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Peace and Poverty

By Christ Jelset Along came the war. It was

The cannon's roar has ceased. Bombs no longer drop from the air. The boys are starting on the homeward journey. Victory has been achieved, and the nations are returning to the pursuits of peace.

Aggressors and dictators have been whipped, we are told, and the lovers of peace and democracy have shown the world that they can fight, if need be, to preserve their liberty.

The war was a costly affair, even for the victor nations. It took millions of lives, and billions of treasure. It took "sweat, blood and tears." Of all the warring nations, perhaps America suffered the least, yet the human sacrifice alone should be enough to turn most people against war as a means of settling international disputes in the future.

It is remembered, however, that during the first years after World War I the sentiment was strongly against new wars. Even as late as 1937 we heard it expressed from official sources that "only a few people want war." It seems like it will require more than adding up the war costs to bring an end to war.

Meanwhile, both the peace period preceding the war as well as the years of war, have given us some powerful lessons on economic behavior. These should not be allowed to go unheeded. For more than ten years prior to the war, America as well as most of the rest of the nations suffered from the "Great Depression." Smaller firms collapsed by the thousands. Farmers were suffocating under the weight of their unsalable produce. Workers by the millions, turned away by the industries, had to seek public charity to keep alive. The nation's treasury was unable to balance its budget. Remedies aplenty were tried, but nothing would bring the cash, so necessary to move products from producer to consumer. Bad government was said to be the cause, and the Republicans were turned The new President was out. hailed as a national saviour, but the unemployed remained, to bear witness that something was wrong.

bloodier and costlier than any previous war ever waged by man. Neither savages nor barbarians had shown so little respect for life and property. But it did something to the nation's economy. It did away with unemployment. It all but closed the relief stations. It put pay envelopes in the workers' pockets. It gave dividend checks to the shareholders. It filled the banks with money. Yes, it did more. After taking eleven millions of the na-

tion's strongest men, and putting them in uniform, it doubled production. The old men, the children under eighteen, the cripples and the women, proved themselves capable of producing twice as much goods as the whole population was permitted to do in peacetime.

We are told that all this shows how willing the people of America are to work and sweat and sacrifice when the country is in danger. No doubt there is a grain of truth to that, but the picture also has another side. Long before Pearl Harbor, Japan was at war with America's good friend China. At that time Japan was

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International Notes

Japan Defeated—Hirohito Remains

American bombers had crippled the Japanese air and naval fleets. A new and terrible weapon. America's atomic bomb, was used to destroy, with one blow, the Japanese city of Hiroshima and to kill in a moment tens of thousands of the inhabitants. The Soviet Union declared war on Japan and within a few hours had broken through strong Japanese defense lines in Manchuria. Another atomic bomb was dropped on a Japanese city and Tokyo sued for peace.

and order" in Japan now becomes problem No. 1. The Japa-The collapse of Japan's mili- nese exploiters, with Hirohito as tary power came very abruptly. their spokesman, are using this factor as a bargaining weapon. Millions of Japanese workers are hungry, disillusioned and rebellious. The rich industrialists and financiers are to remain in possession of their property. They supported the militarists in the struggle for empire. Now they must listen to the voice of Wall Street. The general idea is to allow them access to sufficient raw material and markets to keep their economy from collapsing. It is reported that a million political prisoners fill the jails and detention camps of Japan. Millions of discharged soldiers and sailors will add to the ranks of the unemployed. We doubt (Continued on page 3)

Post-War Germany And the Big Three

For some time previous to the peace conference of the big three reparations for Germany. Each powers, Great Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union, the burning question was: what to do with Germany. The Potsdam communique provided the answer. On August 3rd the New York Times headlined the results of the Big Three Conference in Potsdam, Germany, by this announcement: "Germany Stripped of Industry by Big Three." On the other hand, New York PM headlined the results in this fashion: "The Meaning of Potsdam: Germany Sterilized—A Hard But a Just Peace."

Some of the highlights of the Potsdam conference of the Big Three are worthy of one's perusal. The New York Times prefaces them with what it considers the most significant matter that was not fully dealt with at that historic conference. It states as follows:

"No mention was made of the Pacific war, nor of Russia's connection with it. But the communique said that the chiefs of staff held meetings on 'military matters of common interest.'

"Agreement was reached on of the three nations will fill its own claims, largely by taking goods and equipment from its own occupation zone. In addition, Russia will get 10 per cent of removable industrial equipment from the western zones as a flat payment, and an additional 15 per cent for which she will pay in goods. The Western Allies retain sole claim to captured gold.

"Russia will get Koenigsberg and adjacent territory in East Prussia. Poland will get a slice of Germany, including the rest of East Prussia, and the former free city of Danzig.

"Germans in Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary shall be transferred to Germany 'in an orderly and humane manner.' Agreement was reached on a detailed program for the control of Germany, to strip the Reich of war-making capacity, smash huge cartels, drive out nazism and 'convince the German people that they have suffered a total military defeat.'

"Under disarmament, all German land, naval and air forces, and all Nazi militaristic organizations will be 'completely and finally abolished.'

"War criminal trials will begin soon. The first list of defendants will be published before September 1."

"A Council of Foreign Minis-

Hirohito is to remain as Emperor of Japan but only as a puppet. He will take his orders from the American general, Douglas MacArthur. To maintain "law

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Post-War Germany and the Big 3

(Continued from page 1) ters of the Big Five, including France and China, will be established soon to prepare peace treaties with Italy, Bulgaria, Finland, Hungary and Rumania. Italy will receive first consideration. The Big Three then will be able to support applications from those five nations for United Nations membership.

"The Spanish Government of Generalissimo Francisco Franco will not receive membership in the United Nations because of its 'support of the Axis powers.'

"The Big Three have no doubt that representatives of the Allied press will enjoy 'full freedom' to report to the world on developments in Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Finland. Yugoslavia was not mentioned.

By the foregoing we can readily see that the terms of the Potsdam agreement are far more severe than those of the Versailles treaty after World War I. Germany is to be stripped of its warmaking potential and its economy decentralized with the object of switching the emphasis from industrial power to "the development of agricultural and peaceful domestic industries."

During the period of occupation, however, the communique states that "Germany shall be treated as a single economic unit" but no central German government will be established. It will be administered by the Allied military command in the four zones as uniformly "as practicable." Except for the sections in the east now occupied by Russia and Poland which will be administered by them as part of their own territory pending final decisions at the peace conference, there is no mention of dismembering Germany.

As soon as the Potsdam document was made public the commentators were agog as to which of the powers got the better part of the deal. On the whole, however, there was an unanimity of opinion that compromises were made but that each of the Big Three gained something by it. The New York Times editorialized that Russia has won "victories" and so has the United States. "but the remarkable thing is that the three governments have concurred in policies subject to such wide divergence as the decision to speed Italy into membership in the United Nations and to keep out Spain under its present government." The Times also views with satisfaction that Russia will accommodate "representatives of the Allied press who will enjoy full freedom to report to the world upon developments in Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Finland." Yet, when viewed from a comprehensive and historical standpoint, the Soviet Union had gained far more than many are aware of. For one thing fascist

Germany, that "bulwark against Bolshevism," has been rendered impotent. It was not, however, by the stroke of the pen at Potsdam, but by the mighty blows of the Red Army. The Potsdam agreement was merely a confirmation of the reality that preceded it. Russia today is a world power, second to none, and as far as Europe is concerned, it is the main power. It is a far cry from the period of some 23 years ago when Soviet Power was an infant struggling against even its present "allies" for survival. It was England, the United States and France who were the principal perpetrators of the Versailles treaty, that notorious document whose double purpose was to keep Germany down as a rival power but also to keep it sufficiently propped up so that it could be used as a "bulwark against communism."

In its editorial of August 5, New York's PM provides us with some pertinent comparisons of the Potsdam and Versailles treaties. It states as follows:

"The Versailles treaty sounded fierce in words, but failed to destroy Germany militarily. It left lots of doors open. For behind Versailles were two purposes that were irreconcilable: the weakening of Germany so that it no longer could be a military threat to the rest of Europe and yet the maintenance of Germany as a bulwark against revolution and the bolshevik menace."

"The Versailles Conference met in the shadow of fear of deep, social and economic changes that already were threatening Europe. We, ourselves, had troops in Russia in the vague hope of stamping out the Red Revolution. Italy was boiling and building towards its betrayal by Mussolini and the House of Savoy. There was fear, too, of revolution in Germany, revolution that would go far beyond the very mild German Republic.

"For the men of Versailles, Germany had to be punished, but its basic internal structure had to be maintained lest ruling class power all over Europe come tumbling down. So the militarists,

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a good customer for American products. Business firms were eager for Japanese orders, as they were later for those of Uncle Sam. The point to be noted is this, that business firms need orders for goods if they are to continue production. Such orders must be supported with cash or with dependable promises to pay. If orders are forthcoming in sufficient quantities, industries will hum. Workers, too, will go to the shop and factory when "help is wanted." They will work overtime, also, if a little extra pay is forthcoming.

It seems quite safe to state, as an axiom, that, if cash orders are coming in, industry will operate and workers will be on the job. On the other hand, if there is a lack of such orders industry shuts down and workers are idle. Now. during the "Great Depression" there was a lack of orders, and hence, stagnation in production. During the war years, the government placed orders, so large, that people said it could not be done. There was a little hesitancy to begin with, the prices had to be right, labor had to be tied down to the "no strike" pledge, etc. Such details out of the way, both industry and the workers proved willing and capable of performing "miracles."

Now peace is returning, sweet peace with victory, but an anxious population is wondering what will happen to the economic set-up. Everybody "knows" that reconversion will be difficult. It will require from a year to eighteen months before fulltime peace production will be established. During that period there is bound to be unemployment, but it will not be so bad. Most workers have savings. They have unemployment insurance. After reconversion, there just must be full employment. Business needs it to make profits and pay dividends. The workers, and particularly the returning soldiers, deserve a steady job, after all they have done for the country. And the nation needs prosperity and full employment, if taxes are to be paid and the war

certain amount of business was obtained while such loans were being spent, but we also find that after a period the loans had been spent and the time arrived for servicing, America did not seem to be wanting the kind of payments that the debtor nations had to offer, and defaulting became a policy. What had been done to create prosperity now became a cause for depression. Never mind. We loaned money unwisely last time. This time we shall do it cautiously, with government supervision, in spite of all the boasting about the efficiency of private enterprise.

It does little good to find fault with a policy unless one has a better plan to offer. It is our contention that the returning peace will be no better this time than it was before the war. In fact, we think it will be worse, for the simple reason that the factors which brought about stagnation, and want in the midst of plenty, then have been greatly augmented during the war years. We also claim to have a remedy which will take care of the trouble, but we know that such a remedy will not be acceptable to the business section of the population.

Now, in order to judge the merits of the remedy, it is necessary to understand the cause of the trouble. What was it that caused, say, the "Great Depression"? Why was there a lack of purchasers for the abundance that industry was capable and willing to turn out? Was it lack of confidence? Was it bad government? Was it spots on the sun? The lack of orders which made it necessary for so much of industry to close, and stay closed for so long, was caused by conditions inherent in the economic system itself.

Under the free enterprise system, under capitalism, a relatively small section of the population owns privately most of the natural resources, and almost all the tools of production. The vast majority of the population own nothing but their own selves. These latter have no purchasing power unless they obtain jobs in the industries operated by the former. When they have jobs they must of necessity produce more than they can buy with wages. In fact, it is the difference between what the workers produce and what they are able to buy with their wages that constitutes the profit for the owners. This difference, also called surplus value, must be sold before it can be counted as profits. It is the disposal of this surplus value which constitutes the real difficulty to the capitalists. In time of war they sell it to the government, and the main trouble then is that the government

Junkers, a reduced German army, the armament industry and economic control by reactionary industrialists all survived."

"So the seeds were left that we are harvesting today."

"Potsdam shows no signs of this dual irreconcilable purpose —of weakening Germany and yet maintaining it as a bulwark against Russia."

From the above editorial of PM we can see that it's quite a confession of sins committed by the "democracies." Still it does not give us all the facts of the case. For example, PM could have added that the main pur-

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debt taken care of. Such, in the main, runs the trend of newspaper "public opinion."

There are some who see difficulty ahead. They insist that certain policies must be followed. Wages must be kept high, to keep purchasing power up. Foreign trade must be increased, and loans must be provided for foreign nations, to give them a start. And last, but not least, capital and labor, and everybody else, must cooperate for the common end.

If we go back to the peace period, following World War I, we find that loans were extended to foreign nations. We find that a

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Post-War Germany and the Big 3

(Continued from page 2) pose of the Versailles treaty in addition to weakening Germany militarily was that of crushing her as a potential rival for the world market. Versailles was successful in this to some extent when it stripped Germany of what world possessions and markets she had at that time. And German militarism was not alone in causing World War I, as PM tries to imply. Economic rivalry for the world market by all the imperialists powers (which includes England, America, etc.) brought about that world conflict just as it did World War 2. Of course one cannot expect PM to go to that extent in making confessions, for after all it is a bourgeois periodical, no matter how "liberal" it pretends to be.

That the Versailles treaty failed in bringing about world peace was not due to the fact that it failed to destroy Germany militarily, but because the imperialist struggle of monopoly capital for control of the world market, sources of raw material, and spheres of influence, still continued, in fact in a more aggravated form. Versailles was merely an right of assembly. Here we also arrangement whereby the victorious capitalist powers were able to divide the booty between themselves. For to the "victors belong the spoils." In fact, one of the "victorious" nations at that time, Italy, felt that she was cheated out of her "just" share. This was one of the contributing factors why Italy cast her lot in with Germany when World War 2 broke out. If Italy fared so badly at that time, what chance has she now? Anybody's guess is as good as the writer's.

There was nothing "ideal" or "altruistic" about the Versailles treaty and one can say the same about the Potsdam treaty. There are, however, in the latter some differences. For one thing, capitalist Britain and America must this time divide up the "spoils of war" with a nation whom they always hated and still do, namely, the Soviet Union. And the latter, with the full knowledge that" there is no honor amongst thieves," is making sure that, as far as it is concerned, there will be no cheating. gained also, in spite of the "concessions" made to Soviet power. For one thing they realized their objective, i. e., the complete defeat of Germany, their rival competitor on the world market. Of course the world was told by the "democracies" that the war was fought to "defeat fascism," but this was just a clever subterfuge, "mere apple sauce," with which to deceive the masses in order to win their support. For already British and American capitalists are rejoicing over the fact that now they have complete possession of former German markets. It will be very interesting and

highly instructive to watch how the terms of the Potsdam agreeent will be carried out, particularly when it comes to the administration of Germany "as a single economic unit." No one can tell in advance how it will work out. but we have already had a forecast of what is likely to happen in those sections of Germany that have been so far "administered" by Britain and America. Here the policy has been of keeping propped up whatever shattered remnants of German capitalism still remain. British and American policy took the form of using former Nazi officials and German financiers and industrialists, presumably in the interest of bringing "order out of chaos," but in actual practice retarding (suppressing is more to the point) the growth of those (anti-fascist) working class organizations such as trade unions and working class political parties.

This is in direct contrast to those sections of Germany under the control of the Soviet Union. Here we find the toiling masses of Germany permitted to exercise their freedom of speech and find trade unions and working class political parties springing up and actually functioning. As far as democracy is concerned. the Soviet Union is following its usual procedure of putting theory into practice. Yes, Russia is helping to "educate" the German masses, and not on empty stomachs either, for it is providing them with jobs, food, shelter and clothing. This is not a difficult task for the Soviet Union to perform, for it is no respecter of "property rights," but makes available to the masses the land and factories.

Unlike Britain and America, the Soviet Union is not fearful that the German working class might some day rise up and take complete possession of the nation with all its natural and industrial resources. That of course would be a social revolution for it would mean the end of capitalism as far as Germany is concerned. In fact, nothing would please the Soviet Union better than that. As a matter of fact that was the direction towards which the Ger-England and America have man masses were moving, but in 1933 that movement was crushed by the Nazi (capitalist) dictatorship. It is also an indisputable fact that before the rise of Hitler there were more proletarians inside Germany sympathetic to the Soviet Union than in any other capitalist nation in the world. Temporarily, the movement to the left was staved off by the Nazis, but now it has a chance to gather momentum. Nazism or fascism is the last resort of capitalism to stay in power and with its downfall the capitalist structure crumbles away.

International Notes

(Continued from page 1) that the Japanese exploiters, even with large-scale military support from the USA, can hold the lid on the revolutionary movement for any extended period.

The Soviet Union and Japan

The Soviet Union's declaration of war against Japan caused much comment. The declaration followed closely the dropping of the atomic bomb on Hiroshima by American air forces. This indicated to many, especially the chronic red-baiters, that the atomic, bomb besides destroying Hiroshima, had "knocked Joe Stalin off the fence." Winston Churchill, former prime minister of Britain, in a recent speech disproved this theory. He revealed that "Premier Stalin promised to declare war on Japan three months after German surrender and did so in an example of the 'fidelity and punctuality with which Marshal Stalin and the Red Army always kept their military engagements."" (Chicago Sun, Aug. 17.)

Evidently the promise to come into the war against Japan had been part of a bargain made to speed up the opening of a second front in France. Of course the USSR also have interests in East Asia. They gain a warm-water port at Darien and also the naval base of Port Athur. The southern half of Sakhalin Island once more becomes Russian soil. Soviet air forces have seized the Japanese naval base on the island of Paramushira, which lies near the

what remains of the capitalist structure in Germany. Too late, however, for all of Europe is moving towards the left. Even England is not untouched, as indicated by the victory of its "Labor" Party. Even here in America the working class wants something more than the insecurity they experienced in pre-war days. Jobs, with a decent standard of living, is the demand that has reached world-wide proportions. A world of peace is also an insistent demand. But to achieve both will only be possible with the complete abolition of capitip of the Kamchatka peninsula. These latter developments will give the USSR complete control of the Sea of Okhotsk. The 30year Russo-Chinese treaty of friendship and alliance insures China against foreign aggression and incidentally orients China towards the Soviet Union. The pact to "respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity and non-interference in the internal affairs of the other contracting party" is not a blow at the Chinese communists, as is generally assumed, but is a fundamental principle of Soviet policy.

Chaos in China

The end of the war with Japan leaves China in a condition of chaos, greater in scope than in any other country in the world. Chungking's economy is near bankruptcy and the currency issued is almost valueless. The people are looking more and more toward the communists for leadership. According to Newsweek, Aug. 27: "The Chinese Communists claim they control 300,000 of China's 2,900,000 square miles and 260,000,000 of its 450,000,000 people." Mao Tzetung and Chu Teh, central figures of the Chinese communist movement, at first ignored Chiang Kai-shek's orders. They sent their armed forces into action and called on the workers and peasants to seize from the invader, towns, cities and all military equipment. Now, these leaders of the Yenan, communist forces, have accepted the proposal of the Chungking government to negotiate a settlement.

Another troublesome question is: Who will get Hong Kong? The British Labor government has laid claim to this former British base. Both Chungking and Yenan advocate that it should revert back to China. Secretary of State Byrnes has stated that this matter should be taken up at the meeting of the secretaries of state of the Big Five, scheduled for September. This was a blow for the British Labor imperialists who felt there was nothing to discuss. The Soviet Union, without doubt, will support the Chinese. The Soviet Government, in declaring a policy of non-interference in China's internal affairs. will also be in a position to use pressure on the U.S.A. and Britain to act likewise. Chiang Kaishek is trying to obtain a huge loan from America "for reconstruction purposes."

Frantic will be the efforts of Britain and America to preserve

talism.

The Potsdam communique proclaims the end of German "militarism," but it also proclaims the snapping of one of the strongest links in the chain of capitalist nations, namely, Nazi Germany. The European masses are on the leftward march, with very little standing in the way of getting rid of the rest of their exploiters. This time it will not be so difficult, as it was for the Russian masses during World War 1, for this time the working class of Europe can rely on the help and guidance of a very powerful nation—the Soviet Union.

Al Wysocki.

Southeast Europe

The American and British governments are increasing their pressure on the governments of southeastern Europe in an attempt to prevent them from going further and farther to the left. They are charging that

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Toward a Soviet Asia

The last of the Axis imperialist powers that tried to hide their real objective, the defeat of their great rival imperialists, by proclaiming an anti-Communist alliance, has now accepted "unconditional surrender." Japan is to be occupied by the armed forces of the United Nations, with the chief control of that nation in the hands of the American imperialists.

Japan is an Asiatic nation. The home lands of Britain and the U. S. A. are in other continents, thousands of miles from Asia. But Britain and America are world powers, modern finance-imperialist nations, with heavy economic interests in Asia. Britain has ancient territorial holdings to safeguard. There is India, a vast mine of wealth, a sort of empire within the empire, and Burma and Malay with their peculiar and important products. Out of the port of Singapore there used to flow the bulk of the world's wool supply, and more than two-thirds of the world's supply of plantation rubber.

These were all in the hands of Britain's finance imperialists. The Dutch East Indies were part of Holland's empire, a sort of satellite empire, under the supervision of the British and, in the past, protected by the British navy.

The war will, undoubtedly, cause great changes in the imperialist alignment, even if the substance has changed but little. Of course Japanese capitalism will be driven from the Asiatic market, and from all markets outside of its own shores, unless it is in harmony with British and American interests to have Japan continue as an export nation, in order to survive on the "free enterprise" basis, and meet their claims and indemnities. This, too, will furnish an excuse for lengthy military occupation, and the suppression of the Japanese workers, should they decide that they have had enough of "free enterprise" and seek to overthrow their exploiters.

Britain's main economic sphere in China, prior to Japanese ascendancy, was in the Yangtze valley, stemming inland for more than a thousand miles from the port of Shanghai. That region may now be taken over by the U.S. imperialists, or shared in jointly with the British, only for the good and welfare of China, of course. China, in general, still remains a vast reservoir of exploitation. Its enormous population is highly exploitable, so many millions of them work from childhood to old age. It is still a nice big imperialist melon to be cut. The internal political conditions are still in turmoil. It is not a unified nation. True, it is more united than formerly, but that was due to the war, and the resistance to Japan. But now that the Japanese imperialists are being chased out by their victorious "democratic" rivals, China will be minus the outside pressure which held it together. Unless Britain and America can supply the necessary repressive forces, China may revert to its old internal conflict. Civil war is threatening even now, and it is not a new struggle, but a continuation of the old one in which the Japanese invasion brought about an interlude.

The Soviet Union

Unlike Britain and America, the Soviet Union is, in part, an Asiatic power. All east of the Ural Mountains, the larger portion of the land surface of the U. S. S. R. is in Asia. Its main eastern port, Vladivostok, is on the Sea of Japan.

The Great War, just terminating, has eliminated many capitalist nations which were formerly a threat to the Soviet Union. Germany, Italy and Japan are no longer to be feared. France is not now capable of giving any trouble. That leaves only Britain and the United States with strength enough to fight the Soviet Union, and in neither country is there sentiment for such a war, except on the part of a rich minority.

In entering the war against Japan, it appears, even according to Winston Churchill, that the U.S.S.R. was fulfilling a promise made a long time back, that it would declare war on Japan within three months of the close of the European conflict. The result of the atomic bomb was not the cause, although it brought hostilities a day or two sooner. In this case the Soviet Union, which had to bear the brunt of the European conflict, met with a most favorable situation. In about two weeks time, the whole of Manchuria has been occupied by the Red Army, and a considerable part of Korea. "Annexation" is disavowed by all of the United Nations, but occupation of long duration is intimated by some.

For several years, Japanese censorship has been quite strict. Thus, it has been difficult to learn of the internal conditions, but now some news begins to filter through in relation to casualties among Japan's civil population. These have been very heavy. Also, a report comes to the effect that hundreds of thousands of people have been put in prison for various forms of opposition to Japan's war lords and the government.

The workers of Japan, like the workers in most countries, had to carry the heaviest load of "sweat, blood and tears." While the American press has labored to create the impression that every Japanese is an emperorworshiper, that is far from the truth. Large numbers of workers have no use for the imperial system, and still larger numbers are bitter toward the Zaibatsu — the millionaire gang who own Japan. Japan's "Wall Street" is less respected than America's Wall Street. Japanese workers don't worship the yen as much as American workers worship the dollar.

A social readjustment is overdue in Japan. Organized repression of the working class has been practiced for a long time. Now, with the collapse of Japan's naval and military power, the workers may be able to break the political yoke of their exploiters. There, as in the rest of Asia, the social development is toward the "left." The Japanese worklitical government which will be in the direction of a soviet form. Of course a full soviet form of government could not be introduced without an internal revolution which would overthrow the Chinese ruling class and take control of the nation.

America and Britain, while breaking the power of their imperialist rival, Japan, will do all they can to protect the property interests which brought on the war in east Asia. But the mass of Japanese workers and peasants may have other ideas, and they may finish the job on their exploiters, that the armies of the United Nations commenced.

The religious workers (and they are not all religious) may have respect for the person of the Mikado, but their hatred of the millionaire gangsters, who made use of national traditions and the emperor to further enrich themselves by expanding their capitalist empire, so as to exploit millions of other workers, besides those in Japan's home land, grows steadily.

If "free elections" are permitted in Japan, the workers can be counted upon to turn as far "left" as the British workers, and possibly further. With Japan's capitalism so highly developed and so highly centralized, with a small but immensely rich class at the top, and the vast majority impoverished, there exists a basis for the inauguration of a Soviet system.

History gives rise to many great contradictions. We may yet witness the oldest democracy of the modern world, the "land of the free and the home of the brave," playing the role of counter-revolution and, in the name of democracy, holding back social progress, protecting aristocratic landlords, and outdated monarchies. Yet, despite all schemes and maneuvers, the world's workers are on the forward march and in Asia there are strong indications that the workers and peasants will follow the lead of the Russian workers toward a Soviet Asia.

John Keracher.

Frederick Engels

(November 1820—August 1895)

(Continued from last issue)

Outside of man and nature nothing exists, and the higher beings, which our religious imaginations have created, are, in essence, only the fantastic reflections of our individual selves.

"The spell was broken. The 'system' was exploded and discarded. The contradiction, shown to have existed only in our minds, was solved. One must himself have experienced the elevating effect of this book to get a full idea of it. The enthusiasm was universal, we were all for the moment followers of Feuerbach. How enthusiastically Marx greeted the new point of view and how much he was influenced by it in spite of all critical reservations—one may

ers, and the workers and peasants of Asia in general, have no illusions about being "free," or about opportunities of becoming rich, as have many American workers, for instance.

America and Britain, of course, will strive to defend the rich property owners, and repress the masses, in the name of law and order, but there is a limit to their policing power. The workers of Britain, and even of America, may resist such a role. As for the Asiatic workers, they may surprise their masters, and the conquerors of their masters. by taking steps to direct their own lives, without outside aid.

An increasing number of Chinese workers and peasants are turning from the support of the Chungking government. They are looking for social changes, not necessarily communism, but some advanced form of poread in The Holy Family."

This book which bore Engels' name as coauthor was mostly the work of Marx, although its contents were in substance what they had jointly arrived at. He was displeased that his name should appear on a book of which he had written so little, and also at the title. *The Holy Family*, as a title, was a fling at the brothers Bauer, who were unable to make a clean break with Hegelian idealism. Its real title was to have been A Critique of Critical Critique. The publisher, it appears, made use of what was to have been, at most, a sub-title.

A work in which Marx and Engels did collaborate fully was *The German Ideology*. It was not published during their lifetime. Their object was to portray their new concept of things in general, their dialectic approach to history from the new basis of materialism, in other words, historical materialism. Engels says of it: "The design was carried out in the form of a criticism of post-Hegelian philosophy." * * * "We postponed the publication of the manuscript indefinitely, all the more willingly, as we had attained our main object, an understanding of our own position."

While living in Brussels in 1847, Marx published his *Poverty of Philosophy*, which was a scathing exposure of the shallowness of the French socialist Proudhon, the author of a work on *The Philosophy of Poverty*. It was written in French. Engels wrote an introduction to the English translation of this book, which did not appear until 1884, after the death of Marx.

Engels lived in Brussels for a time. He went there in 1845 to again get away from the "dog's life" at Barmen. He had made some public addresses and attracted the attention of the police. His family feared that he might be arrested, and to avoid scandal at home, he gladly consented to disappear into Belgium, where he could be with Marx and others whose company was more congenial.

It was during their stay in Brussels, following Marx's expulsion from France, that he and Engels arrived at the conclusion that the future belonged to the working class, that the modern proletariat was destined by historical development to take political power, and become the directive force in society. It was this conclusion which caused them to break their last ties with bourgeois liberalism, and to turn definitely to the working class, in whose midst they remained and worked until the time of their death.

Their first steps, taken in harmony with this decision, was the development of a Communist Correspondence Committee, which in 1847 began to wield some influence. In this work Engels played a substantial role, making the necessary contacts with the most advanced sections of the working class in a number of countries. A communist secret society, with revolutionary aims, was already in existence. This was the *League of the Just*. It had genuine proletarian roots, especially within the ranks of the German workers. Engels had become friendly with members of the League some years earlier, but did not join because he disliked its rather crude principles. Both he and Marx believed that its underground character prevented it from attracting substantial numbers of workers, and tended to make it sectarian.

Now that they had concluded that a substantial organization was necessary, with periodicals expressive of communist ideas, their next step was to try to unite with this revolutionary vanguard and to work out a correct program, and publicly proclaim their aims and objectives. Thus, the Communist Manifesto came into being. They both became members of the League of the Just, with the understanding that the supporters of the Communist Correspondence Committee would join and that a scientific program would be worked out. Its name was changed to the Communist League. The first conference was held in London in June, 1847. Engels was present, but not Marx. In November of the same year another conference was held in London. They were both present and to them was delegated the work of completing the writing of the program, based upon the recognized principles which had brought the gathering together, and upon which the conference had elaborated. That is why Marx and Engels wrote: "To this end, Communists of various nationalities have assembled in London, and sketched the following manifesto, to be published in the English, French, German, Italian, Flemish and Danish languages."

Manifesto of the Communist Party, written by Marx and Engels, provided the new party with an exceedingly advanced program. It was ready for publication, early in 1848, just prior to the outbreak of the revolution which shook western Europe, especially France, Austria and Germany, in that "mad year," although it in no way influenced the course of that struggle.

The Communist Manifesto

This famous manifesto was designed as a programmatic guide for the working class, and as an open declaration of Communist principles. It has been translated into practically all languages, and today is the most universally recognized program of the world's workers.

The starting point of the "Manifesto" was a proclamation of a new approach to history, a new method of historical analysis. "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles," it said.

In its outline sketch of world history, and especially the bourgeois epoch, it stresses the changes in the mode of production and exchange as the most dynamic factor, and asserts the chief characteristic of the modern capitalist area, the simplification of the class struggle, as follows: "The modern bourgeois society that has sprouted from the ruins of feudal society, has not done away with class antagonisms. It has but established new forms of struggle in place of the old ones."

"Our epoch, the epoch of the bourgeoisie, possesses, however, this distinctive feature; it has simplified the class antagonisms. Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other: Bourgeoisie and Proletariat."

And further: "The discovery of America, the rounding of the Cape, opened up fresh ground for the rising bourgeoisie. The East-Indian and Chinese markets, the colonization of America, trade with the colonies, the increase in the means of exchange and in commodities, generally, gave to commerce, to navigation, to industry, an impulse never before known, and thereby, to the revolutionary element in the tottering feudal society, a rapid development."

The "Manifesto" goes on to trace the political consequences of this great economic advance of the capitalist class. The industrial revolution, with its steam propulsion, the conquest of the world market and the transformation of backward nations into modern industrial ones, and how, on pain of death for the individual business man, competition forces the capitalists to constantly revolutionize their instruments of production. And, what this does to the more backward nations is eloquently described-"The bourgeoisie, by the rapid improvement of all instruments of production, by the immensely facilitated means of communication, draws all, even the most barbarian, nations into civilization. The cheap prices of its commodities are the heavy artillery with which it batters down all Chinese walls, with which it forces the barbarians' intensely obstinate hatred of foreigners to capitulate."

selves, they drag the working class into the political arena, and thus provide the workers with the means of taking independent political action. Says the "Manifesto": "The weapons with which the bourgeoisie felled feudalism to the ground are now turned against the bourgeoisie themselves. But not only has the bourgeoisie forged the weapons that bring death to itself; it has also called into existence the men who are to wield those weapons-the modern working class - the proletarians." And again: * * * "What the bourgeoisie, therefore, produces, above all, are its own grave-diggers. Its fall and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable."

The concluding injunction of the "Manifesto," its clarion call to the world's workers, is known to millions, many of whom have never read the "Manifesto," "The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Working men of all countries, unite!"

Engels' part in the "Communist Manifesto" is best described by himself. In an introduction to an edition published in January, 1888, five years after the death of Marx, he says: "The 'Manifesto' being our joint production, I consider myself bound to state that the fundamental proposition which forms its nucleus, belongs to Marx. That proposition is: that in every historical epoch, the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange, and the social organization necessarily following from it, form the basis upon which is built up, and from which alone can be explained, the political and intellectual history of that eopch; that consequently the whole history of mankind (since the dissolution of primitive tribal society, holding land in common ownership) has been a history of class struggles, contests between exploiting and exploited, ruling and oppressed classes; that the history of these class struggles forms a series of evolution in which, nowadays, a stage has been reached where the exploited and oppressed class-the proletariat-cannot attain its emancipation from the sway of the exploiting ruling class — the bourgeoisie without, at the same time, and once and for all, emancipating society at large from all exploitation, oppression, class distinctions and class struggles.

"This proposition which, in my opinion, is destined to do for history what Darwin's theory has done for biology, we, both of us, had been gradually approaching for some years before 1845. How far I had independently progressed towards it, is best shown by my 'Conditions of the Working Class in England' (1844). But when I again met Marx at Brussels, in spring, 1845, he had it ready worked out, and put it before me, in terms almost as clear as those in which I have stated here."

The Post-Revolutionary Period

Therefore, the organization was international in character from the start, and the The corresponding political development of the capitalist class is traced until, it "has conquered for itself, in the modern representative State, exclusive political sway. The executive of the modern State is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie." The real purpose of a Parliament (or a Congress) is here laid bare.

The effect of capitalist development upon the working class is ably set forth. The "Manifesto" shows how, as a result of inner struggles among the property owners themWhen the counter-revolution had triumphed in western Europe, large numbers of workers left those countries to escape the reaction. This was especially true of the German workers who came to the United States in 1849, and all through the fifties. Gold had been discovered in California, and between that and the crushing of the European revolution, Marx and Engels came to the conclusion that capitalism was due for great expansion, and the proletarian movement for a period of stagnation.

How long this period would last they did not know. As a matter of fact it lasted, in the main, for about 20 years, until the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War, and the Commune of Paris with which it culminated.

(To be continued)

Democracy for Spain

By Frieda Mayer

Ever since the liberation of France, and more so since the end of hostilities in Europe, the hue and cry of the liberals in the "democratic" countries has been insistent on severing of relations with Franco, the Spanish "fuehrer." The end of diplomatic intercourse with the latter would cause him to lose political power and thereby pave the way for democracy for the Spanish masses, they contend. High sounding, and noble, as their cause may appear, nevertheless the liberals have failed to estimate conditions in their true light. Then, not all of them are in agreement as to the kind of "democracy" to be established, although, in the main, most of them hold the opinion it should be patterned after the American.

The liberation of the Spanish masses, however, does not merely depend upon the ousting of Franco and his dictatorship, and the substitution of a more representative government. The factors involved are external as well as internal. To dig out the facts is not a hopeless task, if one cares to examine the events that occurred in that country during the last quarter century.

Spain finds herself in the position of not only straddling the path, or life-line, of the British Empire, but at the same time she is a rising capitalist nation, in a world of decadent capitalism, and a potential competitor on a shrinking world market. This latter fact has been the primary reason for the reactionary position that the British and American "democracies" took during the Spanish Civil War, and accounts, in a large measure, for their "coddling" of Franco before, during and after the European war.

Spain began her rise as a modern industrial nation with the turn of the 20th century. Previous to that, as an "empire" nation, she had obtained a considerable portion of her wealth through exploitation of her holdings in the western hemisphere, etc., but with her defeat as an "empire," by the United States in the Spanish-American War of 1898, she was thrown back upon her own resources. With the empire gone, the ruling class of Spain was forced back within its own borders, to exploit the native population with greater intensity, in order to recoup its losses and amass further wealth. Now all this occurred at a time when capitalism has already reached its zenith and was in the stage of finance imperialism, with the world's markets and sources of wealth firmly in the hands of the big imperialist powers, such as Great Britain and the United States, etc. In the face of this competition and monopoly, what opportunity was there

for the Spanish capitalists to rise?

While it is true that the Spanish capitalists found their own country rich in natural resources, such as silver, coal, copper, ironore, manganese, etc., with practically all the necessary materials for a modern industrial nation. it is also true they were not the complete owners of them. Fifty per cent of the pyrites were, and still are, controlled by the British, who would not permit native industries to flourish in Spain. For example, the potash deposits of the Catalan Pyrennes are rich and vast, but the European capitalists who control this market make sure they remain sterile. Spain has the richest copper deposits in Europe, but must buy her copper from England. She produces iron-ore, but must buy her iron utensils from Portugal. The Rio Tinton valley was left starving by foreign capitalists. They found, and still find, the economic life of Spain controlled by Britain, France, Belgium, Germany, U. S., Switzerland and Italy. (What will happen to German and Italian holdings remains to be seen.) The significant fact is that British capitalists alone controlled three-fourths of all foreign investments in Spain.

All this stood in the way for the development of the rising Spanish capitalist class. Especially did the native capitalists protest against a royal decree, promulgated on June 14, 1921, limiting mining concessions or transfers to Spaniards, or Spanish controlled firms. This was, of course, an act on the part of Alfanso's semi-feudal government, to check the rise of a new class-the capitalists; and as has happened before, this new rising class could not be held in check with decrees, even if they were royal.

The capitalists began to press for greater concessions. The semifeudal government was forced to institute the Primo Rivera dictatorship, which lasted from 1923 to 1930. While this dictatorship was primarily used to check the rise of the industrial capitalists to political power, it was, at the same time, a club used against the workers and peasants, who had rallied to the support of the bourgeoisie, because of the promise of democracy under a new form of government. The whole struggle culminated in the abdication of Alfonso in 1931-that is, the defeat of the semi-feudal government and the gaining of political power by the industrial bourgeoisie. The new ruling class did not find the political control so easy. Here they were in power, free to exploit to their heart's content, but the foreign investments were still there and, above all, their promises to the exploited masses. and still had to be considered. A

long period of hedging then set in. The new ruling class found itself opposed from without, and at the same time it could not carry out its promises to the workers and peasantry. Had they tried to do so, they would have had to ease up on exploitation, and this would not be profitable to them. So the next best thing was to hand down a few reforms to the downtrodden, such as education becoming secular. They "separated" the Church from the State and confiscated much church property. Did they then hand over the property to the peasants? Oh, no! That would be viloating the "sacredness" of private property. They put the property up for sale, and those who had money could buy this land, which of course, were themselves-the capitalists.

But the workers and peasants, incensed against their exploiters, were determined to reap their promised benefits. They tried at first with a United Front Government in February 1936, at which time they secured a complete majority. The vote was as follows: Left parties, 263 seats, a decisive majority. The center, 62 seats. The right, 148 seats.

A leftist cabinet was formed by Santiago Casares Quiroga. This government could of course do nothing but the bidding of the master class and now for the first time it became clear to the exploited masses that if they wanted a better life, it would have to be of their own making. Thus two events occurred simultaneously in July of 1936. First, workers' councils sprang up all over Spain, and between July 1936 and May 1937 the bourgeois republican government lost all practical authority. During this period we find the real key to the wishes of Spain's revolutionary masses. This definite trend to the left was a political barometer, indicating the direction towards which the exploited masses of Spain were moving-that is, towards the ultimate abolition of capitalism in Spain. Their support of the United Front Government was but a temporary expedient — a choice of the "lesser evil." It was in this sense that one can say that the Spanish bourgeois republic died, not as is generally assumed in 1939 with

"the new order," insofar as the exploited masses were concerned; but once the workers and peasants were on the move then something had to be done to stop them. Thus we find that Franco's rebellion was supported, not only by Germany and Italy directly, but "indirectly" by the policy of non-intervention and also by a section of the Spanish bourgeoisie itself, who became frightened by the revolutionary spirit of the people. They helped Franco to the tune of \$7,600,-000, in the form a loan through the Bank of Madrid. The Spanish revolution had saved, temporarily, the (United Front) bourgeois republic, when the Franco fascist rebellion broke out, but the rise of the revolutionary masses was threatening the bourgeois republic itself.

Recognition of the Franco fascist government, by the United States, Britain and other capitalist nations, followed on the heels of its entry into Madrid. Large loans by Britain were immediately granted, and the United States helped out by resuming commercial relations with Spain. There is that government now, kept in power, not only by the armed might of its ruling class, but by the grace of the foreign capitalist nations, principally Britain and the United States.

If the present fascist regime in Spain is "reasonable," that is subservient to British and American ruling class interests, it will continue to receive the support of the latter nations and be kept in power, despite the indignant babblings of liberal dreamers. The Spanish ruling class has much to gain by so doing, even if it has to accept a small share of the world's loot, or even disgorge a portion of its ill-gotten gains, by way of tribute to the imperialist powers. However, if the Franco set-up cannot be used to save Spain for capitalism, then an attempt will be made to find some other group to do so.

There is, however, a fly in the capitalists' ointment. The workers of Spain have learned some valuable lessons in their bitter struggles against their masters. This they first demonstrated with their councils during the Spanish Civil War. Then years of oppression under the present fascist regime has increased their hatred of the ruling class. It is quite apparent from information, little as it is, coming from the underground movement in Spain, that many will not settle for halfbaked measures again. These sources have most emphatically denounced such groups as exist in Mexico City and the United States, the liberals who presume to speak in the name of Spanish "resistance," and assume the role of saviors of "democracy" by getting rid of Franco. The real voice of the Spanish masses, however, is yet to be heard from the downtrodden, the exploited and persecuted, through the barbed

the fall of Madrid, but in 1936 when the workers were moving in the direction of taking matters into their own hands.

But this was too much for the landholders of Spain to put up with. Franco's counter revolution, supported by the big capitalists, rich landlords and the church, started at the same time that workers' councils spread throughout the country. Until then there was some measure of agreement between the old and

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HOME SCENE

The Atomic Bomb Total Destruction or Total Reconstruction?

World War Two has been correctly described as "total war," directly involving and affecting whole populations. Far more than any previous war, it has developed into a struggle between machines, between science.

Participants have mobilized and intensified all possible industrial capacity, and scientific genius, to the task. Physicists, chemists, biologists, mathematicians and engineers of all types, normally occupied in such activities as contemporaneous capitalist society regards as creative and constructive, i. e., the solving of physical problems, directly or indirectly, linked up with the production and accumulation of economic wealth, have now turned to probing "nature's secrets," with a view to destruction and annihilation.

Commencing where was left off at the close of World War One, the tank and plane were carried to a higher development. But military science did not halt there. The search for new weapons was on. Among the achievements are the rocket bomb, radar, electronics, not to mention the tremendous progress in medical science which, through the use of blood plasma, has restored to life perhaps hundreds of thousands.

But the most hair-raising of all was the atomic bomb. Indeed it served as a phenomenal climax to a war of so vast a destruction. It challenged the human imagination with its announced destructibility of 2000 times greater than the most powerful bomb in use. Japan was given a double dose of it, at Hiroshima and Nagasaki, thus lending a sort of dramatic effect to the war's end. With the Soviet Union having entered the fight against Japan about the time of the release of the atomic bomb it has become quite the fashion to speculate as to which served as the greater lever for victory, the bomb or the Red Army? One often feels that a

wire in which Franco has enmeshed the country.

conscious effort is being made to minimize entirely the military aid of the Soviets.

In any event the psychological impact, as was intended, was great. People here at home were urged to "thank God because we made the discovery first. For, imagine what might have been our fate if those 'treacherous' Japs had discovered it first!"

At the same time the news of the bomb aroused considerable speculation at the horror of this demoniacal challenge to the human race as a whole, that, given another war, man is sure to perish by his own hand.

The question of religion was brought in, with the implication that "man is tampering around with forces beyond the human domain." The moral element, too, was raised, as also the question of control and sane use of this force.

We question the validity of both the religious or moral considerations. Imperialists are seldom bound by either. Amidst the stern warnings of the frightened liberals that this weapon must be collectively controlled by the United Nations, we already hear the sinister suggestions of the "warrior" Churchill that it remain the secret of the United States and Britain alone. From whom it is to be kept a secret and used against when necessary? It takes no mindreader to venture a guess that this arch-hater of Communism has the Soviet Union in mind.

But scientific secrets do not remain so for long. Scientists of many nations have been working on this atomic energy problem for many years. The smashing of the atom is the result of efforts of many nationalities. In truth it is an international product, though, as yet, the private property of U.S. and Britain. Before long, others will acquire this knowledge and perhaps even in a more perfected form. The threat to humanity is therefore very real. Through the universal knowledge of atomic destruction, annihilation is merely raised to a higher level. Capitalist greed gives birth to a vengeance and ruthlessness unequalled in human evolution. Not only will it use it against rival capitalistic nations, it will certainly not spare the proletariat. Successful in harmonizing nature's forces to production, it has raised and intensified social problems over which it is losing complete control. Scientists can point to the constructive revolutionary aspect inherent in the smashing of the atom; to the new and higher form of energy which, when applied to economic production, will yield even greater wonders than the discoveries of the use of steam and electricity. We can well visualize that, but not within the scope of the present eco-

nomic structure. Capitalism's economic and social problems are the resultant of the already existing production forces and capacities. It is unable to digest these without periodical convulsions, such as depressions and wars. How then can it hope to take on such revolutionary productive power as foreseen in atomic energy? Capitalism's production, or property relations, act as a strait-jacket.

The atomic bomb presents us with a two-fold aspect: (1) If left in the hands of capital, the world will be faced with the possibility of universal destruction. (2) When taken over by the world's proletariat it could act as a constructive force creating a new industrial revolution.

The atomic bomb brings out in bold relief both the problem (total destruction) and the solution (total reconstruction). It is superfluous and suicidal to entrust so destructive a power in the hands of private capitalists whose sole consideration is special privilege. It must become the property of the whole of society. And this can only be accomplished by the working class taking possession of political power in the interest of society as a whole.

* * *

The Farmer and the Jeep

This little war creature, made adaptable to post-war farm uses, has recently made its debut in a special "in-the-soil" demonstration on the 200-acre farm of Charles E. Sorensen, president of Willys - Overland Motors, Inc., creators of this famous little scout car. Dressed up in bright colors the little prima donna was put through a routine which included more than 25 heavy-duty farm chores. It cobines "the basic functions of light truck, tractor, motive power unit and passenger conveyance."

A veritable economic revolution on the farm! What a blessing! It will put an end to the long hours of toil and drudgery; save labor with the consequent cut in production costs, reduce capital outlay since it will combine many functions into one.

One editor, commenting on its benefits to the farmer, winds up in wonderment about the problem it will create—"what to do with idle hours?"

This is indeed an insurmountable problem for the narrow bourgeois mind, which sees the mass of humanity as the incarnation of incessant work and toil, the only "natural" role for which it is fitted. Idle hours, or leisure, is to them a special privilege for the rich alone. But we can think of a problem far more serious than "idle hours," that is IDLE HANDS. Labor-saving jeeps on the farm ought certainly to create more leisure, and profits, for the farm owners, particularly for the owners of middle-sized and large farms. But to the farm laborers, the kind of leisure it will provide is that of hitting the road looking

Capitalism's for new employment.

This dual effect of the jeep, a blessing for the farm owners, a curse for the agricultural workers, stems not from the mechanical wizardry of the jeep, as such, but from its private ownership.

The Palliative and the Cure

The Wagner - Murray - Dingle bill for extension of Social Security gets a strong reaction from doctors, especially those in the more lucrative income brackets, whose mouthpiece, the American Medical Association, opposes this reform bill and sets up a howl for "free enterprise" and the "American Way."

Dr. Mary B. Spahr, who for years has tried out her own medical insurance plans, has other objections a g a i n st socialized medicine. Writing in the Saturday Evening Post of July 21st she tells how bureaucratic red tape and individual selfishness (a direct corollary of capitalist rapacity) sabotaged her best efforts.

Whatever sentiment there is among physicians for socialized medicine usually comes from the less affluent, the young ones who sometimes starve for several years before building up a practice, or the old ones whose business has fallen off, and a few doctors who place human considerations above material gain.

But socialized medicine is an inexorable trend which the AMA cannot stop. The conditions of capitalism impose such measures, for its own safety and perpetuation, and yet they can never go the whole way without obliterating capitalism itself. Its private nature and competitive character prohibits that.

In a society, where the honors and rewards would go for social service and not for cupidity and riches, human values would be preeminent and human needs foremost. In short, in a socialist society, modern, scientific medicine will be on a positive, preventive basis. Housing, sanitation and health surveys, and programs conducive to the well-being of each and every individual, will be socially accepted as a matter of course.

It will be to the interest and benefit of all to attain and maintain the health of the community. not only to achieve greater production, but especially since everyone—not only the rich, as at present—will enjoy the benefits. A doctor will be able to give his whole self to his work, without worrying whether some of his clients have the means to pay him; and still he will receive a steady, life-long remuneration, commensurate with the value of his services. The Wagner - Murray - Dingle bill, or any other such bill, cannot but serve as a palliative, dealing as it does in a superficial manner with the effects of a society which is constantly undermining the health of its people, in the interest of private gain.

Already appeals have been made to the world's workers to restrain their own ruling class from again repeating the machinations and intrigues which made possible the establishment of the Franco dictatorship in Spain. It is well for us to heed this call. But the best way we can help the Spanish working class is by ridding ourselves of our own exploiters.

The only democracy possible for the exploited masses of Spain is one of their own making. To achieve this they will have to wrest political power from their own ruling class, and thereby become their own masters.

L. B.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

(Continued from page 3) these governments and their actions are not democratic. Such pressure has caused the Bulgarian government to defer a general election scheduled for August 26. We doubt, however, that this will make much difference. Nothing short of military intervention could stop the workers and peasants of Bulgaria from taking full power.

The hypocrisy of British and American officialdom, in charging others with anti-democratic actions, is evident when reports are received from Greece. There, British military intervention with American aid is supporting a fascist government. White terrorism is rampant in a pre-election campaign.

Labor Imperialists

Ernest Bevin, foreign secretary in the newly elected "socialist" government of Great Britain, on August 20th spoke before the House of Commons. He soon revealed that the foreign policies of the Labor cabinet were to be just as imperialistic as those of Winston Churchill and Anthony He whitewashed the Eden. British-sponsored fascist government of Greece. He followed the lead taken by Churchill and by the American government in attacking the existing governments of southeastern Europe (Greece excepted) as being anti-democratic and totalitarian in nature and, likewise, centered his attack against the Bulgarian cabinet. Although criticizing Franco, he opposed foreign intervention in Spanish affairs, fearing that this would lead to a recurrence of civil war. He stated his government's intention of regaining Hong Kong, and that a strong naval force was moving in to take possession from the Japanese. It is reported that Bevin "received cheers from conservative and labor members alike," but that "dissatisfaction was noticeable among the young laborites." Anthony Eden, foreign secretary in the Churchill cabinet, congratulated Bevin on his speech and gave his endorsement.

As World War II Ends

As World War II ends, only two first-class powers remain the U. S. A. and the U. S. S. R. The U. S. A. is the undisputed ruler of the ocean highways. Her navy surpasses that of all other nations combined. The U.S.S.R. is the greatest land power, sprawling over much of Europe and Asia. She has the added strength of having millions of friends in foreign lands-the class-conscious workers of the capitalist world. Great Britain, once the most powerful of all on both land and sea, is now rent with internal differences. Socialist ideas are threatening the roots of British imperialism. Canada, Australia and New Zealand look more to Washington than to

London for protection in time of war. India, Burma and other British possessions will be hard to hold. With the introduction of the atomic bomb the strategic position of the British Isles is worsened. America has become the greatest bulwark of capitalism. American workers are still strong in their allegiance to their capitalistic masters. This, however, may quickly change. Unemployment, with all its miseries, once more becomes problem No. 1. Within a few years, American economy will be in a crisis much deeper than that of the 30's. With a large part of the world moving forward to a better life, will the American workers be willing to starve peacefully? We think not.

The Atomic Bomb

The possession of the atomic bomb gives the American government added prestige at the bargaining table. However, an unknown factor is: How far has the Soviet Union advanced along such lines? It appears to be generally accepted that secrets of this destructive weapon cannot be kept. Scientists of various nations have played a part in its development. If there are no unobtainable or unsolvable secrets involved, the Soviet Union can quickly place itself on a par with the U.S.A. Oliver Ritchie.

PEACE AND POVERTY

(Continued from page 2)

must be financed. In times of peace, they dispose of the surplus in many ways. Being in competition with each other they are forever forced to improve their productive equipment in order to cheapen the cost of production and undersell each other.

Those best equipped to produce the cheapest reap the biggest profits. They sell their products and use the profits to expand their plants. Of course part of the surplus goes for living expense for the capitalists, but even here many of the less successful are so driven by competition that they find it necessary to economize on their living expenses in order to have more for improvement and expansion of plant.

In the long run, this driving force of capitalist production tends to create more productive plants than the normal market will sustain in full operation. Artificial stimulants are injected into the market. Goods are sold on credit. Loans are extended to prospective customers. Foreign markets are explored. Finally, the stimulants no longer stimulate. The market becomes glutted and shut-downs become general. The population has to suffer want because too much has

been produced, but as Karl Marx has said: "It is not a fact too much wealth is produced. But it is true that there is periodical over-production of wealth in its capitalistic and self-contradictory form." (Capital, Vol. III, page 303.)

But war is destructive, we all know. After several years of war, shouldn't shortages be so great that a long period of prosperity must prevail to satisfy the pent-up demand? As far as America was concerned the cost of the war was tremendous, but the productive capacity let loose by the war was equally tremendous. The industrial plant of the nation has never been as great as at present. The clothing and shoe industries, expanded to take care of war demands, stand ready to over-supply civilian demand in short order. The same is true of the food industry. Even the heavy industry, which has been turning out the machinery of war, is largely suitable for civilian production. The buildings and power plants can be used. Machinery frames and conveyor belts are usable. Only the machine tools need be changed, in many instances. Steel and aluminum and other metals, so heavily used in war, can now be delivered for peacetime needs, almost immediately. The twelve to eighteen months, said to be needed for reconversion, will be reduced to that many days, in many instances. In some cases it will, no doubt, require a few weeks to reconvert, but in eighteen months it is more likely that a greater portion of the present demand will have been taken care of, and the nation can once more settle down to the "ease" of industrial stagnation.

Foreign loans, of course, will tend to extend the more or less busy period, for a time. But in spite of government supervision the time will be sure to come when the loans are spent and repayment come due. Then foreign trade must be reversed, or the loans will be defaulted on. Foreign goods shipped into this nation will not appear to many as a solution to their problem.

No, the things being done, or not being done, in Washington to facilitate reconversion and peacetime prosperity will have little effect except as temporary stimulants. The trend of capitalist development marches on through war and peace to more productive ability, but also to comparatively less consumer ability, hence, to over-production, stagnation and poverty. The real remedy, the unavoidable remedy, will be the workers' jointly assuming government power, and through such power take possession of all the means of production. Then, and only then, can industrial capacity be utilized to satisfy the needs of all.

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