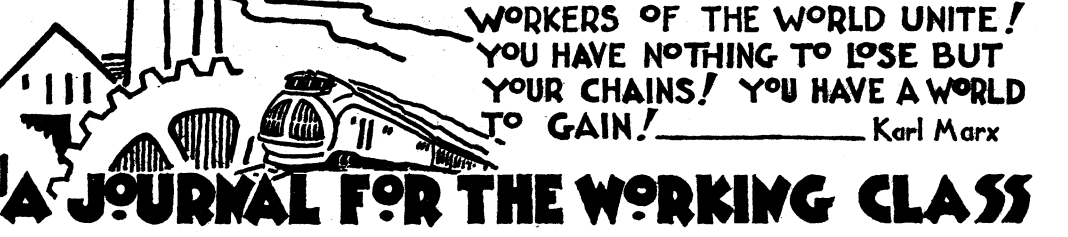


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The Real Barrier To World Unity

By Christ Jelset

The U. N. O. Council is meeting today (March 25th) in New York. It appears to be gathering in an atmosphere of apprehension and distrust. The past few weeks have brought a veritable storm of international name-calling and accusation. The "Big Three," allies in the late war and victory, seem to be falling out before even the thought of unity has had time to take root.

The Soviet Union, so gallant and able during the war against tyranny and oppression, now stands accused of being the worst of all tyrants and oppressors. The nation which has been the most punctual in fulfilling its promises during the war now stands accused of breach of every promise.

Reports differ as to detail, but they all are finding faults. The Soviet Union was to withdraw its forces of occupation from Manchuria by March 2. It wasn't done. Iran should be evacuated according to joint agreement, but, lo and behold, there are rumors of additional troops being moved in.

Eastern Europe was "written off" as an unavoidable concession to Soviet demands, but now Soviet wheat is being promised to starving France. And what is Soviet wheat in comparison to American wheat? American wheat, and other foods, are just edibles, issuing from the charitable and big American heart to suffering humanity. Soviet wheat, on the contrary, comes dripping from a saturation of poisonous communism.

Yes, Soviet aggression is proceeding in all directions, we are told, and it must be stopped. But how? What is back of Soviet aggression? Some are willing to admit that the Soviet Union has grounds for suspicion of other nations' intentions. They can see reasons for Soviet demands for friendly neighbors. Some can sense the logic in Soviet suspicion of American atomic bomb policy, or of British-American military cooperation. These will ask for a more earnest attempt at peaceful endeavor, at disarmament and military reductions. Others see a more sinister and purely imperial-

istic aggressive aim in the Soviet policy. These latter will insist that the only possible way to stop Soviet aggression is a firm policy supported by continuous military strength.

Again, one finds a host of commentators who are moved by sentimental reasons. They see suspicion and distrust on both sides, springing from lack of common understanding. Let the Russians know more about us and let us know more about them. Let us exchange students for the universities. Let us have more books translated into each others language. Let us learn more about each others history and art. Let us have more tourist interchange. If we only could know and understand each other better, surely we would also be able to avoid serious difficulties.

These, in the main, are the prevailing attitudes and explanations

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HOME SCENE

Highlighting last month's events has been the transition from economic to matters political. The strike crisis which held the national spotlight for several months has seemingly entered the stage of denouement, especially since the settlement at the General Motors and General Electric plants. In its place a new crisis has arisen in the field of foreign relations and policy. The purported recent actions of the Soviet Union have been criticized as definitely menacing to world peace. The cry was heard, "Why don't the Russians get their troops out of Iran, as has been agreed? By what right is she stripping the war industries in Manchuria?"

The daily press screamed, in flaming and provocative headlines, that this Russian "aggression" and "expansion" is a serious threat to western civilization and must be stopped. The one-time quasi-friendly tone towards "our valiant Russian ally" has turned into a dramatic shout of violent indig-

Imperialism Versus Soviet Expansion

In the welter of reactionary utterances recently aimed at the Soviet Union that of Churchill's reached the highest point in vituperation. He spoke not only for British imperialism but also for American imperialism, when one takes into account that his address in Fulton, Mo., was sponsored by Pres. Truman. What, one might ask, prompted Churchill to engage in such an attack against the Soviet Union? The answer is clear-cut: a desire on his part to rally world capitalism against the growing strength of the Soviet Union. His was the voice of capitalist reaction, and on par with the campaign of getting "tough" with Russia. It was a verbal bombshell that shocked many, but it fell wide of its mark, as far as the Soviet Union was concerned. On March 13, Joseph Stalin, thoroughly exposed this knight-errant of world imperialism by castigating him as a Hitler-like warmonger, seeking to set off an armed conflict with the Soviet

Union.

To some, this attack of Churchill's against the Soviet Union is bewildering. Nor does the "get tough with Russia" attitude of the U. S. Department of State clarify the picture. In other words, many are now asking the questions: why this sudden change of attitude toward Russia? Why can't the Big Three get back to the friendly relations that existed between them during the war?

As an answer to these questions we must remind our readers that we have in the columns of the Proletarian News constantly stressed the temporary nature of the alliance of the Big Three during the war. It was an involuntary alliance of capitalist Britain and America with a nation that both heartily hated, namely, the Soviet Union. We also stressed two points: First, the imperialist nature of the war, i.e. Britain and America struggling to maintain their monopoly of the world market, sources of raw material, colonies, etc., as against the Axis imperialist powers, and second, the class character of the war, namely the struggle of the Soviet Union against fascist, capitalist Germany.

With the defeat of the Axis powers we find the Big Three emerging as the victorious dominant powers. America and Britain achieved their aim, that of rendering impotent their enemies. No

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longer does Germany, Italy and Japan constitute a menace to British and American imperialistic holdings. The Soviet Union also achieved a great victory by the utter defeat of that bulwark against communism, fascist Germany and its allies. These are the main fruits of victory of the Big Three.

The war is over now. Next on the international agenda comes the struggle for the spoils of war. Who shall get what, that's the burning question? Agreements have been made as to the zones of occupation of the enemy territories by the armies of the Big Three but as yet no definite peace treaties have been made. Why? Because this time, unlike that of World War I, Britain and America cannot ignore but must consult with the Soviet Union on every phase of peace settlement to be made. That disagreements, as to the kind of governments that are to take the place of those defeated in the war, have arisen is obvious to all who study the international situation. The Soviet Union prefers friendly governments in Europe that would not constitute a menace to its security. Hence it is openly critical of any governments that are not friendly. On the other hand, Great Britain and United States, capitalist nations that they are, with ill-concealed hatred for the Soviet Union, are doing their best to foist and foster governments in Europe, and in fact throughout the world, which would be the catspaw of British and American imperialism.

What England and America is trying to do is to create a new "cordon sanitaire" another "bulwark against Bolshevism." It is in this light that one must examine the Churchillian utterances of "Nobody knows what Soviet Russia and its Communist International organization intends to do in the immediate future, or what are the limits, if any, to their expansion and proselytizing tendencies." What worries Churchill, and in fact the whole capitalist class, is the trend to the left in Europe. It has had its effect on Great Britain itself, wherein it has reflected itself in the parliamentary victory of the British Labor Party. That the British "Labor Government" is a long way from Socialism, is of course evidenced by the imperialist policies of its Attlees and Bevins, but the composition of that government is causing no little worry to the British capitalist class.

Stalin, in his rebuttal to Churchill's assertion that the Soviet Union had established domination over virtually all of eastern Europe, said that Soviet Russia could not forget that Germany had used these countries as invasion routes and that Russia was now determined, in the interests of security, to be surrounded by friendly

neighbors. Particularly is this determination strong in view of the Soviet Union's war losses—"about seven million people" which were several times greater than that of Britain and the United States together.

Stalin furthermore pointed out that, "The growth of the influence of communism cannot be considered accidental. It is a normal function. The influence of the communists grew because during the hard years of the mastery of fascism in Europe, Communists showed themselves to be reliable, daring and self-sacrificing fighters against fascist regimes for the liberty of peoples." (New York Times, March 14.)

Joseph Stalin also warned Churchill "and his friends" whom he said could be found in America as well as Britain, that it would not be easy to organize an armed campaign against eastern Europe and that if one was launched, it could be expected to meet the same fate as the one organized by Churchill against the Soviet Union twenty-six years ago. Thus the campaign of getting tough with Russia came to nought for the Soviet Union revealed that it would not be intimidated.

Churchill deplores the fact that Soviet influence has spread in eastern Europe and painted a dark picture of post-war Europe, on which "an iron curtain has descended across the continent" from Stettin on the Baltic to Trieste on the Adriatic. Yes, it's a gloomy outlook for the capitalist class, and well may they lament, for behind that "iron curtain" the rule of the exploiters of labor has been badly shattered. How did this occur? Let us see.

During the war when Europe was overrun by the German armies, the capitalist class in each nation either capitulated or openly made common cause with the fascists. (Only in a few countries, which as Poland, was there a semblance of resistance, and there a considerable section of the bourgeoisie made its escape when their nations went down in defeat.) By collaborating with the fascists the capitalists thoroughly exposed themselves to the toiling masses of Europe who looked upon them as traitors to the country. The workers and peasants alone of eastern Europe were left to carry on their resistance against fascism. How, and with what heroism, they fought we can cite two examples: the underground movements in Poland and Yugoslavia, particularly the latter. Similar uprisings were also taking place in the rest of Europe, especially at the time Nazi armies were being hard pressed by the Soviet armies and were beginning to retreat, those who were in the vanguard of these resistance movements were, in the main, revolutionary minded

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THE REAL BARRIER TO WORLD UNITY

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expressed upon the subject of future world peace in general, and upon American-Soviet relations in particular. Is there any other course for the labor movement to take than follow the more logical of these explanations? There is.

To get anywhere, we must go further and inquire into the causes for friction and misunderstanding concerning international affairs. In this field, as much as in domestic matters, there is to be found a main driving force, a compelling cause, underlying all social disagreements. This cause is not to be found in racial, religious or cultural differences. It does not emanate from lack of knowledge of different habits and customs. It cannot be found in the mental make-up of rulers, or in the different political organizations and institutions. All of these, and more, are but the outward reflections of an inner core, of the real social mover.

This underlying cause is the economic structure upon which the nations live and move. In most of the nations of the world the economic foundation is the capitalist system of production. This is, first of all, a system of exploitation, of capitalist income from production carried on by the workers. This is, consequently, a system of competition and rivalry between the capitalists. To the successful competitor goes the business. The less successful fall by the wayside as economic failures. National groups band together to expand business internationally. This causes international conflicts which leads to war. International combinations of rival groups might avoid war in one field, but only to precipitate it in another. Wars, instead of being avoided, become bigger.

This economic system of exploitation also brings about and perpetuates a conflict between capital and labor. In spite of all the talk about the mutual dependence and harmonious interest of the two contending forces, the conflict grows keener. Labor sees in industrial improvement a means of its own economic advancement, but finds that in reality every improvement in productive ability reduces the worker's share of the product. More speed-up and more shut-downs because of lack of markets, become the natural result of every industrial advancement. The strike wave of recent months is proving conclusively that harmony on the home front is further removed than ever.

This economic conflict is not confined to America. It is world-wide, except where it has been carried to its logical conclusion. The Russian Revolution of 1917 was the achievement of victory of the toiling masses of Russia over their exploiters. The Soviet Union is a new nation with the exploita-

tion of man by man a discarded policy. There the cause for internal conflict was removed twenty-nine years ago.

In that nation cooperative production is now rapidly advancing the economic standard of all. There the need for imperialist expansion died with the revolution. From that new nation of internal economic harmony sprang, not the slogan but also the practice of, "self-determination of all nations."

Thus, from the Soviet Union the capitalist nations would have nothing to fear. The Soviet Union is not going in for exploitation of the natural resources or the people of Manchuria, China or Iran. That nation is not expansionist in the old sense of the word. But the internal conflict within all the capitalist nations has been heightened by the war. Disruption of production, destruction and exhaustion of food supplies cause hunger, first of all among the poorer masses. The wealthy fall back upon hidden, and stored up supplies, or the black market, for their own support, while they retard renewed production.

Thus the leftward movement gets under way. The Soviet Union is not causing the movement but cannot be expected to oppose it. On the contrary, if the leftward movement succeeds, the logical outcome must be a government similar to the Soviet. A new working class government anywhere cannot be hostile to the Soviet Union. It can but draw lessons and experience from the achievement of the Soviet Union. It has no need to misrepresent the nature of the Soviet system to its own people. It in fact becomes part of the Soviet world, without being in any way under Russian domination.

Such a natural expansion of the Soviet system must, on the other hand, be very alarming to the capitalist class. The growth of the Soviet system anywhere ends the opportunity for profitmaking, which is the very essence of "freedom" to all capitalists. Yet they cannot afford to attack it on that basis. The masses, who are needed in the support of capitalism, might not be aroused so easily on that score. Hence, all the phoney accusations of Soviet imperialist expansion policies.

With this distinction kept clearly in mind, we can go ahead and observe the policies of the Soviet Union in any or all of its theaters of action, and find that its doings are quite different from the distorted reports of the capitalist press. Its demand for friendly governments in the neighboring countries to the west can be understood. But the only people capable of forming such governments are the workers and the poor masses in general, those who are desperately in need of a chance to

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HOME SCENE

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Some may be at a loss for an explanation of this. Is it the old Churchill come back to life? Or perhaps his one-time admiration for that fascist Mussolini has returned to haunt him as the ghost did to Hamlet? What is it that he is now advocating that is setting the "free enterprise" wolves a'howling?

Our readers may remember that in the very thick of the war, when Churchill's ringing voice was warming up to "our Soviet ally" and Stalin, the Proletarian Party kept reminding us that this was but a temporary alliance, produced by the common danger of Germany, i.e. a marriage of convenience; that with the passing of this special condition the fundamental antagonisms between the forces of socialism and capitalist imperialism will again come to the foreground. That time is here now. It is coming to pass.

What is worrying Churchill's noble soul? It is that the Soviet Union seems to block British imperialism's freedom of action to continue unhampered in its rule over millions of colonial peoples. The growing respect and friendship towards the Soviet Union in Europe, and beyond it, is a direct

challenge to British stability. Its orbit is shaking and becoming whittled down in proportion to the growth of Soviet power and influence. Britain alone feels unequal to this challenge. Hence Churchill's frantic appeal for a joint Anglo-American imperialist alliance to checkmate the Soviet Union. All this in the defense of civilization and law and order. This English-speaking alliance, no matter what phraseological garb it takes, "fraternal association" or what have you, would, in substance constitute a ganging-up against the Soviet Union, eventually leading to aggression and war. Churchill is practically advocating an Anglo-United States Axis differing little from the Anti-Comintern Axis of the fascists.

Doubtless there are many in America who disapprove and fear such a move. These disapprove of war—at least for the present—and are fearful that our whole "free enterprise" economy would be put on trial, our present plans for economic rehabilitation be upset. Nonetheless, the speech found warm response among others whose opinion is that NOW is the time to call a halt to Russia's ambitions, while she is yet wound-

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IMPERIALISM VS. SOVIET EXPANSION

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class-conscious workers who had always hated capitalist class oppression.

When the Red armies swept in and forced the Nazi armies out of eastern Europe, this Soviet broom, with help from the resistance movements, also swept away a lot of bourgeois rubbish. The collaborators fled with the Nazis, those that did not were either liquidated or attempted to go into hiding. As a result, much property, landed estates, industries, etc. suddenly found itself bereft of owners. The working population also found itself without bosses, a loss that they did not regret. The significant point about this whole upheaval was this: the main prop of the capitalist system in Europe was Nazi Germany and when that prop was shattered by the mighty blows of the Red armies then the whole capitalist structure of Europe came down with a crash. Remnants of capitalism that still remain are but splinters from the one-time edifice of oppression. The exploited masses of Europe rejoiced, for to them it meant freedom from exploitation.

Then the working people of Europe began to set their house in order. Working class organizations, etc. These voiced their demands for reforms and for active participation in the formation of a government that would protect their interests. Provisional governments were set up, pledged to carry out these reforms. In Poland landed estates were divided up among the poor peasants. Factories, such as were still unravaged by war, were set into operation and nationalized. In the rest of eastern Europe a similar development occurred. All this was not yet "Sovietism" but too far to

northern Iran, and that the land owners of that region favor such a move because of the higher royalties offered.

If more of the details were known, the picture of the whole situation would be clearer. But the fact remains that the Soviet Union, being a nation based upon economic cooperation not upon exploitation, is finding its real friends among those who are exploited and who seek to rid themselves of such exploitation.

On the other hand, the Soviet Union cannot move into neighboring nations and give the people a new system of government based upon non-exploitation. That task will remain the work of the exploited in each nation. The Soviet Union is pursuing the only workable policy, promoting friendship with its neighbors. Exploiters of labor, be they located close to, or far from, the borders of the Soviet Union, cannot accept, or even be expected to accept such friendship.

the left to suit Britain and American capitalism, who raised a hue and cry against this development and decried it as "Soviet expansion."

There is no denying that this development does constitute a threat to the imperialistic ambitions of Great Britain and the United States. One of the main features of imperialism is the export of capital, for investment abroad with the purpose in mind, of course, to make profit. Before capital is invested in any foreign nation, the latter must guarantee to the owners of capital that it has a "stable" government. By "stable" is meant a government that will hold in check the workers of that nation, for it is through exploitation of labor that profits are made. That is why we find America and England supporting the most reactionary governments throughout the world. Take the case of Iran for example. Here British and American oil interests for years have propped up a reactionary regime. It was profitable for them to do so. But not so for the Iranian masses, particularly the workers and peasants, who were mercilessly exploited and oppressed by that reactionary government. They have, and to this day, are struggling against that exploitation, which took the form of revolts in the northern part of Iran. Again, as elsewhere, the Soviet Union has been blamed for fomenting these revolts.

Similar struggles are taking place in other parts of the world. These are struggles against imperialism. China, India, Indo-China, and Indonesia have provided the world with classical examples of such struggles. As is the usual practice of the British and American imperialists these uprisings have been depicted as being caused by "communist agitators."

One might say that not only Europe but the whole world is moving to the left. This is a correct appraisal when one takes into account what is happening today. Following World War I, one-sixth of the world's surface was freed from imperialism by the Russian Revolution. It is this that world capitalism cannot forget or forgive, that is why the Soviet Union is so heartily hated by the imperialist powers.

But the example that the Russian workers have set is also not forgotten by the world's workers. Millions of exploited workers are beginning to realize that if they want real freedom from their oppressors it can only come through the overthrow of capitalism. Soviet "expansion" does not consist of acquisitions of territory but of Marxian ideas that leap all national boundaries that has for its slogan: the world for the world's workers.

Al Wysocki.

THE REAL BARRIER TO WORLD UNITY

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earn a living, without having to wait for capitalists to start production for a non-existent cash market. Thus the economics of the nations must be changed before the governments can take on a new character.

The capitalist press has been up in arms about Soviet occupation of Manchuria. Now, when it appears that the occupation is ending, it is revealed that its prolongation was caused by a Chinese request. Iran is now the spot that might break the newly formed UNO.

Before World War I, both Tzarist Russia and Great Britain were pursuing expansionist policies in that part of the world. History tells us that it was the Russian Revolution that saved the day. The new Soviet government renounced Russian interference in Persian affairs. It cancelled Persia's debts to Russia and returned title to all Russian state and church property. A new Persian government was founded, based upon the new Russian friendship.

In 1919, Great Britain succeeded in having a pro-British ministry come to power, under which a treaty of support was concluded with Britain. British advisers were to assist in government affairs. British officers were to train the army. British financial experts assisted in reorganizing customs, and British capital and

engineers were used in building the nation's railroads. As one historian has it: "It seemed as though the nation had escaped from one foreign imperialism only to run straight into the arms of another."

The pro-British administration was challenged as early as 1921 by an army commander, Reza Khan. By 1925, the ancient name of Iran was adopted as a sign of a strong national feeling. In 1935, a new agreement with the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company was signed, under which increased royalties were to be paid and more Iranians were to be employed by the company.

That the new agreements with Great Britain were not satisfactory to all Iranians is testified to by the fact that German propagandaists were successfully carrying on agitation. As a war measure, therefore, Iran was occupied by Great Britain and the Soviet Union. Now that the war is over, it is but natural that Great Britain wants to continue its exploitation of Iran's oil and other natural resources. It is equally natural that many Iranians are interested in ending or curtailing such exploitation.

The Soviet Union, having had many friends in Iran ever since 1917, can be expected to be wielding an influence at least in encouraging curtailment of British economic penetration. It has even been said that the Soviet Union is also seeking oil concessions in

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Income and Purchasing Power

The working people, being the vast majority, are often considered to have the real purchasing power of the nation. In fact that is one of the chief pleas of the leadership of the A. F. of L.: "Let the employers," they say, "pay more wages and thus make it possible for labor to spend more, then prosperity would certainly result."

It is undeniable that the workers are the greatest purchasers of the cheaper grades of commodities, of most food, shelter and clothing, and are the bulk of the passengers on most means of transportation, such as street cars, buses, subways, trains, etc. But even if they spend their entire earnings, and save nothing whatever, there is a limit to their purchasing power because there is a limit to their earning power, their wages.

Under capitalism the total wage bill of all those "gainfully employed" is less than the value of their total products. In other words, wages are but a part (and the lesser part) of the new values, daily, weekly or yearly produced. It should be clear to all that the part can never be equal to the whole, that the value of wages will always be less, on the average, than the value of the products of labor. Therefore, the workers' wages can never buy back the entire value that the workers produce.

Of course, if the workers, as a class, received wages equal in value to the total values they produce they could buy back all their product. But that can never happen under capitalism. It would cease to be capitalism, if that happened, and, in fact, it would cease to be wages also, because wages, as such, are, and can only be, part of the values daily produced by the workers.

However, there are workers who are not "gainfully" employed. such as street cleaners, soldiers, policemen, jailers, and political henchmen in general, as well as household servants of the rich. These spend their incomes and add to general purchasing power, but they buy no ships, no railroad equipment and machinery, nor the vast quantities of raw materials for production such as rubber, oil, coal, iron, lumber, etc. These latter are purchased by the capitalists, and of course, necessities and luxuries for themselves and their families.

There are times when all are spending freely, capitalists and workers as well. Yet this vast purchasing power does not assure prosperity. It usually leads to just the opposite, namely, to overproduction, to the over-supplying of the existing market, and consequently to unemployment for the masses and its accompanying impoverishment.

If the margin between wages in general and the value of the products of social labor was being reduced, then there would be less likelihood of depressions, but the opposite is happening, and is bound to increase with every improvement in machinery and industrial productivity. The value which the workers received, their wages, in relation to the values that their social labors produce, becomes less and less.

If the workers were to receive an average of 25 per cent more wages right now, and that would be a big increase, then it is obvious that the capitalists would have that much less to spend for their purposes. Consequently, the general purchasing power would just be as it was. The workers purchasing more and the capitalists less. A fall in wages has just the opposite effect. The capitalists being in a position to purchase more and the workers less.

The economic fact, for the workers, is that their lack of purchasing power begins with their lack of earning power. That is what lies at the root of all problems under capitalism, and cannot be altered under this system. Wages, under advantageous circumstances, can be forced up, but not very far at best. Still, as wages, they would only be part of the value produced. In other words, we again stress, the part can never be as great as the whole, and especially as the margin between the two steadily widens.

Only when the workers, as a class, refuse to be exploited by capitalists, and abolish the wage system entirely, will society be freed from its consequences, depressions, wars and increasing economic misery.

Indian Independence

India has been ruled and exploited by British imperialism for such a long time that it is difficult to believe that it is about to be given the right to choose between commonwealth status, like Canada or Australia, or entire separation from the old empire. Yet, that is what Premier Attlee has announced.

The commission of British cabinet ministers which has been sent to India, according to reports, is simply charged with the task of making the necessary arrangements for India's withdrawal from Britain's colonial yoke.

What has caused the Labor government to make this sudden, if belated decision? For it is just about a month since Mr. Attlee stated that India's independence hinged upon it first settling its internal problems, a rather unlikely achievement in the near future. It looked then like Mr. Attlee was simply laying down conditions which he knew were practically impossible of fulfillment. But obviously there has been a change of heart.

It seems now that the Labor administration is ready to concede full and immediate independence. Why the changed attitude? There are undoubtedly a number of reasons, but the chief one may spring from the recent outbreaks in a number of cities, which bordered upon open rebellion. Toward the end of February, what seemed very much like the first stages of civil war broke out, with riots in Madras, Bombay and Karachi. There was also some fighting in Calcutta. The struggle lasted for several days and was quelled by British troops. Indian naval and air forces, it was reported, refused to obey the commands of their officers. If the situation had not been handled with care those forces might have gone over to the side of the people in their struggle against British imperialism.

Such a situation, is just a little bit too much for Britain's "socialist" government to face, and especially at a time when Britain and America are trying to put the Soviet Union on the spot in relation to Iran and Manchuria. Of course, the previous administration had promised India a measure of independence following the war, but it did not seem to be taken seriously either in Britain or India.

The defeat of Japanese imperialism, with its greater East Asia program, has deprived British imperialism of one of its main arguments, that the Japs would conquer India if

the British withdrew their forces. There may also be some understanding with America, whereby Britain gives up its special trade privileges and agrees to India, like China, becoming an open door for all imperialism. This is a basis upon which American imperialism will become the dominant investor and exploiter of the Orient.

Whatever brought about this sudden decision of the British government it is certainly a great thing for India, and a real surrender of British imperialism. Mr. Churchill and his Tory friends won't like it. During the war Churchill let it be known that he did not consider it was his mission to liquidate the British empire. But the "glorious old empire" is now like "the old grey mare,"—"She ain't what she used to be."

The Old 'Peace' Palaver

Following World War I there was much talk of peace and how war can be prevented through understanding. The same old palaver is here again. If only the right formula can be found, the proper sort of agreement, war, as a means of settling international disputes need not be.

But side by side with this planning for world peace goes preparation for war and talk of universal military training of youth. One can readily see that it is only the terrible economic plight of so many nations that is preventing a new armaments race right now.

The greatest peace propagandists are the liberals, but that is only during the time of peace. When war actually breaks out the liberals always find an excuse for climbing upon the war wagon. In practice, the "peace loving" liberals are a fine screen behind which hard-boiled militarists and war-mongers can carry on, because the liberals keep alive the fiction that "peace through understanding" is possible under capitalism.

On this score those who write for the "New Republic" and "The Nation" are in the same boat with the writers for the "Chicago Tribune," the Hearst press and similar reactionary periodicals, all of whom are defenders of "free enterprise" from which war inevitably arises.

Periodically, as armaments costs become burdensome to small business people, a yell goes up for disarmament. The demand for disarmament, or for limitation of armaments, may have some propaganda value, it may smoke out certain warmongers, whose favorite argument is to the effect that: "The surest way to secure peace is to be well prepared for war." It is one of the contentions of the conscriptionists, the advocates of universal military training (which is so good for the health of the young people). Avowed enemies will hesitate, they say, to attack a nation that is well armed and prepared for war. These are illusions. Under this system, capitalism, if every nation was armed to the teeth, or if every one was disarmed, war will come about when economic rivalries over world trade, sources of raw materials, and spheres of investment can no longer be resolved.

In spite of all the agitation, especially during the last fifty years, for limitation of armaments, what has happened under "free enterprise" based upon the exploitation of labor for profit? Armed forces, everywhere, have increased in size and cost, and the wars have become the most ruthless and brutal in the history of the human race. The most deadly weapons of destruction (such as Christian America's atomic bombs) have been hurled at cities full of non-combatants, old people and children alike.

Now, of course, there is a certain amount

Is Tradition an Obstacle to Progress?

By Robert Daniels

The relation of tradition to progress has been a controversial point and battleground down through the ages. Two schools of thought have developed, the traditional or conservative and the non-traditional or progressive.

To the traditionalist all the real and worthwhile social values, culture and refinement, are associated with the past. They stood the test of time and experience, were embraced by our forebears and handed down from generation to generation. Without a careful preservation of traditional ideals, progress will cease and there will be a reversion to barbarism and chaos. A halo is created around tradition, to be venerated as a sacred heritage. The conventional and customary, they assert, is the known and solid ground. All else is speculation and utopia.

The reply to this by the progressive is that whatever progress has been made was in the face of traditional opposition; that social values are a relative or transient matter; that the speculation of today becomes the knowledge of tomorrow. Lastly, that tradition instead of aiding progress is a fetter upon it, that "the man who boasts of his ancestors is just like a potato, the only good belonging to him is under ground."

Tradition comes from the Latin word *Traditio*, meaning "delivery. An account, or records, delivered or handed down from generation to generation, especially by oral communication not in writing." (The oral aspect is obviously negligible in this age of books and writing.) The essence of this definition is the "handing down from generation to generation" of established ideas, customs and institutions. But what is the nature and effect of the ideas and conventions transmitted? Were they in line with historical development? That is very important to establish. And herein lies the limitation in definitions. They are too abstract. A closer approximation of the nature of tradition lies in the study of its concrete manifestations in history, its origin, forms of development or evolution, as also its basis. In doing so we shall establish its essential character and relation to the progress of mankind.

The question is often raised in labor circles: How come that in America, a country so advanced industrially, labor is so backward, from a political standpoint, with its economic feet in 1946 while its

political head is way back in 1776? Is that not a contradiction of historical materialism? The answer is no. Though the general social advance derives its momentum, in the last analysis, from the changes in the development of the production technique i. e. the economic force operating as the decisive or PRIMARY factor, it is not the only one. There are other factors, though secondary, they contribute, exert substantial influence, at times accelerating, at others retarding the general law of movement. Historical materialism in stressing the economic factor recognizes the interplay of other objective forces, geography, climate as also subjective factors of consciousness. Capitalist politics, patriotism, religion, education, propaganda are such forces. Tradition falls into this category. Together the pull of these forces effects the political thinking of labor so that its rate is incommensurate with the general rate of economic development.

Tradition manifests itself in every human activity, from the simple traditional Thanksgiving turkey dinner and Christmas tree—in themselves relatively harmless—to the most obtruse political and economic matters. Music, art, literature, religion, customs or family relations carry its stamp. Even science and the labor movement do not escape its grip.

We need but recall the Roosevelt fourth term for President in 1944. In that campaign the Republicans with Dewey injected the element of tradition, contending that Roosevelt's election would be a breach with precedent and tradition.

Ever since the New Deal a fight has been raging between a substantial section of business against the government's interference with free enterprise. Their resentment is expressed on grounds of the traditional concept that the function of government is political, not economic, i. e. to look out for the general tranquility and stability of the nation. To date the non-traditional element, impelled by social pressure, seems to have the upper hand though not without strong opposition and compromise.

The fight over F.E.P.C. is also symptomatic of its power. Traditional race prejudice of the Congressmen from the South, white supremacy and of discrimination generally have proven themselves sufficiently alive and entrenched to prevent its passage thus far.

In the field of medicine, and in

education, we find organized leadership defending restriction and limitation, in accordance, also with established traditions. In the trade union movement any mention of the need for "independent labor political action" is cried down as running counter to the traditional policy of "no politics in the trade unions."

Nor is it true of America and the present only. Each nation and people has its own special traditions, the British, German or the Russian; Europeans and Asiatics; Jews or Christians; back in the days of feudalism, ancient Rome or primitive tribal society. Though all pervasive, yet we must carefully note its RELATIVE nature, varying in accordance with time, place and conditions. What is traditional at one time becomes non-traditional at another. The simple traditions of our barbarian tribal ancestors are now dead along with their ancient social organizations. Their simple (gens) traditions, customs and tribal ceremonies were rooted in their early communal form of life. Ancestor and nature worship, their form of religion, was in harmony with their environment and limited state of knowledge of nature's forces. Their traditions of maternal law and respect for women; the democracy and equality of all, men and women alike; that the belongings of the deceased revert back to the tribe; their hospitality, simplicity and physical bravery, all these are the natural offspring of a classless arrangement based upon common property rights.

With the advent of private property and civilization the old gentile tribal traditions become myth. The new property relations gave rise to classes and social inequalities, creditors and debtors, commodities, exchange and money. The state, a political organ for social compulsion, came into being. Other class institutions arose. New rights, customs, religion and tradition arose in harmony with the new conditions of social life, chattel slavery.

The traditional right of the slave master to kill the slave, the reign of paternal law and others are such. Now chattel slavery is gone along with its traditions. Gone, too, is feudalism with its traditional divine rights for the King and feudal nobility; the concept of primogeniture and *ius prima noctis* (right of the first night), which the nobility frequently abused, are no longer recognized, as also the dominating

influence of the Catholic Church in political and economic affairs, though it has not completely relinquished that effort nor influence.

During the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries, in the struggle to overthrow the feudal system with all its backwardness and darkness, the forerunners of modern capitalism had to fight hard against all the traditional forces of the Middle Ages, notably religion and the church. The rising bourgeoisie was then the non-traditional, revolutionary element in society, hacking away at the old feudal barriers. No institution was too holy or fixed to be spared. Everything was profaned or as Engels put it, "Everything must justify its existence before the judgement set of reason, or give up existence."

Despite the fierce opposition of the then traditional forces, notably the Catholic Church, social progress could not be stymied. The Holy Inquisition of the church and its persecution of scientists, like Bruno, Galileo and others, became impotent in the face of social forces calling for scientific endeavor. The capitalist revolution having become triumphant, after much exertion, gained complete sway. The old feudal power was broken, so too its traditions, only to establish a new ideology and traditions based upon the new conditions of life, capitalism. Such is briefly the background leading up to American traditions of 1776.

We have seen that traditions have changed and evolved in the past giving way to other and newer forces. But what gives rise to certain tradition, and what makes them obsolete? Changes in the material conditions of society. It is here that we observe the real essence of social progress. What brings about the tremendous upward changes in human development is the constant improvement in production technique. It is such inventions and discoveries as the use of fire, bow and arrow, smelting of iron ore, domestication of animals, agriculture, tools and machines for industry, writing and scientific knowledge, that gives man a greater mastery over nature's forces and a possibility for greater security in his environment. It is in these changes in the manner of eking out his existence, and in the constant enhancement and improvement in his production capacities that we find the key to forms as also the changes in his social organization, institutions, ideology and tradition.

In using the term "progress" we must be concrete. When we say "workers make progress" we

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of alarm among the leaders of the "free enterprise" world, because there is a danger of their great scientific weapon, the A-Bomb, boomeranging upon themselves. A war of wiping out whole cities at a time is what threatens and there is a danger of them solving all their problems too suddenly and too well.

War can be prevented, but not under a

system which makes it unavoidable. It can be abolished only by abolishing its cause, capitalism, the profit system. And that is a task which can only be brought about by the workers as a class, through their conquering political power and using it to socialize all industry, thus making war between nations unnecessary. As this is an historic course which the modern working class, the prole-

tariat, must inevitably pursue, the sooner class conscious workers organize and prepare for this class victory the sooner will the struggle be over and a basis laid for permanent world peace. On to a classless and warless world! On to a world without parasites and paupers! On to a world in the hands of the workers!

John Keracher.

HOME SCENE

(Continued from page 3)
ed from World War II.

Despite Stalin's sharp tongue-lashing of Churchill, paralleling him with Hitler, despite Russia's press warnings to Churchill and to all reactionary war mongers that they will meet with a similar fate as Hitler should they attempt intimidation and aggressive preparation, despite also of President Truman's assurance that things are not quite as bad as pictured, and that these differences are not so wide but they could be ironed out in the UNO, the facts are that America's foreign policy has unequivocally turned rightwards and stiffened.

Churchill's speech seems to have served a double purpose, that of rallying all anti-Soviet elements into a political crusade, as also to divert world distrust and criticism away from imperialist Britain's messy behavior in her bloody suppression of liberation movements, as in Greece, Indonesia and elsewhere. By focusing world attention on Russia's so-called misdoings in Iran and Manchuria, he hypocritically strove to cover up the maintenance of British forces and the use of violence in many outlying territories. This same can be said for U. S. military forces in China, Iceland and Pacific territories.

All this anti-Soviet propaganda is vicious and dangerous. To workers it has a special significance. The Soviet Union is a worker-ruled country. It has brought untold benefits to the Russian workers. It has freed them from capitalist exploitation. By so doing it has raised the hopes and determination of workers the world over. They are building socialism there, where workers can enjoy life to the full. They need peace to build the new world order. They don't want war. Only the capitalist war-mongers want war, to save their tottering rotten system of exploitation. Anti-Soviet propaganda, from whatever source it might come, must be combatted. In the last analysis such propaganda is anti-labor.

Pauley and Oil

Oil is greasy, so is politics. We are just getting over a rather oily situation in the Pauley affair. After much bitter wrangling over Pauley's fitness or unfitness for the job of Under Secretary of the Navy, despite that President Truman put his whole weight behind him, the latter (Pauley) was forced to withdraw.

The fight was led by the now ex-Secretary of the Interior, Harold Ickes, who resigned over Pauley's nomination. The opposition of Ickes, and other government leaders, was on grounds that Pauley, being in the oil business, possessed a personal stake in that industry. There was the danger of oil economics boring into the politics of the Navy Department and so weaken the U. S. Navy. Its

oil reserves could be jeopardized. Even the spectre of the Teapot Dome scandal of the 20's glided across the political scene.

In their opposition they supposedly acted in the best interest of the country as a whole, wishing to protect the government against possible encroachment of special business interests.

To workers this is an inner capitalist struggle that concerns them little. Oil resources, or other resources, are not their's. They are the property (private or public) of the capitalists, individually or collectively. Workers are not consulted, neither should they be concerned. Directly or indirectly, the influence of business makes itself felt in politics. That's what government is for. It is to protect the wellbeing of business economy as a whole.

That Congress chose at this moment, to turn down the direct and open influence of this specific business grouping (oil) will help to hide that connection between business and government. It is there nonetheless. In place of an oil man, some other business representative, of steel or coal, the banks or such, will be approved. One thing is certain not to happen. No horny-handed worker will be invited to sit in.

The link between economics and politics is carefully welded and guarded. It's a greasy business, under any circumstances, oil or no oil.

* * *

Hoover and Hunger

Former President Hoover, as head of a group of "public spirited citizens" has accepted the invitation of the White House to attend a conference aimed to reduce food consumption in this country, purportedly to feed the starving peoples abroad.

As food administrator during World War I, Hoover won world fame. Lest we forget, as President of the United States, during the Hungry 30's his association with hunger was at home. Certainly he seems to be the right man for the right job. We might say, "Where there is hunger there is Hoover—but where there are Hoovers there is also hunger."

* * *

Tennessee Race Riot

In the very midst of strike disorders comes the news of a serious race outbreak in which at least one Negro was killed, 10 wounded, including some whites, and 70 arrested, 68 of whom were Negroes. This happened in Columbia, Tenn. According to press reports the trouble arose over a simple personal difference. "Sheriff Underwood attributed the disturbance to high feeling engendered by an altercation yesterday in which a Negro woman and her son pushed a white radioman through a window and the subsequent wounding of four policemen who went into the Negro section known as the

Mink Slide." (N. Y. Times, Feb. 27.)

Failing to indicate more fully the nature of the altercation that led to this window pushing we are prone to accept this reporting as surface reasoning. The cause doubtless is much deeper than that.

PM of the same date reports that "Telephone interviews with leading local citizens of Tennessee indicate that the incidents . . . arose from job and social distinctions imposed at nearby war plants."

E. W. Cormack, a contender for the U. S. Senate, quoted the attorney general of the Columbia district of that state, Paul Bumpus, as saying "Trouble has been brewing for a long time because of the Negro-white working conditions at the phosphate plants at Mount Pleasant, a small town 14 miles from Columbia."

Editor Jennings Perry of the "Nashville Tennessean" told PM that "For some time we have all known that Negroes were receiving lower wages than white people for the same work at this and other plants."

In this you have the real cause underlying race tension. The prevailing economic and social distinctions, the competition over jobs, the underpayment of Negro workers, for the same work, all this tends to create enmity between white and colored workers. Mistakenly they each see in the other the cause for their respective economic shortcomings, where in reality the cause of the plight of both is capital.

The N. A. A. C. P. appealed promptly to U. S. Attorney General in Washington, Tom Clark, to "Act promptly and vigorously to safeguard constitutional rights of Negroes against state violation of those rights."

Alas! The constant recurrence of such flagrant violations attest to the futility of this course. Economic, class inequality, insecurity in job conditions are rife for racial inequality and strife. It is to this root that Negro and white workers alike must turn for a solution to this injustice.

* * *

Nylon Lines

The spectacle of nylon lines is presently a hors-d'oeuvre in our American predicament. It is no place for a shrinking violet. Amidst the bustle and jostle the Amazonian spirit will have left many a "Casper Milquetost" hors de combat.

The black market has reached down to women's hosiery. The wild scramble after the fair maiden's socks leaves one aghast. The combative spirit for food is understandable. But nylons! Could that be the measuring rod of the growing militancy of the "weaker" sex?

* * *

Women Breadwinners

Getting on the more serious side of the woman question, we note that the trek of American women from factory to kitchen has reached sizeable proportions, as report-

ed by the Women's Bureau of the Labor Department.

Approximately 4,000,000 women since September, 1945 have been separated from industry. That this is by no means all voluntary, is indicated by the rise in the number of those drawing unemployment insurance. New York, a typical industrial state, shows that the number has increased from 92,329 in September, 1945 to 169,891 by mid-December. And the crest has not been reached, as one can observe at the unemployment service agencies.

In the days of chivalry, it was ignominious for a woman to labor. The ideal woman spent most of her life in the boudoir. Even the poor women were domesticated, attending mainly to the affairs of the kitchen. Those were the "good old days."

They are no more. For capitalism has freed women from kitchen drugery, only to enslave them in industry. Laundry service, department stores, bakeshops, restaurants have "released" women from domestic bondage. Now shoulder to shoulder they jostle along the belt-line. Rosie the riveter and Cookie the welder are familiar sights in the factory or at the unemployment desk.

True, the war drew an extraordinary number of women into industry. But that process was in operation long before the war. In fact it began with, or rather was greatly extended with the coming of machines. Women and children have been cruelly exploited by capitalism right along. Accepting lower wage scales, in most cases, than men, they were preferred in many sweatshops. They were driven to work, in most cases, because the husband, or father's wages were insufficient to provide the family's needs.

The sacredness of the family, preached by the saviors of civilization, is a social prejudice, family life is frequently shattered, with both parents at the work bench. The drain of long hours of toil leaves little time or inclination for family life. Unemployment of one, or both, oldsters makes for leisure but no money. Hence capitalism exposes both the vicissitudes of boom and bust. The trek from factory to kitchen is not a path strewn with roses. The modern working women must, shoulder to shoulder with working men, struggle for their emancipation.

* * *

Ignis Fatuus

John D. Small, Civilian Production Administrator, in his monthly public report, disclosed on Feb. 27 that America's industrial output has slid to the lowest levels since the spring of 1941.

The picture is further "darkened," for the Labor Department on February 19, made known that it expects 6,000,000 unemployed by June 30 and is starting a drive to find jobs.

Attributing the general slump to "labor-management difficulties" Mr. Small, at the same time, re-

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Matter, Mind and Morals

The work of our brain is to think. We think only of material things, objects, as part of the universe. It is impossible to think about "nothing," except as the absence of something material. We will attempt to explain some of the concepts in **connection** with thought process. Occasionally we will want to borrow from Dietzgen's "Positive Outcome of Philosophy." Therefore, quotations will be from that source.

Many people think of the mental, or mind, as being non-material. However, we know that the brain is material, physical, as much a part of the body as hands and feet. All parts of the body employed in the thinking process are as important as the brain itself.

The thinking, or reflection, is always on external objects, material things. Thinking is possible only through the five sense faculties, namely hearing, seeing, tasting, feeling and smelling. Without these, messages cannot reach the brain. These senses convey details to the brain about the object being analyzed. In this way the brain is able to get a picture of the physical properties of the object, as color, size, shape, whether solid or liquid, degree of hardness or density, etc.

The whole object of science is to investigate, analyze and classify the material objects of the universe, in order that we may understand them. These sciences become more specialized as knowledge is increased.

The purpose of thinking is to take advantage of past experience, draw conclusions and knowledge from experience, theorize on the basis of the known and to formulate experiments which will solve the unknown. To quote from Dietzgen (p. 71): "The science of agriculture does not simply wish to produce a good crop of potatoes, but to find a system for the method of cultivation and thus to furnish the knowledge by which success in cultivation can be determined beforehand" * * * "Only by means of theory developed from experience do we overcome the play of accident.

As individuals, we are interested in thinking because it is a very important way of helping us solve our social problems. Then we become aware of the complexity of our environment and find that we are interdependent and must work together. Therefore, we become interested in others.

The important question is how to think scientifically and arrive at the right conclusion, regardless of the subject about which we are thinking. Thinking cannot be left to a certain group of people and the rest of us have faith that they will always be "thinking" for our welfare. The capitalist class has ever been too willing to think for our interests. But how have the workers fared on the bourgeois

thought process? What they think is "good" for the workers necessarily must be also good for the capitalists. If we, as workers, are to solve our social problems, who, outside of the exploited class, is interested? How can we expect the capitalists to help solve our problems when many of them know that the solution means their extinction as a class?

Dietzgen quotes LaSalle (p. 72): "LaSalle justly says, 'Thinking itself has become a special trade in these days of division of labor and it has fallen into the worst hands, those of our newspaper writers.'" Of course, many of us, even though we reflect the bourgeois dogmas, think we are thinking in our own interests.

Capitalists "think" a "fair" (as much as possible) profit is fair, and wages (as little as they are required to pay) are fair. But what is profit? Where, and from whom is it extracted? Man thinks that feed for the cow, so that she can give milk, is fair. What does the cow think? Seldom have we heard of farmers feeding cows because they love cows, but rather they love cows to get milk, to make profit.

Thus, as in all logic, the end justifies the means. If it be necessary to exploit workers to make profit, the capitalist thinks the end justifies the means. He "loves" the means like the farmer loves the cow. We think in search of truth. Philosophy also searches for truth. Speculative philosophy searched for truth in the "inner-mind," excluding all material environment and the sense perceptions. It turned into introspection. In other words, it tried to find truth without experience. To quote Dietzgen (p. 77): "Speculative philosophy does not wish to be scientific physics but metaphysics. It regards it as its task to find by 'pure' reason, and without the assistance of experience, a system, a logic or a theory of science by which everything worth knowing is supposed to be reeled off logically and systematically."

This method of thinking believed that ideas were hidden in the mind and if you wanted to get at them it was necessary to shut out the outside world, lock yourself up in a dark room and reflect, without interference, to coax out these ideas.

Science today knows that the brain cannot think without having some object of matter as material. The mind reflects on the material submitted by way of the senses. What doesn't get into the mind won't come out. It is no small wonder that speculative philosophy never made progress. Even so-called spiritual things have a material foundation. Heaven, whether "streets of gold" or "happy hunting ground," has its material basis in the surroundings of the people whose minds create the so-called heaven. Man created gods

in his own image, instead of the reverse as Christianity claims. Therefore, all religious "beliefs" have their material basis.

Man has developed tools that increase the efficiency of his sense perceptions. The microscope and telescope simply bring smaller and more distant objects within the focus of the eye. In a sense, these tools only extend the scope of the eye. They help man bring details of otherwise invisible, unknowable objects to the attention of the brain, in order to more thoroughly investigate the universe. It is all part of the thinking process. Many knowns today were yesterday's unknowns. Tomorrow, science will solve more present unknowables.

In the thought process, man, after reflecting on his knowable environment, comes to certain definite conclusions. These facts and knowledge form a basis for supposing that other conclusions will follow. These we call theory. They come from his brain as a result of the effect of the material analyzed by the brain. Therefore, these ideas really come from man's environment.

Hegel's conception was that everything came from the brain, but he failed to realize that the brain was but an organ through which ideas acquired through man's contact with the material environment, formulated themselves.

Hegel's idealist philosophy is advocated today by the bourgeoisie. That good men have good ideas and the opposite is true for bad men. In other words, the social problems of today can be solved by good men with their super ideas which the world will eventually accept. Carrying this idea further, it follows that great nations are made by great men with superior ideas.

The materialist conception of history is exactly the reverse, that ideas come from environment, and the latter makes the great men, if there are such men. In his "Evolution, Social and Organic," Arthur M. Lewis states: "Prof. John R. Commons by careful study, reached the following conclusions: That 1.75 per cent of the population of the United States are congenital defectives, that is, they have not inherited their deficiency; that 2 per cent are possessed of genius and will make their way under the hardest conditions; that 2 per cent are below the Aryan brain level; and that the remaining 91 per cent are normal persons who are neither good nor bad, brilliant nor stupid, criminal nor virtuous, and whose future is entirely decided by the environment which surrounds them during the first fifteen years of their life."

This type of idealist philosophy hides the class origin and the real history of the bourgeoisie. Many bourgeois do not believe it themselves, but it is to their advantage

to have their wage-slaves believe it.

If we properly understand the thinking process, how and where ideas are acquired, we cannot be misled by the bourgeoisie.

Today, as always, religion claims that the real cause of suffering and social difficulties is the result of sin. Theology contends that if we will have faith in god all our problems will be solved, if not here and now, at least "in the sweet by and by."

What sort of faith are they suggesting? The dictionary defines faith as follows: "Belief, mental assent, conviction that a thing unproved by evidence is true—trust as in God." In other words, religion insists that we should believe something not proven. A scientist, a thinker will not accept any idea without proof. Dietzgen's definition of faith will help (p. 11): "Faith is indispensable to man, but only faith in what others know, not in what they believe."

Reason and Morality

In the middle ages the pineal gland was thought to be the dwelling place of the intellect and the early Greeks looked for it in the blood. Today we know where the brain is located. The point is that some ideas which were reasonable to the Greeks are considered fantastic at present. Therefore, reason is confined to a particular environment, that is, time, place and conditions. To quote Dietzgen (p. 153): "If the reason of a time, class, or person calls reasonable that which another time, class or person calls unreasonable, if for example the Russian nobility considers serfdom a rational institution and the English bourgeois the so-called liberty of his wage worker, neither of these institutions is absolutely rational, but only relatively, only in their more or less limited circles."

Actually we think or reason about a particular object and repeat the same process with another object, until we have "reasoned" about several particular objects. We find that in some ways these objects are similar and in others different. Out of the many particular "objects of reasoning" we arrive at a general concept. As Dietzgen expresses it (p. 94): "If the development of the general out of the particular constitutes the general method by which reason arrives at understanding, then we have fully grasped reason as the faculty of deriving the general out of the particular" * * * "Individual experienced thoughts constitute the factual object which in contact with an act of the brain produces the concept of reason."

In natural science, cause and effect are discovered in matter or material. Every cause produces an effect and every effect is the cause of another effect. Therefore, every cause is an effect and every effect a cause. According to Dietzgen, "A cause cannot be physically separated from its effect" * * * "This cause of all causes is only the sum of all effects."

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MATTER, MIND AND MORALS IS TRADITION AN OBSTACLE TO PROGRESS?

(Continued from page 7)

Reasoning means connected thinking, building on a sound foundation. Speculative philosophy or "pure" reason may be logical but too often, if not always, is on a false assumption as a premise.

The inductive method of reasoning embodies going from the simple to the complex, or building, so to speak, or going from the particular to the general. The deductive process is the reverse of inductive. We start with the complex, separate it into parts and analyze in this manner. We go from the general to the particular.

Marx analyzed the capitalist system by this method. He broke it down into parts and then explained the function of the parts and their connection with the whole social system. Not only did he discover what made the system "tick," but also deduced that it would run down some day and cease to "tick."

Dietzgen says that, "Reason is the sum of the individual acts of knowledge, which incorporate only practical particular knowledge." Truth is relative to time, place and conditions. How hot is hot? 70 degree temperature is cold compared to 212 degrees or boiling point at sea level and boiling is not quite as warm as 2000 degrees temperature. All is relative, even reason.

Morality is a concept of right and wrong. This concept varies with the type of social system in force. Different nations, at various periods in history, have controversial ideas of morality. The exploitation of slaves, serfs, and wage slaves was, and is, considered morally right by the slave owners, feudal lords and capitalists. Yet each succeeding exploiter would consider the previous form immoral.

The morality of pagans is not accepted by Christians, and the latter's concept is rejected by materialists. These concepts, or ideas, spring from the ruling class in power at the time. "Thou shalt not kill" is moral in peace time, but in war it does not hold true. Mass killing in war is both moral and legal, so long as it is against those on the opposite side.

Dietzgen says: "A law dogma or action that would be absolutely right would have to serve the welfare of all mankind under all conditions at all times." That is good

which corresponds to our needs, that is bad which is contrary to them.

In class society, such as we have today, what is good for the capitalists is bad for the workers and, in a sense, if the workers take political power and the capitalists cease to be exploiters, the latter considers that is bad for them, and consequently immoral. Of course, they can become workers, producers of value, too, but they are peculiar in that respect. They are definitely opposed to such doings, vigorously opposed to such immorality.

In summing up we offer the materialists' conception of morality expressed by Dietzgen (p. 158) "Morality is the summarized aggregate of the most different and mutually contradictory ethical laws, which serve the common purpose of regulating the conduct of man toward himself and others in such a way that the future is considered as well as the present, the others as well as one's self, the race as well as the individual. The individual man finds himself lacking, inadequate, limited in many ways. He requires for his complement other people, society, and must, therefore, in order to live, let live. The mutual concessions which arise out of these relative needs are called morality."

Len Johnson.

(Continued from page 5)

mean that they have access to more of the good things of life. That's not imagination or wishful thinking. It is real, tangible. When we refer to a business man, say Ford, making progress we mean by that his business is expanding, that he is getting wealthier, adding on more space to his enterprise, employing more exploitable wage-workers. We watch our children grow, we call that progress. This is a material growth, dependent upon economic prerequisites. You don't just grow on an empty stomach, on denial. That is a physical impossibility. Napoleon recognized that truth when he said "Armies march on their stomachs," meaning, of course, that they must be well fed in order to fight well. So it is, too, with society. It doesn't progress on an empty bin, but in proportion to its food supply, shelter and other economic necessities. The law of preservation of life is the fundamental urge, a law of necessity, as it were for man to constantly seek expansion and mastery over nature. He does that through improvements and additions to his production technique.

In given conditions of production and life certain customs, habits, religions and traditions slowly

develop, become accepted and conventional, a second-nature as it were and handed down from generation to generation.

(To be continued in next issue)

HOME SCENE

(Continued from page 6)

ported the increase in January over December of production of some consumer goods, such as automobiles, trucks, tires, radios and sewing machines.

Granting a settlement of labor-management difficulties, will we then enjoy the serenity of prosperity? Not according to the Labor Department. Or have we reached the stage when a mere 6,000,000 unemployed is considered inconsequential?

Significantly absent from his report, as published in the daily press, were data on durable goods. Could it be an oversight? Maybe. Or are the industrialists all set and ready to produce consumer goods with present machinery? Then the present reconversion prosperity is so much ignus fatuus or will-o'-the-wisp.

* * *

Armistice—Not Peace

General Motors, General Electric, among other major strikes have been "settled." The ending brought smiles, cheers and victory claims from both sides. The workers settled for 18 per cent, and less, increases in pay. Capital, too, got their price increases, "organized banditry" stopped and private enterprise saved. "All is well that ends well."

The mine workers, too, will likely be in for a wage boost. They will, no doubt, reach some kind of compromise with their bosses.

The wheels of industry are expected to start humming. Goods will begin to pour into the market. The pent-up demands of the consumers will, in time, be met. The early flow is sure to be higher priced. But then aren't high prices synonymous with good times? Capital prospers and labor is employed. Expanding trade will be followed by increased production.

But what will happen when the overflow of production commences? Prices will begin to tumble and along with it, the price of labor power, wages. The period of retrenchment will set in. A new readjustment of wage scales will be demanded by capital.

The armistice that was achieved with much bitterness, will not bring permanent peace, but a renewed struggle between capital and labor. Capital will then attempt to depress wages, to keep up its profits. Labor will be forced to resist wage-cuts in an effort to hold up its subsistence level. The contest will be on again. As the struggle goes, back and forth. Peace between capital and labor is only a mirage. At best, a short lived armistice. L. B.

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