ruined the countryside and razed Warsaw to the ground. To cause inflation and to sap the economic strength of the country, they issued worthless paper currency, the so-called Cracow zlotys, to amounts running into billions.

In spite of all this, however, no unbiased observer can fail to see that the Provisional Government is coping with the situation notwithstanding all the difficulties. The restoration of industry has commenced; hundreds of enterprises, including a number of large works and pits in Silesia and textile mills in Lodz, have already been restarted. The Government's energetic financial measures have averted inflation. All the German enterprises have become

the property of the Polish state. The state has taken over the largest enterprises in the key industries. Thanks to the patriotic labor enthusiasm of the wage and salaried workers the restoration of industry and the transport system is proceeding at a rapid rate. Work has commenced on the restoration of Warsaw. In the Silesia and Dombrowa coal fields hundreds of thousands of tons of coal have already been brought to the surface. Lodz is already ensured of coal supplies and during the last two weeks has doubled its output of finished goods.

In the Western regions of Poland the Provisional Government has returned the medium and small factories, shops and workshops to their lawful owners who had been robbed of them by the Germans. The Provisional Government is encouraging and assisting private enterprise in the country, is supplying manufacturers, artisans and merchants with raw materials and credits. All this is facilitating the rapid rehabilitation of industry and commerce and enables the government to control and direct their growth. In spite of all its faults and defects the mechanism of the country's economic life has been set in motion. Its work is improving day by day; it is putting on speed and extending to new regions. This helps to rally all sections of the Polish people still more closely around the Provisional Government and puts the relations between the organs of the state and all groups

of the Polish people on a business-like basis.

The country is passing through the first exhilarating months of the organization of the national forces. All sections of the people have awakened from the horrible nightmare of the Hitler occupation and have plunged into the new life. They are hastening to unite and set up their organizations. The trade union movement is growing at a tremendous rate and already unites an army of wage and salaried workers half a million strong. All over the country merchants and artisans are organizing and businessmen's associations are being formed. Democratic labor legislation serves as the basis for regulating the relations between the workers and the factory administrations on new principles.

Notwithstanding the severe wounds the Hitler invaders inflicted on the country, notwithstanding the ruin they caused, the Polish people are already making an appreciable contribution to the cause of achieving the utter defeat of Hitlerism. An important achievement of the Provisional Government was the formation and continual strengthening of an efficient army and its equipment with high-grade technical material. The Polish people and their government understand perfectly well that the primary duty of the Polish state is to wage an armed struggle against the common enemy of the freedom-loving nations shoulder

to shoulder with the Red Army, and that this struggle must be waged until the complete rout of Hitler Germany is achieved and the danger of German aggression is completely eliminated.

At the present time the Polish Army consists of several hundred thousand well-armed men, strongly united as the result of the battles they have fought for the liberation of their country, and thousands of officers who in patriotism and fighting experience are far superior to the officers of the old pre-September Polish Army. The technical equipment, the fire power, aircraft and tank forces of the new army are also far superior to the old. The Polish Army participated jointly with the Red Army in the gigantic offensive which liberated Poland. Shoulder to shoulder with the men of the Red Army Polish soldiers fought their way to the Baltic and hoisted the flag of the Polish state over the roofs of Gdansk, Gdynia and Kolobrzeg.

The reactionary generals, who regarded themselves as indispensable, jointly with the Raczkiewicz and Arciszewskis, prophesied that without their aid no Polish army could be formed. Verily they proved to be bad prophets. On alien soil, far from their Polish motherland, these people are now hatching new plans for reckless adventures against the people. But these plans are fated to meet with the same ignominious failure that met all the previous intrigues of these schemers who are

alien and hostile to their people and to the spirit which animates them.

* * *

Important changes have taken place in the political life of the country during the past three months. The increased activity of the population finds striking reflection in the rapid growth of all the democratic parties which are represented in the Provisional Government. Inter-party committees regulate the relations between the different parties on the basis of mutual loyalty and cooperation. At the head of and in the People's Councils there are members of the Polish Workers' Party, the Stronnictwo Ludowe, socialists and democrats, as well as a large number of men and women active in public affairs who are not affiliated to any of the existing parties. This serves to enhance the popular representative character of the People's Councils and links them with all strata of the population.

These organs of democratic self-government are to an increasing degree becoming effective centers of public opinion, initiative and control. As a result, the young democratic machinery of state, resting on the all-embracing system of People's Councils, not only reaches every nucleus of public life, but is being reinforced by young and energetic members who are connected with the people. The Polish press, now free from the influence of reaction, is passing through a real renaissance.

It quickly reacts to all questions of the day and freely expresses the opinion of the different strata of the public. With the reunion of the Western lands, the forces of Polish democracy have grown considerably. In those districts the influence of the democratic parties was far stronger than in the rest of Poland even during the struggle against the German invaders, and the efforts of the agents of the emigre "government" never met with any appreciable success. This explains the exceptional unanimity with which the Polish inhabitants of these districts welcomed the Provisional Government and its representatives and the support they rendered them from the very first day. It also explains why, in spite of all their efforts, the hangers-on of the Raczkiewicz-Arciszewski clique never succeeded in provoking a single untoward incident either in working class Lodz, in highly industrialized Silesia and Dombrowa, in Pomerania or in Poznan. The Raczkiewicz - Arciszewski clique and their accomplices have the effrontery to claim that they "represent" the Polish public in these districts, but they are condemned even by those who are known for their conservatism, by representatives of Catholic circles, and so forth.

* * *

The Polish people welcomed the historic decisions of the Crimea Conference with tremendous en-

thusiasm and unanimity. This is proved not only by official statements and by utterances in the press, but also by the opinions one hears expressed in private conversation with the common people in all walks of life. Exceptional gratification was called forth by the decision of the Crimea Conference to recognize the now functioning Provisional Government as the basis for the formation, by the inclusion of democratic leaders from Poland herself and from Poles abroad, of a government which will be recognized by all the Allied powers. The Polish press wrote that this was tantamount to the *de facto* recognition of the Provisional Government by the Allied powers. At the same time the Polish public particularly noted that the Crimea decisions completely ignored the London emigre "government." The people of liberated Poland regarded this as incontrovertible proof that the anti-popular Raczkiewicz-Arciszewski clique and their accomplices have been completely removed from the political stage. Under these circumstances,

the Polish people are surprised that reactionary emigre cliques are still allowed to cut their antics in the Allied countries and are still playing at being a "government." They ask in perplexity: How long will the Allied democratic powers continue to have dealings with these phantoms of pre-September Poland, with these bankrupts, who cannot and will not be allowed to return to the country?

The people of liberated Poland, now conscious of their strength, naturally do not wish to have any dealings with those who are responsible for the September catastrophe or even with those who follow their lead. Particular displeasure is roused here by the attempts of certain organs of the British and American press to garble the Crimea decisions and to interpret them in a spirit inimical to the interests of liberated Poland. The Polish people are convinced, however, that all the attempts of the advocates of the old and utterly decayed regime of the Polish reactionaries will be shattered by the impact of reality.

TRADE UNIONS AND THE STATE*

BY K. OMELCHENKO

CERTAIN FOREIGN CIRCLES fairly often bring up the question of the relations between the trade unions and the state. The interest displayed in this subject is quite intelligible as it concerns an extremely important sphere of contemporary political life in all democratic countries where trade unions exist.

One cannot help noting, however, that the discussion invariably centers around only one country on our planet, namely, the Soviet Union. Moreover, the subject is discussed only from one definite angle, the angle of the so-called "neutrality" of the trade unions. The advocates of "neutrality" maintain that trade unions are organizations which stand "above the state," if one may so express it, and claim that this applies to the trade unions in all countries except the Soviet Union, where they are "connected with the state," and, consequently, are "not independent," and are not even democratic working-class organizations. From this, certain elements draw the conclusion that it is impossible to cooperate with the Soviet

trade unions. The most vociferous advocates of this schismatic view are the reactionary leaders of the American Federation of Labor. Similar arguments may, however, be met with also in the European press. The Swedish *Dagens Nyheter*, for example, recently made the following statement regarding the "character of the Russian trade union movement":

Lack of independence has always distinguished the Russian trade union movement from the trade union movement of the democratic countries.

Hazy statements to the effect that the Soviet trade unions "lack independence" may also be found in the columns of the Swedish Social-Democratic newspaper *Morgen Tidningen*, the organ of the Swedish government. Honestly speaking, this newspaper would do far better to ponder over the lack of independence of the Swedish federation of trade unions, which, as all the world knows, has been trailing in the wake of the ruling circles of Sweden during the whole period of the war. If that newspaper had honestly raised the question of the degree of "independence" the leaders of the Swedish trade unions have displayed in vindicating the interests of the Swedish working class, the answer would have been perfectly clear; for during the war the activities of the Swedish trade unions have been completely subordinated to the government's policy, which, as is well known, has been of extreme service

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to fascist Germany and her satellites. The natural result has been that the interests of the Swedish working class have suffered considerably.

If it were only a matter of the personal likes and dislikes of certain leaders and organs of the press one could ignore the assessment of the Soviet trade union movement made, say, by Green, the President of the American Federation of Labor, or by certain Swedish newspapers. But both the Swedish Right-Wing Social-Democrats and the American trade union isolationists make their arguments about the "neutrality" and "independence" of the trade unions a pretext for vilifying the Soviet trade unions. On these grounds they oppose cooperation between the trade unions of their countries and those of the U.S.S.R. They are doing all in their power to isolate the Soviet trade union movement. Thus, the discussion of the problem of "trade unions and the state" and the touching concern that is displayed about the "character of Russian trade unionism" are far from academic.

* * *

Before dealing with the character of the Soviet trade unions and their activities we must be clear on certain general principles which govern the activities of trade unions and their relations with the state. There is nothing wrong in the trade unions cooperating with the state, and such

cooperation cannot be condemned as such. Situations and periods occur in the lives of nations when cooperation between the trade unions and the state is not only permissible but even essential, on one indispensable condition, however, *viz.*, that such cooperation is in the interests of the working class. Not only the Soviet, but also the British and the American trade unions, for example, are actively supporting the governments of their respective countries in the struggle against Hitler Germany. Who would ever doubt that this support and cooperation are positive factors in promoting the interests of the working class? Could the trade unions today remain neutral toward the policy of the state in the struggle against Hitler aggression without actually betraying the cause of the working class? The decisions passed by the World Trade Union Conference in London to render the utmost assistance to the war efforts of the Allies provide a clear and unambiguous answer to this question. Consequently, the question of the relations between the trade unions and the state cannot be examined apart from the concrete historical situation.

The relations between the trade unions and the state in our country have also been determined by history. The attitude of our workers and trade unions toward the state under tsarism was quite different from their attitude toward the state today under the Soviet system, when

social relations have undergone a radical change and the working class has become the ruling class. In our country it is the working class which exercises political leadership of society. Soviet society contains no classes whose interests run counter to the interests of the working class. The close cooperation between the trade unions and the Soviet state is determined by the fact that the Soviet Union is a socialist, a workers' and peasants' state, in which all power belongs to the working people. Cooperation between the Soviet trade unions and the Soviet state does not and cannot in the slightest degree imply either encroachment on the independence of the trade union movement or the renouncement by the trade unions of their main functions, *viz.*, protection of the interests of the working class. This is the opposite of what exists in capitalist countries, where, quite often, the trade unions sacrifice the interests of the working class to the interests of the ruling class, which in those countries is not the working class but the bourgeoisie.

Every unbiased person who is familiar with the actual state of affairs in the Soviet Union must admit that the activities of the Soviet trade unions are of an extremely extensive and fruitful character. The fruits of these activities are inseparable from the general achievements of the working class of the U.S.S.R., *viz.*, abolition of exploitation, abolition of unemployment and all-

round improvement in the economic, social and material conditions of the working class. Those who are familiar with the Soviet system of social insurance and maintenance cannot fail to see how far ahead of their foreign comrades the Soviet trade unions and the Soviet workers have advanced in the sphere of protection of the health of the working people, mother and child welfare, and maintenance in old age, in spite of the fact that there are trade unions in many foreign countries which are far older than the Soviet trade unions. The enormous cultural progress of the workers of the Soviet Union is also an indisputable fact; and the colossal opportunities, compared with Western Europe and America, enjoyed by the Soviet workers, the Soviet youth and Soviet women for satisfying their cultural requirements, their opportunities for education and improving their skill in their various trades and professions, and their opportunities for promotion, are undeniable achievements of the Soviet system.

The Soviet state provides the trade unions with facilities for protecting the economic and legal rights of their members on a scale unprecedented in any other country. At the same time our trade unions are materially independent of the state. They exist and carry on their functions with their own funds, obtained from membership dues. The working people of our country have every ground for regarding their trade

unions as the most democratic in the world.

The very principle on which the Soviet trade unions are built up testifies to their widely democratic character. In the first place they are voluntary organizations. The question of joining or of leaving a trade union is a matter for the free choice of every wage and salaried worker. No artificial barriers are placed in the way of a worker who wants to join a trade union. Neither occupation, degree of skill, sex, nationality or race, nor political or religious convictions, are obstacles to trade union membership. All the leading trade union bodies, from the bottom up, are elected and are responsible to their electors. The secret ballot fully ensures to the members of the trade unions the democratic expression of their will.

Thus, one of the most important distinguishing features of the Soviet Union is that here the protection of the interests of the working class by the trade unions is inseparably bound up with constant support of the state by the trade unions. The entire policy and all the activities of the Soviet state are conducted in the interests of the working class and have for their main object the all-round and far-reaching protection of these interests. The reactionary leaders of many trade unions in the capitalist countries compel their unions to support the state to the detriment of the interests of the working class, for the policies pursued by the gov-

ernments of these countries, by serving the ruling groups and the propertied classes, often run counter to the interests of the masses.

In the light of these general propositions the following, at first sight paradoxical, fact will become clear. Those very trade union leaders in foreign countries who attack the Soviet trade union movement on the plea of protecting trade union "neutrality" and their "independence" of the state, deliberately hush up the policy pursued by their own trade unions toward the state. If however, we examine this policy the following will become clear. Firstly, that it departs from trade union "neutrality" and "independence" even in theory. Secondly, that, in practice, the trade unions usually follow in the wake of the policy of their governments. Very often they do this to the detriment of the vital interests of the working class which they are supposed to protect.

We shall deal first of all with the country where the history of trade unions goes back further than that of any other country, *viz.*, Great Britain.

We have before us a work by Professor Cole entitled *British Trade Unionism Today* which was published in London just before the outbreak of the present war. As the author tells us, the book was composed with the collaboration of thirty trade union leaders and other experts. Considerable space in it is devoted to the question of the re-

lations between the trade unions and the state. The author says that there are two views concerning the objects pursued by the trade union movement.

On the one side are those who regard the industrial organization of the workers as the instinctive expression of the class struggle which is inherent in the wage relationship between capitalist and laborer, and can be transcended only by the supersession of capitalism itself. The workers who take this view are class-conscious proletarians . . . seeking to weld the whole working class together into a solid force for the overthrow of capitalism. For them, trade unionism is essentially a fighting movement, resting on a class basis; and any agreements which the workers may make with their employers are but truces, temporary intervals in a war which can end only with the final victory of the working class. . . .

The second idea of trade unionism is that it exists in order to protect and advance the interests of a defined group of workers who possess some special skill or other mark of distinction from the general mass of labor, so that they can hope by a close combination of those who possess this special qualification to secure better terms of employment and a higher status than would be possible if each man acted alone. The aim of those who hold this view is to create for themselves a limited monopoly of labor, in order to improve its price, just as capitalists endeavor by combination to exact a monopoly profit. There is in this type of trade unionism no set intention to change the economic system, but only

a will to make it work better from the standpoint of the particular group. Nor is there any desire to build up a solid combination of the whole working class; for it is clearly impossible for all of them to exact special privileges. If there is to be exploitation, there must be persons left to exploit.

The author goes on to say that "in practice no trade union accepts completely either of these points of view," and in Britain there predominate rather "combinations approaching very near to the second idea." The author observes that this influences "trade unionism as a whole. . . ."

One may or may not agree with the ideas enunciated above, but one thing is clear, and that is that not one of them has anything in common with the vaunted principle of trade union "neutrality." Neither the first point of view, which is based on the recognition of the class struggle, nor the second, which advocates the principle of class collaboration and of supporting the capitalist system of society, can by any stretch of the imagination be regarded as neutral.

Outstanding investigators of the British trade union movement like Sidney and Beatrice Webb emphasized more than once in their *History of Trade Unionism* that the official policy of the trade unions always expressed the striving of their leaders toward a sort of coalescence with the machinery of the state.

"And most remarkable of all," we

read in the chapter entitled "The Place of Trade Unionism in the State," "the trade union itself has been tacitly accepted as a part of the administrative machinery of the State. . . . The recognition of the trade union movement as part of the governmental structure of the nation began in an almost imperceptible way. . . . It is not taken for granted that trade unionism must be distinctively and effectually represented . . . on all Royal Commissions and Departmental Committees, whether or not these inquiries are concerned specifically with 'labor questions'. . . . It is needless to say that this recognition was not accorded to the trade union world without a *quid pro quo* from the trade union movement to the Government."

The character of this coalescence of the trade union machinery with the machinery of state in Great Britain, which very often runs counter to the vital interests of the British workers, was most vividly revealed in the most dramatic periods of the British working class movement, such as, for instance, during the general strike in 1926. As an example of how the British trade unions subordinated the interests of the working class to the interests of the ruling classes, we may quote the deplorable Munich period, when Chamberlain's policy of "appeasing" the German aggressor hastened the approach of the Second World War. In spite of the wishes of the trade union membership, the leaders of the Trade Union Congress followed in the wake of the official government

policy and when the government tacked, they invariably tacked too.

The coalescence of the trade union federations with the bourgeois machinery of state—through compulsory arbitration and conferences of employers and various class collaboration organizations—was observed also in other capitalist countries before the war. The representatives of the Amsterdam International officially announced a "new attitude toward the state." Theories such as "constructive socialism" and "industrial democracy" made their appearance. The substance of the latter was most vividly expressed by Karl Zwing, one of the "theoreticians" of the Amsterdam International, in the following words:

We must not lose sight of the fact that the working class is part of the capitalist system: the collapse of that system would be tantamount to its (the working class) collapse, and, consequently, it is the great historical duty of the working class to secure—by defining its place in this system—an improvement of the entire social system, which, in turn, would be identical with an improvement in its own condition.

In this argument the function of the trade unions as a protector of the interests of the proletariat is not even mentioned; their main object is stated to be "the national concentration of the trade union movement and the identification of its object with the prosperity of the whole."

These tendencies have found strike

ing expression in the activities and policies of the American Federation of Labor. They became known in the trade union movement as Gompersism, after Samuel Gompers, the former head of the A. F. of L. Professor S. Perlman, one of the apologists of Gompersism, stated in his book *A History of Trade Unionism in the United States* that in certain periods, especially during the First World War, "the Federation took its cue completely from the national government." He goes on to say:

An important aspect of the cooperation of the government with the Federation was the latter's eager self-identification with the government's foreign policy, which went to the length of choosing to play a lone hand in the Allied labor world. . . . During the greater part of the period of American neutrality its attitude was that of a shocked lover of peace who is desirous to maintain the strictest neutrality. . . .

When war seemed inevitable, the national officers of all important unions in the Federation met in Washington and issued a statement on "American Labor's Position in Peace or in War." They pledged the labor movement and the influence of the labor organizations unreservedly in support of the government in case of war.

We shall not enter into a general analysis of the question raised here by the author; we merely state the facts.

In characterizing the activities of the American Federation of Labor the historians of the American trade union movement invariably arrive at

one conclusion. They admit that throughout its history the American Federation of Labor pursued not a "neutral" line, but a clearly defined line of adaptation to the policy of the ruling class. This, in turn, inevitably led to a constantly growing process of coalescence of the leading upper circle of the American Federation of Labor with the employers and the machinery of state, and to a widening of the gulf between the labor leaders and the general trade union membership.

A yawning chasm opened between the everyday practice of the American Federation of Labor and the democratic principles which it proclaimed. Very often so-called provisionalism reigns in the internal government of the American trade unions. This term covers up a system of appointing from above officials who exercise undivided sway in the lower organizations. This practice is, of course, in crying contradiction to the elementary requirements of trade union democracy. With the aid of these appointed officials the leading trade union bureaucrats dictatorially handle practically all trade union affairs. According to the report of the "independent" miners' union, from whose ranks Green, the President of the American Federation of Labor, sprang, organizations covering 71 per cent of the membership are governed by trade union officials appointed from above and never elected by anyone. These are official figures,

and are no doubt an underestimate.

Under these conditions a type of leader predominates in the unions affiliated to the American Federation of Labor who regards his organization practically as his own private commercial enterprise. As an American journalist has expressed it, a leader of this type cannot tolerate the idea that trade union officials whom he appoints and whose pay he controls should read his edicts without going into raptures over them.

Commenting on such fairly widespread phenomena, the American journal *Fortune* stated rather cynically:

To make an industrial union or a group of them you need not a set of social objectives so much as a flexible tongue, a ready opportunism and a pitiless hand.

The absence of democracy within the trade union movement and of control and free criticism on the part of the membership leads to phenomena of a revolting kind. The extent to which corruption is rife among the leaders of the trade unions affiliated to the American Federation of Labor is well known. The American press has quoted and continues to quote numerous facts proving that trade union officials have connections with the criminal world. Cases have even been known of gangsters climbing into responsible trade union posts, rifling the trade union coffers, concluding deals with the employers

and terrorizing the membership. Quite recently the *Chicago Daily News*, exposing the conditions prevailing in the American Federation of Labor, wrote:

The highest A. F. of L. executives tolerated the gangsters among the A. F. of L. officials until the government prosecuted and imprisoned the gangsters for criminal activities.

In spite of these facts, it is precisely in A. F. of L. quarters that we hear hypocritical sermons on trade union "neutrality," "independence" and "democracy"! The practical object of the slander these quarters spread about the Soviet trade unions is obvious. They want to sow among the American people suspicion and distrust toward the Soviet workers and their trade unions, to frustrate the idea of international cooperation and international unity among the trade unions of the democratic countries.

We are pleased to note that many organs of the press and men prominent in trade union and public affairs in the United States condemn the campaign against the Soviet trade union movement conducted by the reactionary leaders of the American Federation of Labor. For example Lahey, the commentator of the *Chicago Daily News*, wrote recently:

It is disconcerting to think what a noise would have been raised had the Russian trade unions kept passing resolutions denouncing the A. F. of L. for

supporting capitalist private enterprise and even entering into collusive contracts with the monopolists.

This sound observation needs no comment.

* * *

The Soviet workers are sparing no efforts to strengthen their socialist motherland. The Soviet trade unions unreservedly support their workers' state in the interests of the working class. Only malicious anti-Soviet slanderers can draw from this the conclusion that the Soviet trade unions are not voluntary, independent and democratic workers' organizations. And only malicious people who are striving to sap the foundations of international working

class unity can proclaim, as the leaders of the American Federation of Labor do, that it is impossible to sit under one roof with the Soviet trade unions.

Incidentally, these splitting designs were, as we know, unanimously condemned by the trade union organizations that were represented at the World Trade Union Conference held in London last February, including the largest democratic trade unions of America. Striving to isolate the Soviet trade unions, the reactionary splitters among the leadership of the American Federation of Labor succeeded only in isolating themselves. The Soviet trade unions occupy their appropriate place in the ranks of the international trade union movement.

VITAL DOCUMENTS

THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS

Adopted in the City of San Francisco, June 26, 1945.

PREAMBLE

WE, THE PEOPLES OF THE UNITED NATIONS, DETERMINED

To save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and

To reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, and

To establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and

To promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

AND FOR THESE ENDS

To practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbors, and

To unite our strength to maintain international peace and security, and

To insure, by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest, and

To employ international machinery

for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples,

HAVE RESOLVED TO COMBINE OUR EFFORTS TO ACCOMPLISH THESE AIMS

Accordingly, our respective Governments, through representatives assembled in the City of San Francisco, who have exhibited their full powers found to be in good and due form, have agreed to the present Charter of the United Nations and do hereby establish an international organization to be known as the United Nations.

CHAPTER I

PURPOSES AND PRINCIPLES

Purposes

ARTICLE I

The purposes of the United Nations are:

1. To maintain international peace and security, and to that end: To take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity

with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace;

2. To develop friendly relations among nations, based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace;

3. To achieve international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for the fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion; and

4. To be a center for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends.

Principles

ARTICLE 2

The organization and its members, in pursuit of the purposes stated in Article 1, shall act in accordance with the following principles:

1. The organization is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its members.

2. All members, in order to ensure to all of them the rights and benefits resulting from membership, shall fulfill in good faith the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the present charter.

3. All members shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace, and security, and justice, are not endangered.

4. All members shall refrain in their

international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any member or state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations.

5. All members shall give the United Nations every assistance in any action it takes in accordance with the provisions of the present charter, and shall refrain from giving assistance to any state against which the United Nations is taking preventive or enforcement action.

6. The United Nations shall ensure that states not members act in accordance with these Principles so far as may be necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security.

7. Nothing contained in the present charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state or shall require the members to submit such matters to settlement under the present charter; but this principle shall not prejudice the application of enforcement measures under Chapter VII.

CHAPTER II

MEMBERSHIP

ARTICLE 3

The original members of the United Nations shall be the states which, having participated in the United Nations Conference on International Organization at San Francisco, or have previously signed the declaration of the United Nations of January 1, 1942, sign the present charter and ratify it in accordance with Article 110.

ARTICLE 4

1. Membership in the United Nations is open to all other peace-loving states which accept the obligations contained in the present charter and which in the judgment of the organization, are able and willing to carry out these obligations.

2. The admission of any such state to membership in the United Nations will be effected by a decision of the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council.

ARTICLE 5

A member of the United Nations against which preventive or enforcement action has been taken by the Security Council may be suspended from the exercise of the rights and privileges of membership by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council. The exercise of these rights and privileges may be restored by the Security Council.

ARTICLE 6

A member of the United Nations which has persistently violated the principles contained in the present charter may be expelled from the organization by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council.

CHAPTER III
ORGANS

ARTICLE 7

1. There are established as the principal organs of the United Nations: A General Assembly, a Security Council,

a Trusteeship Council, an Economic and Social Council, an International Court of Justice, and a Secretariat.

2. Such subsidiary organs as may be found necessary may be established in accordance with the present charter.

ARTICLE 8

The United Nations shall place no restrictions on the eligibility of men and women to participate in any capacity and under conditions of equality in the principal and subsidiary organs.

CHAPTER IV

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Composition

ARTICLE 9

The General Assembly shall consist of all the members of the United Nations. Each member shall have not more than five representatives in the General Assembly.

Functions and Powers

ARTICLE 10

The General Assembly may discuss any questions or any matters within the scope of the present charter or relating to the powers and functions of any organs provided in the present charter, and, except as provided for in Article 12, may make recommendations to the members of the United Nations or to the Security Council or both on any such questions or matters.

ARTICLE 11

1. The General Assembly may coo-

consider the general principles of cooperation in the maintenance of international peace and security, including the principles governing disarmament and the regulations of armaments, and may make recommendations with regard to such principles to the members or to the Security Council or both.

2. The General Assembly may discuss any questions relating to the maintenance of international peace and security brought before it by any members of the United Nations, or by the Security Council, or by a non-member state in accordance with the provisions of Article 35, paragraph 2, and, except as provided in Article 12, may make recommendations with regard to any such questions to the state or states concerned or to the Security Council or both. A question on which action is necessary shall be referred to the Security Council by the General Assembly either before or after discussion.

3. The General Assembly may call the attention of the Security Council to situations which are likely to endanger international peace and security.

4. The powers of the General Assembly set out in paragraphs 1, 2 and 3 of this article shall not limit the general scope of Article 10.

ARTICLE 12

1. While the Security Council is exercising in respect of any dispute or situation the functions assigned to it in the present charter, the General Assembly shall not make any recommendation with regard to that dispute or situation unless the Security Council so requests.

2. The secretary general, with the

consent of the Security Council, shall notify the General Assembly at each session of any matters relative to the maintenance of international peace and security which are being dealt with by the Security Council and shall similarly notify the General Assembly, or the members of the United Nations if the General Assembly is not in session, immediately the Security Council ceases to deal with such matters.

ARTICLE 13

1. The General Assembly shall initiate studies and make recommendations for the purpose of:

A. Promoting international cooperation in the political field and encouraging the progressive development of international law and its codification;

B. Promoting international cooperation in the economic, social, cultural, educational and health fields and assisting in the realization of human rights and basic freedom for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion.

2. The further responsibilities, functions and powers of the General Assembly with respect to matters mentioned in Paragraph B above are set forth in Chapters IX and X.

ARTICLE 14

Subject to the provisions of Article 12, the General Assembly may recommend measures for the peaceful adjustment of any situation, regardless of origin, which it deems likely to impair the general welfare or friendly relations among nations, including situations resulting from a violation of the provisions of the present charter

setting forth the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

ARTICLE 15

1. The General Assembly shall receive and consider annual and special reports from the Security Council; these reports shall include an account of the measures that the Security Council has adopted or applied to maintain international peace and security.

2. The General Assembly shall receive and approve any financial and budget-bodies of the organization.

ARTICLE 16

The General Assembly shall perform such functions with respect to the international trusteeship system as are assigned to it under Chapters XII and XIII, including the approval of trusteeship agreements for areas not designated as strategic.

ARTICLE 17

1. The General Assembly shall consider and approve the budget of the organization.

2. The General Assembly shall consider and approve any financial and budgetary arrangements with specialized agencies referred to in Article 57 and shall examine the administrative budgets of such specialized agencies with a view to making recommendations to the agencies concerned.

3. The expenses of the organization shall be borne by the members as apportioned by the General Assembly.

Voting

ARTICLE 18

1. Each member of the United Na-

tions shall have one vote in the General Assembly.

2. Decisions on important questions shall be made by a two-thirds majority of those present and voting. These questions shall include: Recommendations with respect to the maintenance of international peace and security, the election of the non-permanent members of the Security Council, the election of the members of the Economic and Social Council, the election of the members of the Trusteeship Council in accordance with Paragraph 1 (c) of Article 86, the admission of new members to the United Nations, the suspension of the rights and privileges of membership, the exclusion of members, questions relating to the operation of the trusteeship system, and budgetary questions.

3. Decisions on other questions, including the determination of additional categories of questions to be decided by a two-thirds majority, shall be made by a majority of the members present and voting.

ARTICLE 19

A member which is in arrears in the payments of its financial contributions to the organization shall have no vote if the amount of its arrears equals or exceeds the amount of the contributions due from it for the preceding two full years. The General Assembly may, nevertheless, permit such a member to vote if it is satisfied that the failure to pay is due to conditions beyond the control of the member.

Procedure

ARTICLE 20

The General Assembly shall meet in

regular annual session and in such special sessions as occasion may require. Special sessions shall be convoked by the secretary general at the request of the Security Council or of a majority of the members of the United Nations.

ARTICLE 21

The General Assembly shall adopt its own rules of procedure. It shall elect its president for each session.

ARTICLE 22

The General Assembly may establish such subsidiary organs as it deems necessary for the performance of its functions.

CHAPTER V

THE SECURITY COUNCIL

Composition

ARTICLE 23

1. The Security Council shall consist of eleven members of the United Nations. The United States of America, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Republic of China, and France shall be permanent members of the Security Council. The General Assembly shall elect six other members of the United Nations to be non-permanent members of the Security Council, due regard being specially paid, in the first instance to the contribution of members of the United Nations to the maintenance of international peace and security and to the other purposes of the organization, and also to equitable geographical distribution.

2. The non-permanent members of

the Security Council shall be elected for a term of two years. In the first election of the non-permanent members, however, three shall be chosen for a term of one year. A retiring member shall not be eligible for immediate re-election.

3. Each member of the Security Council shall have one representative.

Primary Responsibility

ARTICLE 24

1. In order to ensure prompt and effective action by the United Nations, its members confer on the Security Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, and agree that in carrying out its duties under this responsibility the Security Council acts on their behalf.

2. In discharging these duties the Security Council shall act in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations. The specific powers granted to the Security Council for the discharge of these duties are laid down in Chapters VI, VII, VIII and XII.

3. The Security Council shall submit annual and, when necessary, special reports to the General Assembly for its consideration.

ARTICLE 25

The members of the United Nations agree to accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council in accordance with the provisions of the present charter.

ARTICLE 26

In order to promote the establishment and maintenance of international

peace and security with the least diversion for armaments of the world's human and economic resources, the Security Council shall be responsible for formulating, with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee, plans to be submitted to the members of the United Nations for the regulation of armaments.

Voting

ARTICLE 27

1. Each member of the Security Council shall have one vote.

2. Decisions of the Security Council on procedural matters shall be made by an affirmative vote of seven members.

3. Decisions of the Security Council on all other matters shall be made by an affirmative vote of seven members including the concurring votes of the permanent members; provided that, in decisions under Chapter VI, and under Paragraph 3 of Article 52, a party to a dispute shall abstain from voting.

Procedure

ARTICLE 28

1. The Security Council shall be so organized as to be able to function continuously. Each member of the Security Council shall for this purpose be represented at all times at the seat of the organization.

2. The Security Council shall hold periodic meetings at which each of its members may, if it so desires, be represented by a member of the government or by some other specially designated representative.

3. The Security Council may hold meetings at such places other than

the seat of the organization as in its judgment may best facilitate its work.

ARTICLE 29

The Security Council may establish such subsidiary organs as it deems necessary for the performance of its functions.

ARTICLE 30

The Security Council shall adopt its own rules of procedure, including the method of selecting its president.

ARTICLE 31

Any member of the United Nations which is not a member of the Security Council may participate in the discussion of any question brought before the Security Council whenever the latter considers that the interests of that member are specifically affected.

ARTICLE 32

Any member of the United Nations which is not a member of the Security Council or any state not a member of the United Nations, if it is a party to a dispute under consideration by the Security Council, shall be invited to participate in the discussion relating to the dispute. The Security Council shall lay down such conditions as it may deem just for the participation of a state which is not a member of the United Nations.

CHAPTER VI

PACIFIC SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES

ARTICLE 33

1. The parties of any dispute, the

continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, shall, first of all, seek a solution by negotiation, inquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, or other peaceful means of their own choice.

2. The Security Council shall, when it deems necessary call upon the parties to settle their dispute by such means.

ARTICLE 34

The Security Council may investigate any dispute, or any situation which might lead to international friction or give rise to a dispute, in order to determine whether the continuance of the dispute or situation is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security.

ARTICLE 35

1. Any member of the United Nations may bring any dispute or any situation of the nature referred to in Article 35 to the attention of the Security Council, or of the General Assembly.

2. A state which is not a member of the United Nations may bring to the attention of the Security Council or of the General Assembly any dispute to which it is a party, if it accepts in advance, for the purposes of the dispute, the obligations of pacific settlement provided in the present charter.

3. The proceedings of the General Assembly in respect of matters brought to its attention under this article will be subject to the provisions of Article 11 and 12.

ARTICLE 36

1. The Security Council may, at any stage of a dispute of the nature referred to in Article 33 or of a situation of like nature, recommend appropriate procedures or methods of adjustment.

2. The Security Council should take into consideration any procedures for the settlement of the dispute which have already been adopted by the parties.

3. In making recommendations under this article the Security Council should take into consideration that legal disputes should as a general rule be referred by the parties to the International Court of Justice in accordance with the provisions of the statute of the court.

ARTICLE 37

1. Should the parties to a dispute of the nature referred to in Article 36 fail to settle it by the means indicated in that article, they shall refer it to the Security Council.

2. If the Security Council deems that the continuance of the dispute is in fact likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, it shall decide whether to take action under Article 36 or to recommend such terms of settlement as it may consider appropriate.

ARTICLE 38

Without prejudice to the provisions of Articles 33-37 of this chapter, the Security Council may, if all the parties to any dispute so request, make recommendations to the parties with a view to a peaceful settlement of the dispute.

CHAPTER VII

ACTION WITH RESPECT TO
THREATS TO THE PEACE

ARTICLE 39

The Security Council shall determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression and shall make recommendations, or decide what measures shall be taken in accordance with the provisions of Articles 41 and 42, to maintain or restore international peace and security.

ARTICLE 40

In order to prevent an aggravation of the situation, the Security Council may, before making the recommendations or deciding upon the measures provided for in Article 41, call upon the parties concerned to comply with such provisional measures as it deems necessary or desirable. Such provisional measures shall be without prejudice to the rights, claims, or position of the parties concerned. The Security Council shall duly take account of failure to comply with such provisional measures.

ARTICLE 41

The Security Council may decide what measures not involving the use of armed force are to be employed to give effect to its decisions, and it may call upon members of the United Nations to apply such measures. These may include complete or partial interruptions of economic relations and of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio and other means of communications, and the severance of diplomatic relations.

ARTICLE 42

Should the Security Council consider that measures provided for in Article 41 would be inadequate or have proved to be inadequate, it may take such action by air, sea or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security. Such action may include demonstrations, blockade and other operations by air, sea or land forces of members of the United Nations.

ARTICLE 43

1. All members of the United Nations, in order to contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security, undertake to make available to the Security Council on its call and in accordance with a special agreement or agreements, armed forces, assistance, and facilities, including rights of passage, necessary for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security.

2. Such agreement or agreements shall govern the numbers and types of forces, their degree of readiness and general location, and the nature of the facilities and assistance to be provided.

3. The agreement or agreements shall be negotiated as soon as possible on the initiative of the Security Council and member states or between the Security Council and groups of member states and shall be subject to ratification by the signatory states in accordance with their constitutional processes.

ARTICLE 44

When the Security Council has decided to use force it shall, before calling upon a member not represented

on it to provide armed forces in fulfillment of the obligations assumed under Article 43, invite that member, if the member so desires, to participate in the decisions of the Security Council concerning the employment of contingents of that member's armed forces.

ARTICLE 45

In order to enable the United Nations to take urgent military measures, members shall hold immediately available national air force contingents for combined international enforcement action. The strength and degree of readiness of these contingents and plans for their combined action shall be determined, within the limits laid down in the special agreement or agreements referred to in Article 43, by the Security Council with the assistance of the military staff committee.

ARTICLE 46

Plans for the application of armed force shall be made by the Security Council with the assistance of the military staff committee.

ARTICLE 47

1. There shall be established a military staff committee to advise and assist the Security Council on all questions relating to the Security Council's military requirements for the maintenance of international peace and security, the employment and command of forces placed at its disposal, the regulation of armaments, and possible disarmament.

2. The military staff committees shall consist of the chiefs of staff of the permanent members of the Secur-

ity Council or their representatives. Any member of the United Nations not permanently represented on the committee shall be invited by the committee to be associated with it when the efficient discharge of the committee's responsibilities requires the participation of that member in its work.

3. The military staff committee shall be responsible under the Security Council for the strategic direction of any armed forces placed at the disposal of the Security Council. Questions relating to the command of such forces shall be dealt with subsequently.

4. The military staff committee, with the authorization of the Security Council and after consultation with appropriate regional agencies, may establish regional sub-committees.

ARTICLE 48

1. The action required to carry out the decisions of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security shall be taken by all the members of the United Nations or by some of them, as the Security Council may determine.

2. Such decisions shall be carried out by the members of the United Nations directly and through their action in the appropriate international agencies of which they are members.

ARTICLE 49

The members of the United Nations shall join in affording mutual assistance in carrying out the measures decided upon by the Security Council.

ARTICLE 50

If preventive or enforcement measures against any state are taken by the Security Council, any other state,

whether a member of the United Nations or not, which finds itself confronted with special economic problems arising from the carrying out of those measures shall have the right to consult the Security Council with regard to a solution of those problems.

ARTICLE 51

Nothing in the present charter shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defense if an armed attack occurs against a member of the organization, until the Security Council has taken the measures necessary to maintain international peace and security. Measures taken by members in the exercise of this right of self-defense shall be immediately reported to the Security Council and shall not in any way affect the authority and responsibility of the Security Council under the present charter to take at any time such action as it may deem necessary in order to maintain or restore international peace and security.

CHAPTER VIII

REGIONAL ARRANGEMENTS

ARTICLE 52

1. Nothing in the present charter precludes the existence of regional arrangements or agencies for dealing with such matters relating to the maintenance of international peace and security as are appropriate for regional action, provided that such arrangements or agencies and their activities are consistent with the purposes and principles of the organization.

2. The members of the United Nations entering into such arrangements or constituting such agencies shall

make every effort to achieve peaceful settlement of local disputes through such regional arrangements or by such regional agencies before referring them to the Security Council.

3. The Security Council should encourage the development of peaceful settlement of local disputes through such regional arrangements or by such regional agencies either on the initiative of the states concerned or by reference from the Security Council.

4. This article in no way impairs the application of Articles 34 and 35.

ARTICLE 53

1. The Security Council shall, where appropriate, utilize such arrangements or agencies for enforcement action under its authority. But no enforcement action shall be taken under regional arrangements or by regional agencies without the authorization of the Security Council, with the exception of measures against an enemy state, as described below, provided for pursuant to Article 107, or in regional arrangements directed against renewal of aggressive policy on the part of any such state, until such time as the organization may, on request of the governments concerned, be charged with the responsibility for preventing further aggression by such a state.

2. The term "enemy state" as used in Paragraph 1 of this article applies to any state which during the Second World War has been an enemy of any signatory of the present chapter.

ARTICLE 54

The Security Council shall at all times be kept fully informed of activities undertaken or in contemplation under regional agencies for the main-

tenance of international peace and security.

CHAPTER IX

INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC
AND SOCIAL COOPERATION

ARTICLE 55

With a view to the creation of conditions and stability and well being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, the United Nations shall promote:

(A)—Higher standards of living, full employment, and conditions of economic and social progress and development;

(B)—Solutions of international economic, social, health, and related problems; and international cultural and educational cooperation and

(C)—Universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion.

ARTICLE 56

All members pledge themselves to take joint and separate action in cooperation with the organization for the achievement of the purposes set forth in Article 55.

ARTICLE 57

1. The various specialized agencies established by intergovernmental agreement, and having wide international responsibilities as defined in their basic instruments in economic, social, cultural, educational, health and re-

lated fields, shall be brought into relationship with the United Nations in accordance with the provisions of Article 63.

2. Specialized agencies thus brought into relationship with the organization are hereinafter referred to as "The Specialized Agencies."

ARTICLE 58

The organization shall make recommendations for the coordination of the policies and activities of the specialized agencies.

ARTICLE 59

The organization shall, where appropriate, initiate negotiations among the states concerned for the creation of any new specialized agency required for the accomplishment of the purposes set forth in Article 55.

ARTICLE 60

Responsibility for the discharge of the organization's functions set forth in this chapter shall be vested in the General Assembly and, under the authority of the General Assembly, in the Economic and Social Council, which shall have for this purpose the powers set forth in Chapter X.

CHAPTER X

THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL
COUNCIL*Composition*

ARTICLE 61

1. The Economic and Social Council shall consist of eighteen members of the United Nations elected by the General Assembly. Each member of the Economic and Social Council shall have one representative.

2. Subject to the provisions of Paragraph 3, six members of the Economic and Social Council shall be elected each year for a term of three years. A retiring member shall be eligible for immediate reelection.

3. At the first election, eighteen members of the Economic and Social Council shall be chosen. The term of office of six members so chosen shall expire at the end of one year, and of six other members at the end of two years, in accordance with arrangements made by the General Assembly.

Functions and Powers

ARTICLE 62

1. The Economic and Social Council may make or initiate studies and reports with respect to international economic, social, cultural, educational, health, and related matters and may make recommendations with respect to any such matters to the General Assembly, to the members of the United Nations, and to the specialized agencies concerned.

2. It may make recommendations for the purpose of promoting respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms.

3. It may prepare draft conventions for submission to the General Assembly, with respect to matters falling within its competence.

4. It may call, in accordance with the rules prescribed by the United Nations, international conferences on matters falling within its competence.

ARTICLE 63

1. The Economic and Social Council may enter into an agreement, ap-

proved by the General Assembly, with any of the agencies referred to in Article 57, defining the terms on which the agency concerned shall be brought into relationship with the United Nations.

2. It may coordinate the activities of the specialized agencies through consultation with and recommendations to such agencies and through consultation with and recommendations to such agencies and through recommendations to the General Assembly and to the members of the United Nations.

ARTICLE 64

The Economic and Social Council is authorized to take appropriate steps to obtain regular reports from the specialized agencies. It is authorized to make arrangements with the members of the United Nations and with the specialized agencies to obtain reports on the steps taken to give effect to its own recommendations and falling within its competence which are made by the General Assembly.

ARTICLE 65

The Economic and Social Council may furnish information to the Security Council and shall assist the Security Council upon its request.

ARTICLE 66

1. The Economic and Social Council shall perform such functions as falls within its competence in connection with the carrying out of the recommendations of the General Assembly.

2. It may, with the approval of the General Assembly, perform services at the request of the members of the

United Nations and at the request of the specialized agencies.

3. It may perform such other functions as are specified elsewhere in the present charter and such functions as may be assigned to it by the General Assembly.

Voting

ARTICLE 67

1. Each member of the Economic and Social Council shall have one vote.

2. Decisions of the Economic and Social Council shall be taken by a majority of the members present and voting.

Procedure

ARTICLE 68

The Economic and Social Council shall set up commissions in economic and social fields and for the promotion of human rights, and such other commissions as may be required for the performance of its functions.

ARTICLE 69

The Economic and Social Council shall invite any member of the United Nations to participate, without vote, in its deliberations on any matter of particular concern to that member.

ARTICLE 70

The Economic and Social Council may make arrangements for representatives of the specialized agencies to participate without vote in its deliberations and in those of the commissions established by it, and for its representatives to participate in the deliberations of the specialized agencies.

ARTICLE 71

The Economic and Social Council

may make suitable arrangements for consultation with non-governmental organizations which are concerned with matters within its competence. Such arrangements may be made with international organizations and, where appropriate, with national organizations after consultation with the member concerned.

ARTICLE 72

1. The Economic and Social Council shall adopt its own rules of procedure, including the method of selecting its president.

2. The Economic and Social Council shall meet as required in accordance with its rules, which shall include provision for the convening of meetings on request of a majority of its members.

CHAPTER XI

POLICY REGARDING NON-SELF GOVERNING TERRITORIES

ARTICLE 73

Members of the United Nations which have or assume responsibilities for the administration of territories whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self-government recognize the principle that the interests of the inhabitants of these territories are paramount and accept as a sacred trust the obligation to promote to the utmost, within the system of international peace and security established by the present charter, the well being of the inhabitants of these territories, and

(A)—To ensure, with due respect for the culture of the peoples concerned, their political, economic, social,

and educational advancement, their just treatment, and their protection against abuses;

(B)—To develop self-government, to take due account of the political aspirations of the peoples, and to assist them in the progressive development of their free political institutions, according to the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples and their varying stages of advancement.

(C)—To further international peace and security;

(D)—To promote constructive measures of development, to encourage research, and to cooperate with one another and with appropriate international bodies with a view to the practical achievement of the social, economic and scientific purposes set forth in this paragraph; and

(E)—To transmit regularly to the secretary-general for information purposes, subject to such limitation as security and constitutional considerations may require, statistical and other information of a technical nature relating to economic, social and educational conditions in the territories for which they are respectively responsible other than those territories to which Chapters XII and XIII apply.

ARTICLE 74

Members of the United Nations agree that their policy in respect of the territories, to which this chapter applies, no less than in respect of their metropolitan areas, must be based on the general principle of good-neighborliness, due account being taken of the interests and well being of the rest of the world, in social, economic, and commercial matters.

CHAPTER XII

INTERNATIONAL TRUSTEESHIP SYSTEM

ARTICLE 75

The United Nations shall establish under its authority an international trusteeship system for the administration and supervision of such territories as may be placed thereunder by subsequent individual agreements. These territories are hereafter referred to as trust territories.

ARTICLE 76

The basic objectives of the trusteeship system in accordance with the purposes of the United Nations laid down in Article 1 of the present charter shall be:

(A)—To further international peace and security;

(B)—To promote the political, economic, social, and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the trust territories, and their progressive development toward self-government or independence as may be appropriate to the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples and the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned, and as may be provided by the terms of each trusteeship agreement;

(C)—To encourage respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion and to encourage recognition of the interdependence of the peoples of the world; and

(D)—To ensure equal treatment in social, economic and commercial matters for all members of the United Nations and their nationals, and also equal

treatment for the latter in the administration of justice, without prejudice to the attainment of the foregoing objectives and subject to the provisions of Article 80.

ARTICLE 77

1. The trusteeship system shall apply to such territories in the following categories as may be placed thereunder by means of trusteeship agreements: (a) Territories now held under mandate; (b) territories which may be detached from enemy states as a result of the Second World War; and (c) territories voluntarily placed under the system by states responsible for their administration.

2. It will be a matter for subsequent agreement which territories in the foregoing categories will be brought under the trusteeship system and upon what terms.

ARTICLE 78

The trusteeship system shall not apply to territories which have become members of the United Nations, relationship among which should be based on respect for the principle of sovereign equality.

ARTICLE 79

The terms of trusteeship for each territory to be placed under the trusteeship system, including any alteration or amendment, shall be agreed upon by the states directly concerned including the mandatory power in the case of territories held under mandate by a member of the United Nations and shall be approved as provided for in Article 83 and 85.

ARTICLE 80

1. Except as may be agreed upon in

individual trusteeship agreements, made in accordance with the provisions of this chapter, placing each territory under the trusteeship system, and until such agreements have been concluded, nothing in this chapter shall be construed in or of itself to alter in any manner the rights whatsoever of any states or any peoples or the terms of existing international instruments to which members of UNCIO may respectively be parties.

2. Paragraph 1, of this article shall not be interpreted as giving grounds for delay or postponement of the negotiation and conclusion of such agreements for placing mandated and other territories under the trusteeship system as may be concluded in accordance with the provisions of this chapter.

ARTICLE 81

The trusteeship agreement shall in each case include the terms under which the trust territory will be administered and designate the authority which shall exercise the administration of the trust territory. Such authority, hereafter called the administering authority, may be one or more states or the United Nations itself.

ARTICLE 82

There may be designated, in any trusteeship agreement, a strategic area or areas which may include part or all of the trust territory to which the agreement applies, without prejudice to any special agreement or agreements made under Article 43.

ARTICLE 83

1. All functions of the United Nations relating to strategic areas, including the approval of the terms of the

trusteeship agreements and of their alteration or amendment, shall be exercised by the Security Council.

2. The basic objectives set forth in Article 76 shall be applicable to the people of each strategic area.

3. The Security Council shall, subject to the provisions of the trusteeship agreements and without prejudice to security considerations, avail itself of the assistance of the trusteeship council to perform those functions of the United Nations under the trusteeship system relating to political, economic, social, and educational matters in the strategic areas.

ARTICLE 84

It shall be the duty of the administering authority to ensure that the trust territory shall play its part in the maintenance of international peace and security. To this end the administering authority may make use of volunteer forces, facilities, and assistance from the trust territory in carrying out the obligations toward the Security Council undertaken in this regard by the administering authority as well as for local defense and the maintenance of law and order within the trust territory.

ARTICLE 85

1. The functions of the United Nations with regard to trusteeship agreements for all areas not designated as strategic, including the approval of the terms of the trusteeship agreements and of their alteration or amendment, shall be exercised by the General Assembly.

2. The Trusteeship Council, under the authority of the General Assembly, shall assist the General Assembly in carrying out these functions.

CHAPTER XIII

THE TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL

Composition

ARTICLE 86

The Trusteeship Council shall consist of specially qualified representatives designated as follows: (a) one each by the members of the United Nations administering trust territories; (b) one each by such of the members mentioned by name in Article 23 as are not administering trust territories; and (c) one each by as many other members of the United Nations elected for three year terms by the General Assembly as may be necessary to ensure that the total number of representatives is equally divided between administering and non-administering members of the United Nations.

Functions and Powers

ARTICLE 87

The Trusteeship Council, in carrying out its functions as authorized by the General Assembly, may: (a) consider reports submitted by the administering authority; (b) accept petitions and examine them in consultation with the administering authority; (c) provide for periodic visits to the respective trust territories at times agreed upon with the administering authority; and (d) take these and other actions in conformity with the trusteeship agreements.

ARTICLE 88

The Trusteeship Council shall formulate a questionnaire on the political, economic, social, and educational advancement of the inhabitants of each trust territory, and the administering

authority for each trust territory within the competence of the General Assembly shall make an annual report to the General Assembly upon the basis of such questionnaire.

Voting

ARTICLE 89

1. Each member of the Trusteeship Council shall have one vote.
2. Decisions of the Trusteeship Council shall be taken by a majority of the members present and voting.

Procedure

ARTICLE 90

1. The Trusteeship Council shall adopt its own rules of procedure, including the method of selecting its president.
2. The Trusteeship Council shall meet as required in accordance with its rules, which shall include provisions for the convening of meetings on the request of a majority of its members.

ARTICLE 91

The Trusteeship Council shall, when appropriate, avail itself of the assistance of the Economic and Social Council and of the specialized agencies in regard to matters with which they are respectively concerned.

CHAPTER XIV

THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE

ARTICLE 92

The International Court of Justice shall be the principal judicial organ of the United Nations. It shall function in accordance with the annexed statute,

which is based upon the statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice and forms an integral part of the present chapter.

ARTICLE 93

1. All members of the United Nations are *ipso facto* parties to the statute of the International Court of Justice.
2. A state which is not a member of the United Nations may become party to the statute of the International Court of Justice on conditions to be determined in each case by the General Assembly upon recommendation of the Security Council.

ARTICLE 94

1. Each member of the United Nations undertakes to comply with the decision of the International Court of Justice in any case to which it is a party.
2. If any party to a case fails to perform the obligations incumbent upon it under a judgment rendered by the Court, the other party may have recourse to the Security Council, which may, if it deems it necessary, make recommendations or decide upon measures to be taken to give effect to the judgment.

ARTICLE 95

Nothing in the present charter shall prevent members of the United Nations from entrusting the solution of their differences to other tribunals by virtue of agreements already in existence or which may be concluded in the future.

ARTICLE 96

1. The General Assembly or the Security Council may request the International Court of Justice to give an advisory opinion on any legal question.

2. Other organs of the United Nations and specialized agencies brought into relationship with it, which may at any time be so authorized by the General Assembly may also request advisory opinions of the Court on legal questions arising within the scope of their activities.

CHAPTER XV

THE SECRETARIAT

ARTICLE 97

There shall be a Secretariat comprising a secretary-general and such staff as the organization may require. The secretary-general shall be appointed by the General Assembly on the recommendation of the Security Council. He shall be the chief administrative officer of the organization.

ARTICLE 98

The secretary-general shall act in that capacity in all meetings of the General Assembly, of the Security Council, of the Economic and Social Councils and of the Trusteeship Council, and shall perform such other functions as are entrusted to him by these organs. The secretary-general shall make an annual report to the General Assembly on the work of the organization.

ARTICLE 99

The secretary-general may bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter which in his opinion might threaten international peace and security.

ARTICLE 100

1. In the performance of their duties the secretary-general and the staff shall

be responsible only to the organization. They shall not seek or receive instructions from any government or from any other authority external to the organization. They shall refrain from any action which might reflect on their position as international officials responsible only to the organization.

2. Each member of the organization undertakes to respect the exclusively international character of the responsibilities of the secretary-general and the staff and not to seek to influence them in the discharge of their responsibilities.

ARTICLE 101

1. The staff shall be appointed by the secretary-general under regulations established by the General Assembly.

2. Appropriate staffs shall be permanently assigned to the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, and as required to other organs of the United Nations.

3. The paramount consideration in the employment of the staff and in the determination of the conditions of service shall be the necessity of securing the highest standards of efficiency, competence and integrity. Due regard shall be paid to the importance of recruiting the staff on as wide a geographical basis as possible.

CHAPTER XVI

MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS

ARTICLE 102

1. Every treaty and every international agreement entered into by any member of the United Nations after the present charter comes into force shall

as soon as possible be registered with the Secretariat and published by it.

2. No party to any such treaty or international agreement which has not been registered in accordance with the provisions of Paragraph 1 of this article may invoke that treaty or agreement before any organ of the United Nations.

ARTICLE 103

In the event of a conflict between the obligations of the members of the United Nations under the present charter and obligations under any other international agreement, their obligations under the present charter shall prevail.

ARTICLE 104

The organization shall enjoy in the territory of each of its members such legal capacity as may be necessary for the exercise of its functions and the fulfillment of its purposes.

ARTICLE 105

1. The organization shall enjoy in the territory of each of its members such privileges and immunities as are necessary for the fulfillment of its purposes.

2. Representatives of the members of the organization and officials of the organization shall similarly enjoy such privileges and immunities as are necessary for the independent exercise of their functions in connection with the organization.

3. The General Assembly may make recommendations with a view to determining the details of the application of Paragraphs 1 and 2 of this article or may propose conventions to the members for this purpose.

CHAPTER XVII

TRANSITIONAL SECURITY

Arrangements

ARTICLE 106

Pending the coming into force of such special agreements referred to in Article 43, as in the opinion of the Security Council to enable it to begin the exercise of its responsibilities under Article A-42, the parties of the four nation declaration, signed at Moscow, October 30, 1943, and France, shall, in accordance with the provisions of Paragraph 5 of that declaration, consult with one another and as occasion requires with other members of the organization with a view to such joint action on behalf of the organization as may be necessary for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security.

ARTICLE 107

Nothing in the present charter shall invalidate or preclude action in relation to any state which during the Second World War has been an enemy of any signatory to the present charter, taken or authorized as a result of that war by the governments having responsibility for such action.

CHAPTER XVIII

AMENDMENTS

ARTICLE 108

Amendments to the present charter shall come into force for all members of the organization when they have been adopted by a vote of two thirds of the members of the General Assembly and ratified in accordance with

their respective constitutional processes by two-thirds of the members of the organization, including all the permanent members of the Security Council.

ARTICLE 109

1. A general conference of the members of the United Nations for the purpose of reviewing the present charter may be held at a date and place to be fixed by a two-thirds vote of the General Assembly and by a vote of any seven members of the Security Council. Each member of the United Nations shall have one vote in the conference.

2. Any modification of the present charter recommended by a two-thirds vote of the conference shall take effect when ratified in accordance with their respective constitutional processes by two-thirds of the members of the organization, including all the permanent members of the Security Council.

3. If such a conference has not been held before the tenth annual session of the General Assembly following the coming into force of the present charter, the proposal to call such a conference shall be placed on the agenda of that session of the General Assembly, and the conference shall be held if so decided by a majority vote of the members of the General Assembly and by a vote of any seven members of the Security Council.

CHAPTER XIX

RATIFICATION AND SIGNATURE

ARTICLE 110

1. The present charter shall be ratified by the signatory states in accord-

ance with their respective constitutional processes.

2. The ratifications shall be deposited with the government of the United States of America, which shall notify all the signatory states of each deposit as well as the secretary-general of the organization when he has been elected.

3. The present charter shall come into force upon the deposit of ratifications by the United States of America, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Republic of China, and France, and by a majority of the other signatory states. A protocol of such deposit shall be drawn up by the government of the United States of America which shall communicate copies thereof to all the signatory states.

4. The states signatory to the present charter which ratify it after it has come into force will become members of the United Nations on the date of the deposit of their respective ratifications.

ARTICLE 111

The present charter, of which the Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish texts are equally authentic, shall remain deposited in the archives of the government of the United States of America. Duly certified copies thereof shall be transmitted by that government to the government of the other signatory states.

In faith whereof the representatives of the United Nations have signed the present charter.

Done at the City of San Francisco the Twenty-sixth day of June, One Thousand Nine Hundred and Forty-five.

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