

# Congress Moves To Make Labor Pay Cost of War

Congress has launched a two-way war drive against the American people's standard of living. One thrust aims to impose the overwhelming burden of huge new taxes on the workers. The other seeks to "contain" wages while opening a breach for advancing prices.

The House and Senate are buzzing with schemes to soak the workers for most of the \$5 billion of "interim" tax increases that Truman has demanded as the first down-payment on his undeclared war in Korea and expanded militarization program.

Truman's proposals are already heavily weighted in favor of the rich and the war corporations. He has asked for \$3½ billion more in personal income taxes, with the rate of increase on the lowest incomes double that of the highest. He did not even mention excess profits taxes.

## COUPON CLIPPERS FAVORED

The Senate has moved to safeguard the rich even more. The Senate Finance Committee eliminated from the proposed tax bill a section providing for a 10% withholding tax on dividends. They hold the position that it's all right to impose withholding taxes on workers' wages — but not on a main source of income for the rich. This is just a hint of the kind of tax bill the Democratic-controlled Congress has up its sleeve.

While perfecting its tax-extortion bill, Congress has also been busy trying to cook up some scheme for "price control" that can be used as a pretext for freezing wages while actually allowing prices to be "regulated" upwards.

## MOVE TOO RAW

The House hastily enacted a bill to give the President power to enforce "selective" price control only after prices rise 5% above the June 15 level. This was such a raw move to safeguard current price increases that even Truman protested and the House hastily scrapped the proposal.

Now the Senate is working on a bill to give Truman personal power to dictate prices and wages. What this would mean, as past experience shows, is that Truman could and would freeze wages while prices would be "eased" higher and higher, either legally or illegally.

# REUTHER DISAPPROVES VIOLENCE AT PLANTS

CIO United Auto Workers President Walter Reuther, in a letter sent Aug. 5 to all UAW locals, expressed disapproval of what he called the "walking of alleged Communist party members out of plants" and urged the local members and officers to "take every precaution to see that incidents do not occur."

The "incidents" to which he refers are a series of organized hoodlum attacks — in some instances inspired and instigated by company managements and the FBI — upon so-called "subversive" workers employed at auto plants in various parts of the country.

Last week's Militant reported the brutal beating and clubbing of four UAW members outside the gates of the Chrysler Maywood plant in Los Angeles. The self-confessed organizer of the attack was a non-unionist employed as a railroad dick. A worker in a Wisconsin plant had his back broken when he was thrown out of a window.

## LANGUAGE MODERATE

Reuther's letter, which was also signed by other top officers of the UAW, stressed particularly that such "incidents" are "unlawful." He said that "walking" workers out of plants "deprives individuals of their democratic rights and is the weapon of totalitarians themselves."

In view of the fascist-like terrorism that has occurred, Reuther's letter is couched in extremely moderate language. But it is nonetheless welcome. It is good to know that these terrorist acts are opposed by the UAW leaders.

So far, however, the UAW has taken no real disciplinary measures against the hoodlums who organized and led these assaults. And it remains to be seen whether, in the absence of such measures, Reuther's directions on the matter will be carried out.

Reuther cannot evade, however, a good share of the responsibility for the outrages. His own red-baiting, super-patriotic, jingo campaign has created the atmosphere in which the most backward and reactionary elements thrive. The overt physical attacks are only an uglier aspect of the witch-hunt Reuther himself has pursued in the auto union.

What has happened, so far as Reuther is concerned, is that this witch-hunt has got "out of hand." He prefers to do things in a more

Truman himself has given the major impetus to the inflation set off by the Korean war. He has already demanded additional war appropriations of nearly \$16 billion. This will bring annual federal spending close to \$60 billion — nearly double the total federal expenditures in 1942, first year of U. S. military participation in World War II. It is this monstrous war budget — about 30% of the national income — that is fueling the inflation.

## PRICE-FIXING FARCE

The pro-war union leaders are concentrating on a demand for price controls as the answer to this war-induced inflation. They claim that if the government puts on price ceilings then the workers won't need to fight for higher wages to protect their living standards.

But what assurance do the workers have that prices will be controlled any more now than during the last war, when wages were frozen and prices kept right on climbing? If anything, all the evidence points to an even bigger farce of price control now, if it is left up to the Truman administration.

## SLIDING SCALE GUARANTEE

The only assurance the workers can have of maintaining their real wages in this period of inflation is through the sliding scale of wages. This is the cost-of-living escalator clause in union contracts that provides for automatic wage increases, above the basic wage scale, for all rises in the cost of living.

Those who really believe that government price controls will effectively halt price rises have no reason to oppose the sliding scale of wages. If, as they claim, price controls work, then the escalator clause remains inoperative. But suppose they are wrong — as they were wrong during the last war? Then the escalator clause will be the one immediate means to protect the workers' wages. Only those who preach price control as a pretext for freezing wages have reason to fear the escalator wage clause.

quiet and "legal" way. Thus, he suggests in his letter that "the constitution of our union offers democratic means for dealing with members of our union who are guilty of conduct detrimental to the best interests of the union."

## "DEMOCRATIC" WAY

These "democratic means" are now being employed at the General Motors plant in Linden, N. J., where two UAW members had been assaulted previously. These two and two others associated with them in handing out so-called "subversive" leaflets have been suspended from Local 595 by its officers, pending trial and possible expulsion. The company has followed suit by suspending them from their jobs indefinitely.

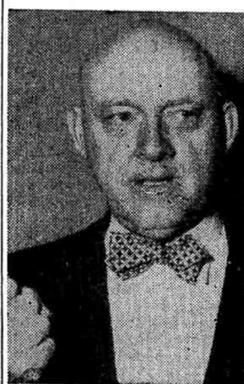
If the unions are endangered by fascist violence incited by the bosses, they are also endangered by purges and expulsions of union members who oppose the leadership's policies. The companies are only too glad to oblige union officials by firing "undesirables." Firing a worker and driving him from his job by violence are two weapons serving the same end for the employer. With either he can "get rid of" union militants and weaken the union.

It is no secret that the UAW leaders are working hand-in-glove with the companies in purging so-called "subversives" from the plants. And the employers are not averse to helping the purge along with a little "extra-legal" action in which their hoodlum squads get training not only in beating up "reds" but in smashing the union.

## NEXT WEEK Leon Trotsky Memorial Issue

On the 10th anniversary of the death of Leon Trotsky, co-leader with Lenin of the Russian Revolution and founder of the Fourth International. The Militant will present a number of special articles on the life and ideas of this greatest Marxist of our time.

## Racial Bigot



Representative Henderson Lanham, Georgia Democrat (above), called William L. Patterson, Executive Director of the Civil Rights Congress, a "black son of a bitch" and had to be restrained from assaulting Patterson after the latter described to a House committee the brutal oppression of Negroes in Georgia. (See editorial, Page 3).

## SWP Completes Petition Quota in 45 N. Y. Counties

By Ben Stone  
New York SWP Campaign  
Manager

NEW YORK, Aug. 10 — The campaign to put the Socialist Workers Party on the ballot in this state moved into high gear as upstate crews reported that petition work had been completed in 45 counties and almost finished in nine others. (50 signatures in each of the state's 61 counties and a minimum of 12,000 signatures is legally required to validate the SWP petitions.)

In New York City, a total of 2,800 signatures have been obtained, about 35% of the goal set. City-wide petition rallies are being held twice a week.

Reports from the upstate petition workers reveal that reactionary forces are using illegal and extra-legal methods in violation of the Bill of Rights to intimidate minority parties and deprive them of the right of petition. In most cases these forces, composed of small town business men, vigilante types and hoodlums, are being led and inspired by local authorities and the police.

## ORDERED TO LEAVE

In the town of Herkimer, the petition crew was soliciting signatures outside a factory gate. The response from the workers was excellent. Suddenly a motorcycle cop roared up and compelled the captain of the crew to

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# WALLACE DESERTION EXPOSES STALINISTS

The self-styled "Gideon" has formally deserted his "Gideon's Army." Henry A. Wallace on Aug. 8 sent a letter of resignation to the Progressive Party. This has been expected since he declared on July 15 that he supports American imperialist intervention in Korea and opposes the position adopted by the party's National Committee.

Wallace's letter of resignation stated that "I am convinced I can more effectively serve the cause of peace by resigning from the national committee and the executive committee of the Progressive party. You will, therefore, take this letter as my formal resignation from the party."

## DEATH BLOW TO PARTY

The defection of Wallace has dealt the coup de grace to the Progressive Party as an influence in any real sense in national politics. The party was built around him as its outstanding public figure. He ran as its presidential candidate in 1948. He constituted the party's main attractive power.

What is left of the Progressive Party is mainly a top apparatus completely controlled by the Stalinists. Most of its non-Stalinist figures have departed or are in process of making the break. Its membership, fallen off tremendously since its poor showing in the 1948 election, can be expected to dwindle down to a hard core of Stalinists and their sympathizers.

After a day's delay, the Daily Worker found just six inches of space in a buried corner under a tiny headline to report Wallace's resignation. The Communist Party, which heralded Wallace as the great "peace" leader and anti-war fighter, is naturally not anxious to put any stress on his resignation. The Stalinists would like to pretend that this is no great concern of theirs.

## BUILT UP WALLACE

But it is they built up Wallace as the man who would lead the nation to "peace." They hailed him as "Gideon" and pushed his program of "progressive capitalism." Wallace himself, of course, had stated back in April 1948 that if and when American imperialism went to war again, he would support that war despite any differences he might have with Washington over foreign policy.

The Stalinists now call Wallace a "traitor." But they knew he would desert at the first gunshot. Nevertheless, they misrepresented him as a trustworthy fighter against war and called on the American people to put their faith in him and his party.

The Progressive Party was an ill-founded adventure from the start. It could not become a great party because it had no base in the union movement. It was an attempt to set up a third capitalist party, built around a coalition of a section of the liberals and the Stalinists. It served as an

obstacle to the building of a genuine labor party.

Wallace won't "serve the cause of peace" now any more than he ever served it in the Progressive Party. His "peace" program and the party's amounted to nothing but an appeal for a horse trader's deal between Washington and Moscow. That continues as the Stalinist and Progressive Party program and it is just as cynical and treacherous as it was when it was spouted by Wallace as the head of the Progressive Party.

Hundreds of thousands of those who voted for Wallace in 1948 and supported the Progressive Party are sincere opponents of war. They can have only utter disillusionment now in a party whose top leader and many of his chief lieutenants have quit the fight at the first test. If these former supporters of Wallace study the program and record of the Socialist Workers Party, they will find that it alone is the party that will not compromise, and whose leaders have stood firm, both in the last war and today.

## Yugoslavs Invite Soviet Writers To Come and See

In line with their war preparations, the Cominform and Moscow press and the Kremlin's Balkan satellites have raised their anti-Yugoslav campaign to a new pitch of frenzy. They now charge that Yugoslav ports, airfields, army and the country as a whole have been transformed into so many military bases for Anglo-American imperialism and that Belgrade is ready to attack its neighbors. The Bucharest radio is broadcasting the slogan "Death to Fascist Tito!"

## INVITATION SHOWS UP KREMLIN SLANDERERS

The Executive Committee of the Yugoslav National Committee for the Defense of Peace has publicly invited prominent Soviet figures, notably Serge Vavilov, Michael Sholokhov, Leonid Leonov and Ilya Ehrenburg to "visit" Yugoslavia personally to see for themselves how false are all these fantastic charges.

This invitation was made on July 26. There have been no acceptances. The action of the Yugoslavs and the failure of their "letters" to accept this challenge is proof enough of who is telling the truth and who is preparing for aggression.

And nobody challenged him. In the midst of the "discussion" the Senate interrupted its proceedings to recess and then to hear an address by Prime Minister Menzies of Australia; next the floor was yielded to witch-hunter McCarthy for another of his attacks on Owen Lattimore; then some routine business was transacted, and finally McKellar announced that he would yield the floor for "5 minutes" to the Senator from Oregon (Mr. Morse), and after that I should like to yield to the Senator from Connecticut (Mr. Benton)."

As it turned out Senator Morse was the only one who spoke formally against the loan. He himself entitled his half-apologetic speech "A Wrestle With One's Conscience." Senator Benton, who later took the floor, incorporated his oppositional remarks gingerly in the context of laudatory comments on the speech of Australia's Premier Menzies. Senator Lehman of N. Y. took the floor for three minutes to do exactly the same thing.

## THE "DISCUSSION"

In every sense there was a steamroller operating. The discussion was limited for both sides to one hour and a half. Supporters of the loan dominated the floor, while its opponents first absented themselves and later were strangely reluctant to speak. Senator McKellar, who is in favor of the loan but who nevertheless restricted speaking time for the opponents of the loan, repeatedly taunted: "I have made diligent search and inquiry for any Senator who is opposed to this amendment. I find none at all."

# Truman Urges New Step to Police State

## Center of UN Conflict



Jacob Malik, Kremlin delegate to the United Nations Security Council, presides over a meeting. UN Secretary-General Trygve Lie looks on. The Soviet delegation, returning after a walk-out 7 months ago over the body's refusal to seat the Mao Tse-tung government in China, is waging a propaganda struggle with the U.S. delegation over Far Eastern developments. (See article, Page 3.)

# STALIN'S HANGMEN HOLD 2 CZECH TROTSKYISTS

Veteran working class revolutionists are being ruthlessly hounded and murdered by Stalin's hangmen in Czechoslovakia. Appealing to the international labor movement to intervene and save the lives of these victims, the International Secretariat of the Fourth International has issued the following statement:

"The trial and execution of Zavis Kalandra has drawn the attention of world labor to the fate now being suffered in Czechoslovakia by working class militants who defend the interests of their class against the oppressive regime set up by Stalinism."

"The case of Dimitri Dimitrich, president of the Yugoslav People's Front in Czechoslovakia, who was savagely tortured and died in the Stalinist executioner's hands, demonstrates that this anti-working class terror is being applied against all tendencies of the revolutionary movement."

"The International Secretariat

has learned that several veteran Czech Trotskyists are suffering a lingering death in that country's prisons. Comrade Zdenek Flajzar, a militant Communist of long standing, for many years secretary of the Communist Youth of Olomouc, whom the Nazis captured and deported to Buchenwald and whose wife died in the Auschwitz concentration camp, was placed under arrest in December 1949. There has been no sign for a long time that he is still alive.

"Comrade Frantisek Roszypal, another veteran Communist, arrested with Kalandra, has been referred to as a 'witness' in the trial of the Thirteen, but the substance of his testimony was never made public, being apparently not too favorable to the Stalinist inquisitors."

"The Czech Stalinist hangmen must not be permitted to murder comrades Flajzar and Roszypal, irreproachable revolutionists, as they did Zavis Kalandra. It is necessary that the campaign undertaken to save Kalandra's life be expanded to save Flajzar, Roszypal and all the militant workers who are today incarcerated in Czech prisons. Swift and vigorous action is needed to halt the hands of their executioners!"

## Two Victims Held In \$50,000 Bail

Two General Motors workers, who had been beaten up outside the Linden, N. J., plant for distributing "Hands off Korea!" leaflets, were held in \$50,000 bail on a charge of violating an old state "criminal syndicalism" law. Unable to raise the huge sum fixed by Magistrate Simandi, the two victims, Calvin De Filippis and Louis Fischer, were jailed.

De Filippis, held in \$30,000 bail, and Fischer, for whom \$20,000 bail was set, had filed assault and battery charges against five men whom they said had led the assault. The latter filed a counter-charge of "subversion." The magistrate held four of the alleged assailants on \$1,000 bail each and the fifth on \$1,500.

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## Mundt Says White House Bill Like Own

The conspiracy of ruling capitalist circles to destroy all democratic liberties in this country and to bury the Bill of Rights received a powerful impetus with the issuance of Truman's special message to Congress on Aug. 8.

Praising the long code of police state legislation—from the Smith Act to the "loyalty" purge rulings — Truman urged that "defects" be remedied. He proposed to effect a compromise with legislation already pending in Congress such as the Hobbs Bill, the Mundt-Nixon Bill and others which have aroused a storm of protest by the labor movement, the Negro people and liberal circles.

## MUNDT APPROVES

Every rabid reactionary in the House and Senate was elated over Truman's message. Senator Mundt announced that he "welcomed" it, even though it "was somewhat belated," and demonstrated point by point that it contained the gist of his and Senator Ferguson's bill. So did Senator Wherry, leader of the Republican minority in the Senate. Senator McCarran, Democratic Chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, commented that the "message contained nothing new."

And they have every reason to gloat. For it is a fact that Truman's proposals differ in form but not in substance from those of a Hobbs or a Mundt, notwithstanding Truman's own hypocritical criticism of such legislation "as so broad and vague as to endanger the freedoms of speech, press and assembly."

## TRUMAN'S 'COMPROMISE'

For example, where the Hobbs bill proposes to institute concentration camps for the foreign-born and empowers the Attorney General to arrest them without even a public hearing, let alone a trial, Truman proposes legislation "permitting the Attorney General to exercise supervision over aliens . . . and requiring them to report their whereabouts and activities at regular intervals."

Where the Mundt-Nixon bill compels "registration" of all "subversives," Truman proposes the registration of "persons who have received instruction from a foreign government or political party in espionage or subversive tactics. . ." A formula which for its "vagueness and broadness" matches anything yet proposed!

## PIECEMEAL APPROACH

The most that can be said for these sweeping proposals is that they do not go as far as the Hobbs-Mundt-Ferguson legislation. In other words, Truman proposes a "partial approach," a piecemeal enactment of laws to destroy the Bill of Rights. He needs this to allay the opposition of organized labor, or more accurately, to make it easier for the official labor leaders to deceive the workers about his anti-labor and anti-democratic proposals.

Meanwhile, all the enemies of labor and civil rights in Congress have seized on his message as a green light to go full-speed ahead and jam through some revised version of the Hobbs bill, the Mundt-Nixon bill and all other measures for the installation of the police state.

# Labor Leaders Protest Against Senate Vote for Loan to Franco

By John G. Wright

Top CIO officials are now screaming against the passage of the \$100,000,000 loan to butcher Francisco Franco. The CIO News calls the Senate action a "shocking performance." But it is more agitated that Stalin has been handed "new ideological weapons" than that new chains have been forged for the Spanish workers.

The only explanation the editorial can find for the "shocking performance" of CIO-supported Truman Democrats—not Republicans or Dixiecrats—is that "the majority of our Senators simply do not understand ideological warfare." Needless to say, the indignation of the editorial doesn't go to the lengths of calling for the defeat of Franco's friends in the Senate in the next election.

## THE REAL STORY

The real story of what happened in the Senate, which is completely absent from the CIO News, refutes all of its sickly alibis. A powerful and reactionary lobby, ranging from the corporations and the Pentagon gang to the Catholic hierarchy, put on the heat for the loan. The Senators who spoke and voted for it did so not out of mistaken intentions but out

of genuine affinity for totalitarianism, thus exposing how hollow are Washington's claims to "democracy."

Their vote did more than prop up the dictator in Madrid and reaction all over the world. It was the green light to all the anti-labor forces and would-be Franco's in this country. The Senators who voted against the loan were so intimidated by Franco's American friends that they could not utter more than a few feeble words of apologetic opposition.

But let the story speak for itself.

## THE "DISCUSSION"

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And nobody challenged him. In the midst of the "discussion" the Senate interrupted its proceedings to recess and then to hear an address by Prime Minister Menzies of Australia; next the floor was yielded to witch-hunter McCarthy for another of his attacks on Owen Lattimore; then some routine business was transacted, and finally McKellar announced that he would yield the floor for "5 minutes" to the Senator from Oregon (Mr. Morse), and after that I should like to yield to the Senator from Connecticut (Mr. Benton)."

As it turned out Senator Morse was the only one who spoke formally against the loan. He himself entitled his half-apologetic speech "A Wrestle With One's Conscience." Senator Benton, who later took the floor, incorporated his oppositional remarks gingerly in the context of laudatory comments on the speech of Australia's Premier Menzies. Senator Lehman of N. Y. took the floor for three minutes to do exactly the same thing.

The other 12 Senators who voted against the loan for the record, notably such "friends of labor" and champions of "liberalism" as Humphrey of Minnesota and

Workers of the World, Unite!

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European Notebook

# The Uprising of the Belgian Workers

By Ernest Germain

(Ed. Note: The following article was written on July 29 prior to the retreat of the clerical-fascist gang behind Leopold and before the Socialist and union leaders called off the march on Brussels in return for a parliamentary compromise on King Leopold's abdication.)

On Saturday July 22, King Leopold III returned to his capital in the early morning, greeted by an army of gendarmes and policemen and by the hatred of the working class population. That day started the most important mass struggle Belgium has known in its 120 years' history, one of the most important revolutionary struggles Western Europe has witnessed since the Spanish revolution of 1936.

### GENERAL STRIKE AT LIEGE

While the representatives of the Socialist Party, the leading working class organization, were busy preparing their plans for parliamentary obstruction and non-collaboration against Leopold III, the working class struck spontaneously in the great proletarian metropolis of Liege.

Liege is the heart of industrial Belgium. There within a radius of 10 miles are located the big steel plants of Cockerill, Ougree Marihay, FN, Esperance, Longdoz, etc., which are the backbone of the country's industrial power. There live the most advanced and class conscious layers of the Belgian working class. There the working class parties obtained 70% and more of the total votes cast during the last general election in June.

By Tuesday July 25, the strikes spread from the coalpits to the metal and steel plants in the Liege area. On Wednesday morning, the general strike was proclaimed in the whole Liege area. Never before had the country witnessed such a unanimous movement. Not only all the workers of the heavy industry, but also all the railwaymen, all the employees, all state and municipal functionaries laid down their tools. More than 100,000 strikers paralyzed in a few hours all of Liege's social life.

The trade-union leader of the Liege area, Andre Renard, has for many years occupied a special position in Belgian political life. As head of the Independent Trade Union Movement (MSI), founded

during the underground days in the period of Nazi occupation, he had advocated a centrist policy, far to the left of the official Socialist or Stalinist line. He had organized the only purely working class armed resistance movement and even had wide contact with the Belgian revolutionary organization. After the end of the war, he drifted to the right and became a secretary of the national trade union organization.

Tremendously popular among the Liege steel workers for his resistance record, he remained in contact with his class and in the huge upsurge of the Belgian working class, which started in his native city, he was to become the unconscious spokesman of the real mood of the masses. On the morning of the first day of the Liege general strike, he addressed a proclamation to the workers telling them the strike would be unlimited in duration; no security measures would be allowed in the pits; the blast furnaces would be put out.

"From today on, the words revolution and insurrection will have a practical meaning for us. We shall use them every day in our common language. . . We shall go to the finish and we shall flinch at nothing. We are resolved to conquer," said his proclamation.

### THE STRIKE SPREADS

From Wednesday, July 26 on, the strike movement spread rapidly to all the other working class areas of Belgium. The steel workers of the Charleroi region, the miners of the Borinage and Center, the big industrial areas in South Belgium, were the first to join in the movement.

Thursday, the strike became general in all the industrial areas of Wallonia.

Friday, thousands of Brussels workers and state functionaries joined the movement.

Saturday, in Antwerp and Ghent, big proletarian centers of Flanders, the general strike was also proclaimed. More than half a million Belgian workers had entered the struggle.

### STRIKE COMMITTEES IN CONTROL

Immediately after the outbreak of the general strike in Liege, a strike committee was elected and started to take control of all



PAUL HENRI SPAAK

municipal activities. In Charleroi, a similar committee was constituted a few days later and followed the Liege example. In many working class centers of South Belgium, the same example was followed as a pattern for the efficient organization of the struggle.

The strike committee decided to close down all shops. The sympathy of many shopkeepers as well as the pressure of huge mass demonstrations rapidly brought this about. The strike committee then decreed that only the food shops could be opened for two hours a day. It fixed maximum prices for all food products and threatened shopkeepers with total boycott if they did not observe these regulations. It prohibited all truck traffic with the exception of vehicles supplied with special passes by the strike committee. It cut down electric power supply to all plants, railways and public utilities, while severely rationing the supply for domestic purposes. It instituted huge flying squads of pickets which cleaned up the few nests of recalcitrant elements and maintained order in the working class suburbs.

When the demonstrators arrived at Laeken they tried to force their way into the castle and big fights started with the mounted police. At the same time a number of bus loads of partisans of Leopold III arrived on the spot, bringing flowers to greet their king. When the buses tried to force their way through the crowd, gravely wounding one worker, the angry masses turned against them. The buses were rapidly toppled over and set on fire amid the loud cheers of the bystanders.

The struggle of the Belgian workers is not only a struggle against a king who is the symbol of all reactionary tendencies toward the "strong state." It is a struggle for the 40-hour working week, against unemployment and poverty, for the defense of their standard of living and of their democratic freedoms. This struggle has been building up ever since, a year ago, the capitalists started an all-out economic and political offensive against the working class.

It is the most energetic movement of Western European workers against the reactionary trend which has dominated European politics for many months. Its victory could be the signal for a similar upsurge in France, Italy, German and Spain, which would radically alter the political picture of the whole world.

### MARCH ON BRUSSELS

Since these incidents, tension is building up rapidly in all the key centers of Belgium, especially in Liege and in Brussels. In Liege, the army has been mobilized but the government did not dare order it to march against the people for fear that the soldiers would refuse to obey. Gendarmes

Leopold III is living like a prisoner in his Laeken castle outside his capital of Brussels, where huge crowds demonstrate all day long against him and his reactionary government.

Protected by selected squads of the army and the gendarmes, King Leopold keeps in touch with outside life only through his infrequent interviews with his reactionary Prime Minister Jean Duvieusart and with his personal friends the Baron De Launoit, head of the great trust Banque de Bruxelles-Ougree Marihay and General Van Overstraeten, former head of the general staff of the army.

On Friday July 28, during the debates in Parliament, the Prime Minister submitted to the Assembly the "good will of His Majesty" who was willing to receive the leaders of the Socialist opposition in order to be informed about their views.

The Socialist leaders had repeatedly declared that they would refuse to see the King. When the Friday debate finished around 8 p.m., Spaak and other SP representatives left the House of Parliament. They were greeted by a crowd shouting: "To Laeken, to Laeken!" Spaak then answered: "The King wants to see us? He will!" and put himself at the head of the six or seven thousand demonstrators who arrived after an hour's march at the royal castle of Laeken, after having smashed several police barricades.

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have provoked a series of fights with working class crowds; tear gas has been used and hand grenades have already wounded several workers. In Brussels, demonstrations continue through the center of the capital all day long, causing many clashes with the gendarmes.

Workers and gendarmes constantly confront each other in compact masses, like the forces of revolution and counter-revolution which measure their mutual strength on the eve of a final battle. There is a tremendous wave of militancy and courage mounting in the people, drawing students, white-collar workers and middle class groups to the side of the proletariat. Everybody feels that decisive fights will start soon.

This morning, the working class leaders have announced their plan of holding a huge nationwide working class march on Brussels on Tuesday, Aug. 2. From Liege, Charleroi, Mons, La Louviere, Antwerp and other centers, several hundred thousand workers will march on the capital in trucks, in requisitioned railway trains, on bicycles and on foot. The government has countered this by proclaiming martial law in Liege and forbidding all public demonstrations in Brussels. The workers are determined to overrule these decisions. A test of strength will take place which will decide the destiny of the Belgian working class for many years.

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# Letters From Readers

## Readers Approve Cannon's Message To President

Editor: James P. Cannon's "Letter to the President and Members of the Congress" (in *The Militant*, July 31) is a classic. The honesty and sincerity of his convictions are packed into a few lines. A man who writes like that, at a time like this, is truly a great man. N. S. Baldwin Park, Calif.

Editor: Since this is the first fan letter I have ever written I am not sure of the type of eloquence that is desired in such cases. Therefore I shall remark simply that I considered James P. Cannon's "Letter to the President" very, very fine. Morgan West State College, Pa.

Editor: All honor to James Cannon for his magnificent letter to the President and the Congressional hater-men! More than 80 of my friends in Cambridge wish to join with me in expressing their joy and delight that such a letter has been written. Of course it's well to be scientific and to know the economic causes of the actions of human beings — but — it is NOT well to pass by monstrous crimes, as if they just

couldn't be helped. Cannon has called a spade a spade — the situation was crying out for some one to do that very thing.

Only one suggestion. Too bad Cannon didn't mention the fact that once again CIVILIANS are being murdered from the air, just as it was five years ago! I think this point should never be forgotten; the unforgivable crime of slaughtering helpless people who have no defense whatever, just because there's a war going on.

I sold my papers this week in less than one half-hour. Everyone was so glad to see Cannon's wonderful letter! I wish to thank him personally for writing it. I am proud to be associated with a leader who had the conscience to write it—and the courage—and the feeling for his fellowmen! I repeat, all honor to James Cannon.

Also, I am most anxious that this letter should be known to more people so I wonder if you will send directly to me, all available copies of the July 31 issue of *The Militant*. I may be a little slow in selling them, as my mother is ill at present, but I'm sure I can sell a few every day, as fast as I sell the papers. I will take as many as 100 copies, even, if you have them to spare. James Cannon's letter must be made known to the workers in this district!

B. M. Cambridge, Mass.

## Wants Leaflets on Murray and Green

Editor: Sending a money order of five dollars to *The Militant* fund. Now *The Militant* should start a special fund for a million leaflets to be distributed in the mills and factories, gates and in the union meetings, exposing the role of the labor fakers, Green, Murray, Reuther and the whole gang. Call up the workers to rid themselves of these fakers once and for all, and get together to take things into their own hands before capitalism finishes us for good. Chicago Steel Worker Gary, Ind.

## More Replies From Listeners to SWP Broadcasts

Following are a few more of the comments of radio listeners from the hundreds of letters and postcards received from all parts of the country in response to the speeches delivered over CBS, ABC and Mutual networks by Farrell Dobbs, National Chairman of the Socialist Workers Party, and Joseph Hansen, candidate for U. S. Senator from N. Y. The speeches were delivered in connection with the National Legislative Convention of the SWP held recently in New York City.

I had the pleasure of listening to your chairman's speech over one of our radio stations, and found the speech to be both informative and very interesting. I would like very much to have a copy of his speech. W. H. D. Providence, R. I.

I heard Mr. Hansen's broadcast today and I've never heard a speech that made more plain, ordinary, "good sense" before. My first vote, since turning 21, will be cast this year; and you may rest assured it will be a socialist vote. Miss J. B. Hayward, Calif.

I am in full accord with your principles (as to the speech you made Mon., July 17th). I would like a couple copies to give out to my customers and friends. I hope and pray the day will come when the working people can have a say on world affairs. Few of us are gifted with putting a speech or lecture across. Those that are blessed with the gift should do all in their power to contact the workers. May you be given strength and courage to carry on the good work. M. R. Inglewood, Calif.

Mr. Dobbs' speech was the most truth I have heard in so few words from a member of any political party. H.R.Y. Victoria, B. C.

Seattle: "We had another mobilization last night, selling in the homes of workers living in the area of the Bethlehem Steel plant. Five teams of two worked for about an hour and got 8 three-months subs. There had actually been 9 but one fellow, after giving us the money and his address, ran after us in the street and asked us to cancel his sub. He is foreign born and did not want the paper sent to his home. He told us, however, to keep the money because it is for a good cause.

"Most of the people we saw yesterday reacted well to our line on the war. The slogan: Let the people decide whether there is to be a war or not, and the idea of letting the Korean people decide their own fate went over very well and helped us to sell the paper."

Marj Deck, Literature Agent in Los Angeles, wrote the following during the campaign: "We find a very good response to our ideas. Last Sunday, in fact, one of the sub getters found himself giving a small open-air lecture. He had finished his work and had stopped to buy ice cream from a little truck within the grounds of the housing unit. He started a conversation with one of the men standing nearby and the next thing we knew he had from 8 to 10 young people standing around listening. They had been sitting on the grass or nearby steps. This housing unit is within the Congressional District that Myra Tanner Weiss will be running in this Fall."

St. Paul Literature Agent Winnie reports that a number of workers, during the campaign and since, have renewed their subscriptions whereas they were unwilling to do so in the weeks before the Korean events.

Only a few hours after the final scoreboard for the July campaign was turned over to the printers, we received 8 six-months subs and one-year combination renewal to *The Militant* and Fourth International from Philadelphia. It is really unfortunate that we hadn't received these in time to upgrade Philadelphia's poor score. Nothing can discourage a good branch for very long.

There are still bound volumes of *The Militant* for 1949 available. The price of this valuable reference work is only \$4.50.

## Local Addresses Of Socialist Workers Party

- AKRON—For information, write P. O. Box 1342.
- BOSTON—Workers Educational Center, 20 Stuart St. Open Tues., 5:30-9 P.M. Social list Sat. of every month.
- BUFFALO—Militant Forum, 629 Main Street, 2nd Fl. Open every afternoon except Sun. Phone Madison 2890.
- CHICAGO—166 W. Washington St., Rm 312-314. Phone Dearborn 2-4767.
- CLEVELAND—Peck's Hall, 3446 E. 82nd St. (off Wade Park Ave.), every Sun., 9 P.M.
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- FLINT—SWP Hall, 215 E. 9th St. Open house every Sat. evening. Phone 2-2498.
- LOS ANGELES—Militant Pub. Ass'n, Rm 325, 124 W. 6th St. Phone Vandyke 8061.
- MILWAUKEE—917 N. 3rd St., 3rd Fl. Open Sun. through Fri., 7:30-9:30 P.M. Phone Hopkins 2-5337.
- MINNEAPOLIS—10 South 4th St. Open daily except Sun. 10 A.M.-6 P.M. Library, bookstore. Phone Main 1781.
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- YOUNGSTOWN—224 E. Federal St. Open Wed., Fri., 1:30-4 P.M. Phone 3-1355.

### 'Welfare State, — Or Socialism? (Part VIII)

# What Socialism Offers to the American People

By Art Preis

Socialism, first of all, ends the system of the private ownership of the means of production and distribution. It eliminates profit. It removes from the economy the strangling grip of a few fantastically rich families like the DuPonts, Rockefellers, Morgans and Mellons who regulate production according to their own profits interests.

Freed of the grip of private monopolies, which restrict production to maintain artificial scarcity and high prices, the modern mass production system will supply an ever-increasing stream of goods for the use of the people.

All that the individual could wish for his personal needs and all that the human mind can conceive of in the way of a good and healthful life will become possible once the means of production and distribution are owned and run cooperatively by society as a whole.

### Scientific Planning of Production

For the first time, it will be possible to organize production and distribution on the basis of PLANNING. All industry will be co-ordinated and run according to an over-all, rational, scientific plan. This plan will start with the needs and wants of the people, determine what raw materials, labor and machinery are available to produce what the people desire, and operate the

productive mechanism with efficiency to produce these things.

There can be no fear of "surpluses," of "over-production" or "underconsumption." Scientific planning, in which the whole working populace participates democratically, will eliminate the blind guesswork that prevails in the capitalist mode of production.

If the people get a sufficiency of one thing, they can reduce the hours of work and divert labor and resources to the production of something else they desire. No one will fear a "glut." Unemployment will become just an ugly word in the history books.

### New Incentives for Invention

Every invention and improvement will be put into operation to lighten the physical burden of work and increase the supply of goods. Socialism will release the thousands of processes and inventions that the monopoly capitalists now guard under double lock and key for fear that their use would destroy scarcity and bring down prices.

At the same time, socialism will offer to the scientists, engineers and inventors a tremendous incentive to create new labor-saving devices, new technological processes. They will know that their endeavors will not be buried away or misused by private individuals or groups for profit.

Imagine what the American capacity to produce

would be if the artificial limitations imposed by the monopolists were removed. Even without atomic energy, production could be tripled and quadrupled in a few years.

Tell Berna, general manager of the National Machine Tool Builders Association, recently said that "despite the fact that today's machine tools produce on the average 30 per cent more than the machines that won the war, 96 per cent of the machine tools in use today are of obsolete design." Dr. Norbert Wiener of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology has said that machinery controlled by "electronic brains" could, within a decade, "completely wipe out the (factory) assembly line."

Under capitalism, such a revolutionary innovation in production would be a catastrophe, throwing millions out of work. Under socialism, it would be just one more welcome means for expanding production while reducing the hours of toil and human drudgery.

Add to these things mankind's greatest scientific achievement — the release and utilization of atomic energy. What a boundless source of power it could provide for the creation of universal plenty!

Capitalism can only surround atomic energy with military secrecy and convert it into a means for mass annihilation. Socialism, which tears up the economic roots of imperialism and national oppression, will have no need for atomic weapons or any other kind.

### One Possibility for Peace

Socialism will break down all national and racial barriers and replace them with world-wide cooperation and economic planning. For only on a world scale can socialism be fully realized and its inherent possibilities begin really to unfold.

With the cooperation of peoples replacing feverish armament races and the periodic ruination of wars, tremendous resources and millions upon millions of youth, will be available for socially useful service instead of war.

Socialism won't treat the old, the sick and the crippled like objects of charity, as Truman's "welfare state" does, giving them merely a begrudging, semi-starvation hand-out at best. All will give to society according to their ability; all will receive from society according to their need. The things produced by the people will be made available equitably to all. There will be such bounty that no one will have to work to a broken old age, but will retire from arduous work while still vigorous and able to enjoy the latter years of life.

### Is USSR or England Socialist?

By "socialism" many people will ask, do you mean what they have in the Soviet Union or what some claim exists in England? Absolutely not! England is not remotely socialist. Its means of production and distribution are still owned and controlled mainly by the capitalists. Even the 20%

of the British economy that has been nationalized continues to pay profits to former owners who receive high interest on government bonds given them in compensation. Moreover, socialism is the very opposite of any "austerity" regime like England's.

The Soviet Union, founded by a genuine workers revolution led by Lenin and Trotsky, could make only the first step toward socialism — the nationalization of the means of production and distribution under workers control. But it was halted and thrown back because of its initial lack of development and its backwardness, because it was constricted by a hostile world capitalism and because socialism cannot be achieved on a limited national scale.

The Russian people could not overcome scarcity — and where scarcity exists there arises always a privileged group that takes over the function of determining how scarce goods are to be distributed. Under capitalism, it is the capitalist class that decides. In the Soviet Union, it is the usurping Stalinist bureaucracy.

### Vistas of Free Society

A Socialist America could do more than any other country to open before all humanity the vista of an existence really free from want and free from fear. The class-ridden society of scarcity will be replaced by the classless society of plenty. Greed, insecurity, the beast-like struggle for survival will disappear. All institutions of oppression — police and prisons, armies and class governments — will vanish. Ignorance, bigotry, superstition will make way for knowledge, understanding and brotherhood.

The very words that denote class rule and the evils of capitalism will be lost to the common speech of the generations to come under socialism — those words like capitalist and worker, profits and wages, poverty, unemployment, depression, inflation, imperialism, fascism, totalitarianism, war.

Mankind will enter a new epoch of achievement and progress. Science will be mobilized to eliminate disease and physical afflictions. The child of the new age will be educated in the spirit of social cooperation. A finer race of men will emerge, more beautiful and healthy in body, more free and creative in mind.

Outlived and outmoded capitalism offers a future of barbarism and annihilation. Socialism offers a future of material and cultural progress to undreamed-of heights.

The choice lies in the hands of the working people, the oppressed Negroes and other minorities, the poor farmers. Let them join the party of socialism, the Socialist Workers Party. Let them fight in its ranks for a Workers and Farmers Government. Let them take the power into their mighty hands and use it for their own interests. They can end the capitalist "welfare state" of war and want. They can build the socialist order of peace and plenty.

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Monday, August 14, 1950



TROTSKY

"The entire bourgeois world accuses the Communist of destroying freedom and political democracy. These are lies. Upon assuming power, the proletariat merely lays bare the complete impossibility of employing the methods of bourgeois democracy and creates the conditions and forms of a new and much higher workers' democracy. The whole course of capitalist development, especially during its final imperialist epoch, has acted to undermine political democracy not only by dividing nations into two irreconcilably hostile classes, but also by condemning numerous petty-bourgeois and proletarian layers, as well as the most disinherited lowest strata of the proletariat, to economic debilitation and political impotence."

—Leon Trotsky, First Five Years of the Communist International, 1919.



LENIN

U.N. Debate Exposes Role of U.S. in Asia

By Paul G. Stevens

One of the chief complaints of the capitalist ruling class and its press upon the return of the USSR to the UN Security Council is that Jacob Malik, the Soviet delegate, has not really addressed himself to that august body but "to the people of Asia." This is undoubtedly a justified grievance on the part of the capitalist rulers. They themselves have never had the intention of calling upon the people of Asia, or of Europe, or at home, to judge and much less to decide upon the questions of war and peace which more than ever affect their very lives in this Atomic Age. The United Nations was not set up for this purpose. On the contrary, it was designed precisely to circumvent the will of the masses.

MOSCOW'S AIM

In the hope of a deal with Wall Street that would permit Moscow to share in a division of the world for the increase of its own power, revenue and privileges, the Stalinist bureaucracy participated in the creation of this international smokescreen for the imperialist plunderer. It's Stalin's spokesman today speaks "to the people of Asia," over the heads of the UN, it is not because the Kremlin has suddenly become transformed into a hearth of revolutionary democracy. Not at all.

The stubborn refusal of American imperialism to make any kind of a deal to share world domination and the ease with which Wall Street is able to whip Great Britain, France and the rest of the decrepit capitalist world into line, has simply left Moscow no other choice.

UN Delegate Malik addressed himself to the masses of seething, revolutionary Asia with the view of utilizing their struggle only in order to force through the desired deal with imperialism. As Stalin's entire history of counter-revolutionary crimes shows, he is ready to betray the masses of Korea and China and Indo-China just as he did the masses of Germany, Spain or Greece. But meanwhile his own dilemma leads Malik to take a line of argumentation in the public debate at the UN which the imperialists find unanswerable today in Asia.

Warren Austin choked with rage even while he was winning one straight "victory" after another in the Security Council voting. By week-end, articles such as one headed "UN Score: We Won Votes. They Won Propaganda" explained more soberly why "Propaganda!" Austin countered to every Soviet proposal.

"What's wrong with propaganda that aims at peace?" Malik was able to retort amidst silence, as he reiterated again and again his proposals to invite the government which rules the entire Chinese mainland to the hearings on Korea, and to invite both sides in the Korean war.

UNANSWERABLE "PROPAGANDA"

How can you settle a war peacefully he asked, if you don't ask both sides to sit down at the table at which the settlement is to be discussed? No answer, but a brutal insistence by Austin to go ahead with the seating of the representative of Syngman Rhee's South Korean government.

How can you speak of "localizing" the conflict in Korea, of preventing it from spreading to other parts of Asia when the unchallenged government that heads the biggest nation on the Asiatic continent is not invited to the conference table? Again, no attempt at an argument from Truman's delegate but insolent pressure to ram through the parliamentary procedure suited to his purpose.

Sir Gladwyn Jebb, the British delegate, more polished and suave than Austin, could only offer a few poor jests in an effort to aid his American colleague. The question of China, said Jebb, has nothing to do with that of Korea: the only thing they have in common is their "geographical proximity."

Even as Jebb was speaking the papers announced MacArthur's trip to Chiang Kai-shek on Formosa and the stepping up of U. S. aid to Chiang. The "United Nations Chief of Staff for Korea" thus did his bit to help emphasize for the people of Asia and for the rest of the world, the bitter point of Sir Gladwyn's jest on China. The whole effect of the Security Council was to make clear that U. S. imperialism was interested not in a peaceful settlement, but in pushing its war on Korea and teaching the people of Asia "a lesson."

The more serious commentators and editors over the weekend unanimously deplored what they described as an undoubted "propaganda" defeat for the U. S. rulers. They pointed out that the effectiveness of Malik's propaganda among the people in Asia could be gauged from the fact that India — which had supported the original U. S. resolutions on Korea and is otherwise considered a friendly rather than a hostile power — had voted with the USSR on every vote but one. And India is the only Asian country sitting in the Security Council!

They also expressed concern over the sizable split vote on the admission of China, in which the British and Norwegians had to vote with the Russians. And, it may be added, there was hardly anything auspicious for Washington in the Indian delegate's declaration toward the close of the week that he would have to get instructions from his government on how to vote on inviting the North Koreans.

To judge from the "responsible" press organs, the ruling circles of America are worried about the Kremlin's successes in the propaganda battle at Lake Success. Propaganda — these pundits explain — is very important nowadays, while victories in parliamentary procedure are shallow indeed. For the masses are in action in Asia and what they think has become a big factor in world politics.

The United States "had truth, morality and the law on its side," James Reston, for instance, writes in the N. Y. Times, but it could not make that clear to the peoples of Asia in the Security Council. U. S. propaganda tactics were bad. Its UN spokesmen are "not of the best." There are, of course, difficulties in improving U. S. propaganda — "there is no television at Joe's bar in Taegu!" — But the problem could be "minimized." How? Make more use of the UN!

US NEEDS COVER

"The United States as a sovereign nation," Reston writes, "backed by military force, which is suspect in Asia, cannot do some of the things the United Nations could do . . . the British cannot do this job, nor the French, nor the Dutch, for all their experience in Asia . . . for the history and suspicions of the capitalist world in Asia are against us. But the United Nations could help immeasurably, almost at once, if the necessary and available facilities were turned over much more than they are today."

Everything must be done to hide the ugly visage of imperialism from the masses of Asia! This is the only "solution" that the mouthpieces of Wall Street can seriously offer. As though it is not clear that the insurgent peoples of Asia are determined to let no camouflage, not even the UN, deter them from shaking off their oppressors.

The sessions of the Security Council are not so much propaganda successes for the Soviet bureaucracy as they are revelations of the utter bankruptcy of imperialist efforts at the further deception of the colonial masses.

LIBERALS AT WAILING WALL OVER KOREA

By Joseph Keller

No one hailed Truman's undeclared war on Korea more loudly than the liberals. None rushed more promptly than they to pledge unconditional support. Had U.S. imperialism quickly crushed the Koreans, we would have heard no more from these liberal gentry. But events did not work out as they had hoped. The little Korean peasants have been putting up a terrific battle. Almost all Koreans, south and north, are united against the imperialists. And throughout Asia, with its billion people, American intervention in the Korean civil war has evoked bitter hostility.

These events have given the liberals — never noted for strong nerves — a case of the jitters. They are now pouring out frantic advice to Washington. They complain that the U.S. is doing a poor job of "selling" itself to the rest of the world, particularly Asia. They are fearful that American capitalism will lose out to "communism" if it doesn't win the support of the colonial peoples. The whole liberal press is wailing the same lament.

Max Lerner, N.Y. Post columnist, warns that "the Asiatics are reaching for revolutionary nationalism. . . for new economic and social reforms" and "are deeply distrustful of the racism of the Western world." He wonders: "Can we show them that we can help them get the kind of land reform they want. . . can we show them we too hate racism?"

Backed Rotten Regime in Korea

The New Republic sadly notes that "defeatism has an armory of powerful arguments" including "we backed a regime and a system in Korea whose rottenness invited attack: why should we fight to impose it now against the desires of the Koreans themselves?" In the same magazine, Harold R. Isaacs, once an anti-imperialist, observes: "The promptness with which the North Koreans instituted their drastic land reform program in the conquered areas of South Korea is an impressive fact for many Asians. . . This kind of dynamism has not yet appeared in any form under American sponsorship. . ."

The Nation, leading liberal weekly, affirms that the Koreans aren't impressed by U.S. claims about saving them from "foreign domination of a particularly ruthless sort," because they know that in South Korea "the American authorities installed a tough, reactionary clique in power and permitted it to use Japanese-trained police to terrorize the people." So, "the only way to 'sell' the American-U.N. intervention in Korea to the peoples of Asia is to offer now the concrete pledge of national freedom and basic economic reform. This means Indo-China and Malaya, as well as Korea, Formosa and the Philippines."

This same thought is heard from the Trumanite labor leaders. Allan L. Swim, CIO News editor, asks: "Can we honestly say to the Orient, 'Stick with us and we'll help you wipe out famine and pestilence — and we'll help you build a better standard of living for all you people.' Can we? Should we?"

Max Shachtman's Labor Action plaintively echoes: "But the U.S. marches under the banner of restoration. That is its tragedy in Korea as it was in China. Washington's politics consists of the narrowest military-strategic values, which can hardly arouse enthusiasm in Korea. Whatever American soldiers manage to achieve militarily in Korea is undermined by political failure."

Cannot Explain Propaganda Failure

Through all these lamentations of the liberals runs the affirmation that American imperialism and its policies have evoked only suspicion and hatred in Korea and throughout Asia. The liberals are hard put to explain why U.S. propaganda against Stalinism leaves the Asiatics unimpressed, when it is true that Moscow represents totalitarianism, the police state, the subjugation of small nations.

They think it is all a matter of "propaganda." The Kremlin is putting out the right kind of promises. Ah, they all cry, if only U.S. imperialism, too, would make promises of national independence, land reform, racial equality? Then the Asiatic peoples would come flocking under the U.S.-U.N. banner.

But why doesn't the U.S. make such promises? First of all, because the astute capitalist politicians in Washington know they won't be believed. And, secondly, if they did make all kinds of pledges to the colonial peoples, the latter would demand that these pledges be made good promptly. It's cash on the line and no credit for U.S. imperialism.

The Asiatic peoples are no dupes and fools. They have not forgotten the previous promises of the Atlantic Charter and the "Four Freedoms." In addition to the decades and centuries of oppression and exploitation they had suffered under western imperialism, they have had five eventful years since the end of the last war to observe what imperialist promises mean.

We have the testimony of the liberals themselves on the kind of regime the U.S. installed in South Korea, on U.S. support to the most reactionary forces everywhere in Asia, on American backing for French imperialism's invasion of Indo-China. One thing the colonial peoples know: If the western capitalist world, including the U.S., had anything to offer the people of Asia, it would have done so long ago.

But the liberals would have us believe that imperialism is just a matter of preference, a policy which can be changed for one of altruism toward the colonial peoples if only Washington would "see the light" and "get religion."

Tiger Cannot Change Stripes

This fallacy is not apt to fool the colonial peoples. They know that imperialism is not a matter of choice. They are increasingly aware that imperialism is inherent in the economic and social system of world capitalism. They have tasted imperialism for a long time and they know the flavor won't change no matter how this fruit is wrapped.

American capitalism is driven to seek domination of Asia and the rest of the world by virtue of the needs of its economy. The American profit system cannot survive except by the seizure of world markets for goods it cannot sell at home, new profitable fields for investment of idle capital, cheaper labor and raw materials.

Wall Street is interested in the Asiatic peoples as an exploiter, to make profits off them as it makes profits off the American workers at home. The landlords, usurers and capitalists in the colonial countries are the allies of American imperialism in subjugating the peasants and workers.

The tiger cannot change its stripes. American capitalism cannot be anything else, by its very nature, but imperialist. It is the function of the liberals to disguise the tiger, to paint out its stripes, tint its claws and fangs in delicate colors. It will be no less murderous, but it may put the unwary off guard.

Five Years After Hiroshima

Last week marked the fifth anniversary of Hiroshima which has been the scene of an annual celebration climaxed by releasing a flock of white doves, symbolic of a new era of peace and hope that had presumably arisen from the ashes of the first atomic blast in Japan. But this time there was no peace celebration in Hiroshima. It was instead the occasion for solemn prayer.

This seemingly trifling episode epitomizes the shattered hopes for peace, the dread of earth's peoples who realize how dangerously they are now living under the shadow of atomic bombs.

Gone is all talk of the great promises and boons of peacetime uses of atomic power. The Atomic Energy Commission boasts that it is building up its pile of atomic explosives at a record rate, with new atom bomb bombs scheduled for production. DuPont & Co., the world's biggest merchants of death, have been, appropriately enough, assigned (for the sum of \$1.00) the contract for building the first plants to manufacture the Hell-Bomb. (DuPont shares promptly jumped \$2 each on the news of this philanthropic venture.) New York City proposes to spend two billion dollars for atom-bomb shelters, and is rushing "evacuation

plans" in case of atomic attack; and other cities are charting similar "security" measures. And all this, while war-mad Washington still talks of "safeguarding peace."

The fifth anniversary of Hiroshima underscores what a mockery has been this promise of peace issued to the peoples not alone by Washington but by every existing government. And next to the UN the biggest mockery of all has been the Stalinist "Stockholm peace petition" with its ballyhoo about "outlawing" atomic weapons. What price all these signatures now?

It is true that if mankind is to be saved from suicide, not only atomic weapons but war itself must be "outlawed." But to do this, it is necessary first to root out the source of war, which is monopoly capitalism.

Two world wars have already proved to the hilt how anti-social and self-destructive capitalism is and how incompatible it has become with the survival of civilization and with the needs, aspirations and hopes of the mass of humanity. If our planet is not to be turned into a wasteland of countless Hiroshimas, then capitalism must be abolished and socialism instituted.

No One In--No One Out

Among the more brutal practices of totalitarian regimes is their rigid control of all movements of their citizens, especially of their attempts to go abroad as well as of attempts from abroad to visit the country. No one is permitted to leave except by special dispensation from above, never granted to ordinary mortals; no one is permitted to enter except by special authorization and after the most careful screening.

The topic is so well known that there is a musical play on Broadway, entitled the "Consul," one of the big hits of the season, which uses it as its central theme. After witnessing the spectacle of human misery and degradation resulting from a hopeless quest for a visa, thousands of theater-goers must have sighed with relief that in this country, at least, such things do not happen.

But the bitter truth is that such things not only can but are actually beginning to take place here. The latest instance is the cancellation of Paul Robeson's passport. His role as a Kremlin stooge makes him a convenient target. But only those who deliberately blind themselves will condone this infamous edict which sets a precedent for depriving anyone and anybody of a passport on the grounds of "national security."

The obverse of this — the practice of permitting no one in — has become even more flagrant and widespread. Take the

case of Jehovah's Witnesses. More than 2,000 of their foreign delegates were subjected to severe questioning by U.S. consuls before visas were granted; then many of them were detained on arrival in New York, their passports confiscated and only after a storm of protest were they "paroled" in custody of the Society under orders to leave this country by Aug. 15.

Among the Witnesses subjected to this persecution was a German anti-fascist who spent 12 years in Hitler's concentration camps. According to the head of the Jehovah's Witnesses, "immigration authorities resorted to every scheme they could think of to prevent his entry."

And as a third instance there is the plan of the State Department which under its international information and educational activities program proposed to bring in 85 Yugoslav "educators, but mostly technicians, agriculture experts, some chemists" as part of "exchanges of personnel to learn the truths about one another's country."

The witch-hunters in the House appropriations subcommittee before whom this program came up have declared they will kill the project. The doors are locked, and the Yugoslavs will be barred.

These are more than straws in the wind. It shows how fast and how far we have already been dragged toward becoming another land of "No One In; No One Out."

Another Undeclared War

It is understandably difficult for large numbers of our people to get a clear conception of the aims of Truman's undeclared war in Korea. A torrent of propaganda and misinformation released by the capitalist press and radio monopoly keeps them from getting at the truth. But a small incident at home, as so often happens, will illuminate in a flash big questions of foreign policy that seem so baffling and complicated. The truth about Korea was revealed in precisely such an incident in Washington last week.

In the halls of Congress, a Negro was cursed as a "black son of a bitch" by Representative Lanham from Georgia for having said that legal lynchings were commonplace in that state. Then as if to prove the point made by the Negro witness, the Congressman lunged at him. Violence was averted only by the intercession of the guards. The liberals were besides themselves with indignation: Such episodes could "compromise" America in the eyes of the colored peoples throughout the world.

But what happened in Washington was no mere episode. It was a small if dramatic reflection of what occurs every day

in Georgia and throughout the South. The racial epithet used by the Georgia Congressman is only one of many variations of chauvinist abuse in the language of the white supremacists. No guards, police or courts in the South would intervene to save a Negro from such attacks. On the contrary, they cooperate by visiting vicious "legal" punishment on the victim or by standing aside while mobs do the job without sanction of law.

The discrimination, segregation and terror practised in the South — and not only in the South — is part of an undeclared war by the big monopolies and their lackeys in the government against the Negro people. Its aim is ever higher profits extracted from inhuman exploitation of an intimidated and defenseless people. What difference in essence is there between this situation and the methods and aims of the same ruling class in Korea and in Asia?

War, said the famous German military strategist Clausewitz, is merely the continuation of politics by other means. The war in Korea is nothing but the continuation of the politics of the Lanhams in Washington and in the South.

WHY NEHRU AND HIS CLASS TRY TO STRADDLE FENCE ON U.S. POLICY

By Charles Hanley

In a two-day debate, Aug. 3-4, on the Korean question before the Indian Parliament, Premier Nehru talked out of both sides of his mouth.

On the one side he defended his support of the UN resolutions on Korea, to which there was strong opposition even among the ruling Congress Party members; on the other, he criticized the Asian policy of the Western powers, advocated recognition of Mao Tse-tung's regime in China and repeated that India's support of the UN in Korea would not be extended to include Indo-China or Formosa.

The Western world, he said, continues "to take decisions affecting vast areas of Asia without understanding the real needs and minds of the people. . . While old forms of empire are dead, new types of colonialism or controlism are becoming apparent. . . The fate of Asia is still being determined by statesmen of the western world. I wish to point out that any attempt to solve the problems of Asia without taking Asia into consideration is not the way of solving the problem."

As for China, "we recognized the Communist government because we are convinced that the government enjoys the confidence of continental China and that there is no longer any chance of its being pushed out of the country." Nehru went on to reiterate that Mao Tse-tung's regime "should function in the United Nations."

Any enlargement of the Korean conflict — and here Nehru was obviously referring to Formosa and Indo-China — "seemed to us not only wrong, but to have dangerous consequences from the viewpoint of world peace. Therefore, right from the beginning, we made clear that we supported the Security Council's resolutions, but did not extend our support to anything else beyond that."

When in the course of the subsequent parliamentary debate, representatives of the Left denounced American imperialism, Nehru evasively replied by defending the American people and condemning criticism of other countries "even though they criticize us."

The opposition to Nehru's resolution which embodied this equivocal position was so strong that Congress Party members received "strict instructions to vote for the resolution and not to speak against it," reported the N. Y. Times.

What is behind Nehru's attitude? He speaks and acts for the Indian capitalists, whom his government represents and who are linked economically and politically with the rulers of the imperialist world. But they must take into account the boundless indignation of the Indian masses who are aroused by the imperialist armed intervention in Korea, in Formosa and in Indo-China.

The Indian people would not long tolerate a government openly subservient to Western imperialism, for they know what a mortal enemy imperialism is of the Asian peoples.

Moreover, the Indian capitalists

Now They Admit It

Ever since the Marshall Plan went into effect it has been denied that the plan in essence is military in nature, primarily intended to rearm Europe. Now even such a prominent figure as Senator Tydings, chairman of the Senate Foreign Arms sub-committee, no longer bothers to deny it. In the course of a discussion over the ECA appropriations in the senate floor last Friday, Tydings declared:

"It may not appear to be so, but this appropriation is a military appropriation. It is equivalent of offering money to the participating countries to help increase their armament. . ."

are themselves opposed to colonialism under which they are not even junior partners but mere errand boys; they want full partnership and not a humiliating status and a thin trickle of profits under Western control or "protectorates."

They are in power but they comprise a very thin layer of the population. They can rule only so long as they can promise the people peace and dangle the possibility of solving India's social problems which they are actually impotent to solve.

The outbreak of world war, or even the extension of hostilities in Asia, would topple the unstable equilibrium on which the Indian bourgeoisie now rests. The misery of millions of landless and starving peasants would vastly increase and with it the moods of mass upsurge and revolt.

The anger of India's agonized masses during the last war was directed against the British rulers; but this time it would be directed against the native rulers. Nehru and his class fear this; they need peace. That is why there is more than demagoguery in Nehru's attack on Western policy and his affirmation that "in the ultimate analysis no problem is solved by bomb and bayonet and tank."

But the overriding factor remains the anti-imperialist orientation of the bulk of mankind who inhabit India and the rest of Asia. They have entered the arena of history and have become one of the mighty forces in world politics. American imperialism cannot hope to emerge victorious without first crushing their determination to unify their countries, to free themselves from all the chains of feudalism and age-long oppression, to industrialize their homeland and raise their sub-human living levels. It is this determination no longer to live as slaves that is more powerful than the "bombs, bayonets and tanks" that may be mustered against them.

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# Your Money or Your Life

By Theodore Kovalesky

"That Sam!" muttered Emil as he set up our glasses with a quivering hand. "He goes nuts. He comes in here to my ginmill across from steel plant, and he don't want beer. He don't want shots. I got to mix him Old Fashioneds! And each time I bring him one, he complain I don't fix it right!"

We turned, and there was our old friend Sam at one of the tables, looking very smug. "Emil, my good man," he said, "when my friends drain their foaming mugs, refill them. I will pay."

"Sam," I said, "you're rich! What happened?" "Saturday night," he explained, "I am held up." And seeing our bewilderment, he added, "By a robber."

Jimmy, Slim, and I exchanged incredulous glances. Jimmy said, "Look, man, you mean you held up a robber?"

"Of course not," snorted Sam. "The robber holds me up. With a gun."

Slim said, "You better start at the start."

Sam sighed with compassion for our everlasting stupidity, ordered three more beers and an Old Fashioned ("not quite so sweet this time, Emil!") and began:

"Saturday at the Wilson Machine Co. we work overtime turning out artillery parts, and I don't come home until after dark. As I pass a warehouse, somebody says 'Hold it, buddy,' and I hold it, and this desperate character comes up to me, sticks a pistol in my face, and snarls, 'Your money or your life!'"

"I cringe, but my mind is crystal clear. I ask him in a trembling voice, 'My friend, do you know who I am?' He tells me he don't care, and I will soon be dead, and it won't matter, if I don't give him my money. But I take heart, and in ringing tones I tell him, 'I am a worker! Also I tell him I have thought it over and have decided to keep my money and give him my life.'

"He tries to stick his gun right into my mouth, but I guess it's too big, and I say, 'Just a minute, friend, you want to know what you're getting, don't you?' He is taken aback, so I continue: 'I'm giving you my life, so I'll tell you what you're getting. Here is my life the way I live it.'

"'Every morning,' I wail, 'I get out of bed even before it's light. I die a thousand deaths dragging

myself out of my bed, but I have to get up to go to work. My wife grows. The baby yelps. I gulp my coffee and stagger from my door. At work every day it's the same. The boss bellows, 'More work! Faster!! I don't pay you to loaf!!' When I sneak to the men's room, he looks at his watch to time me. My lunches I carry in a paper bag, and the bread is always dry, and my coffee bottle always gets cold, and after lunch my boss bellows, 'Back to work!! Faster!! I don't pay you to smoke cigarettes!! And if I start to put my tools away a minute before quitting time, my boss is roaring again. When I come home at night my wife is bellowing too. Why don't I bring home more money?, how can she keep house on my pay?, she roars, and how can I bear my family should live in such a dump anyway?, and where will we go when we're evicted? Always bills, always work, always worry. 'This,' I tell him with a challenge in my voice: 'this is my life. A dog shouldn't have such a life. Now I'm giving it to you!'"

"I don't want it," he pleads, 'I want your money.'

"I am stern. 'You don't get it. You get my life!'"

"He begins to whine. He whimpers and tries to bargain with me, but I am relentless. Finally I ask him what is it worth to him that he should not take my life, and, tearful with relief he presses money upon me. He even tries to give me his gun, but I have no license, so he throws it away for fear he might have to take some other worker's life.

"So now," concluded Sam, "I have all this money. Emil, three beers and one Old Fashioned, and try not to make the Old Fashioned taste like Shinola."

After a moment of stunned silence, Jimmy said, "You want us to believe that, Sam?"

Sam smiled disarmingly. "I was lying. Saturday at work my boss comes up to me and says, 'Sam, I know you can't live the good life on what I pay you, so here, take this money,' and, tearful with joy, he presses money into my hands as I stand there beside my lathe."

Again Jimmy, Slim, and I looked at one another in silence. Finally Slim spoke for all of us, "I guess I believe the first story, Sam. It's more logical."

# The Kravchenko Trial

By Charles Hanley

I Chose Justice (Chas. Scribner's, New York, 1950, 458 pp. \$3.75) is Victor Kravchenko's account of the libel trial which took place in Paris in 1950. It covers mainly the extensive and rather impressive testimony of his witnesses on their personal experiences with the Soviet bureaucracy, in particular with the crimes of the Stalinist regime in the period of the "wholesale collectivization" of the peasantry in the early Thirties, and the blood purges of 1935-38.

Kravchenko is the former Soviet official who took the opportunity of a trip to this country as member of a Soviet purchasing commission in 1944 to desert the camp of Stalinism and enter that of American imperialism. He attained considerable notoriety through his best seller, I Chose Freedom in 1946.

Belonging to the younger generation of the Soviet bureaucracy which rose in the Russian party after Stalin had crushed first the Trotskyist Left Opposition, and then the dissident right-wing opposition, Kravchenko was in a position to make many revelations very compromising to the regime.

Unable to answer the facts reported by Kravchenko — the essence of which incidentally had been exposed long before Kravchenko by Leon Trotsky and the world Trotskyist movement generally — the entire Stalinist press subjected Kravchenko and his book to an unbridled attack. In 1947, Les Lettres Francaises, a French Stalinist literary weekly, charged that Kravchenko couldn't write a book, that he was an imbecile, a drunkard, and generally a criminal type. Kravchenko, continued the French Stalinists, was a paid agent of the American Secret Service (OSS) who had ghost-written his book which was nothing but a pack of lies and fabrications.

Kravchenko seized the opportunity to bring a libel suit against the editors of Les Lettres Francaises and the mysterious author of the defamatory article who never showed up at the trial. His intention was to convert this trial into a trial of the Soviet Union, and of communism, both of which he falsely identifies with the Soviet bureaucracy. The French Stalinists adopted the selfsame strategy and the Kremlin itself lent them every possible assistance.

Kravchenko was able to produce Soviet peasants and workers from D.P. camps in Germany to give personal accounts of their experiences with Stalin's secret police, and especially with the dreadful prisons and forced labor camps. The

Stalinists, on the other hand, placed on the stand prominent fellow-travellers, from members of Parliament to high clergymen, along with Russian generals, top Soviet officials and the like.

In the absence of Moscow trial procedure, the Stalinists were, of course, unable to prove a single one of their slanderous charges. Kravchenko established both that he wrote the book and that the bestiality and horrors of the Stalinist regime were the truth. He won the decision.

But the essence of the latest Kravchenko book are not his revelations or those of his witnesses, but the political use he seeks to make of them. This one-time believer in the progressive role of the Soviet bureaucracy, of which he was in many respects a representative type, is today a believer in the progressive mission of American imperialism. He supports the Marshall Plan, the Atlantic Pact and the whole of Washington's foreign policy, but he, like the Social Democrats, wants to drape this policy with a "progressive" cloak.

He knows that the Soviet peoples, much as they abhor Stalinism, will never return to capitalism. "Many possibilities," he writes, "may be expected from a post-Soviet Russia, but never that the peoples of my country will permit the restoration of the monarchy, capitalism and landlordism under which they suffered so much." A noteworthy admission!

He further knows that Washington's policy of supporting reaction everywhere — the Greek monarcho-fascists, the Chiang Kai-sheks, the Bao Dais, etc. — will never be popular with the peoples of Europe and Asia. "It is necessary to record with regret," he explains, "that America seems to have a genius for showing her worst side, not her best, to the other nations of the world..."

The idea that Stalinism has nothing whatever in common with genuine communism never even occurs to him. Neither does it occur to him that the reactionary policy of American imperialism is a true reflection of its real character. Convinced that World War III is unavoidable and that the Soviet Union will be defeated militarily, he warns that only a "progressive" social policy can defeat the "communist ideology" — that is, the socialist aspirations of mankind — which will not, he is afraid, necessarily die with the military defeat of the USSR.

Here Kravchenko remains true to his original Stalinist training. His fears are also those of the Stalinist bureaucracy as a whole, which fears, as much as the imperialists, the revolutionary socialist upsurge of the world masses.

# Unions Protest Loan to Franco

(Continued from Page 1)

fascist form of government anywhere in Europe, it is in Portugal. No one who is familiar with that situation will deny the accuracy of that statement." No one did.

Senator Chavez demanded of Lehman of N. Y. whether "it is not as important to help hungry people in Spain as it is to help the French to kill Indonesians in

Indonesia." (The Senator from New Mexico made a slip here, he meant Indo-China.)

In reply Senator Lehman, without bothering to correct Chavez, whined that "two or three months ago, I expressed the deepest sympathy and affection for the Spanish people."

Now listen to Chavez: "The Senate had voted to furnish help

to the French, and then the French shoot down the people of Indo-China... But if we give the Spanish people aid, as we give aid to the French, we will accomplish something that sympathy alone cannot accomplish." And he went on to charge that the "only reason" for opposing "aid to Spain is communistic influence in the United States; many Senators are afraid of a few votes in New York City and elsewhere..."

Ironically enough, this same charge of playing Moscow's game was the main argument employed by the opponents of the loan to Franco. Said Senator Morse: "I fear this loan will be an aid to lying Russian propaganda about us. I fear this loan will raise doubts as to our devotion to the principles of freedom. I fear that this loan will not stand the judgement of history."

Senator Lehman phrased the same idea as follows: "But how can we spread throughout the

world that kind of propaganda for democracy when, by statute, we provide that the State Department or other agencies of the government shall give money to a regime which is as completely totalitarian and intolerant as any within my knowledge in the last quarter of a century?"

After the passage of the loan, Secretary of State Acheson lamented the "form" in which it was passed, and similar hypocritical "disapproval" was forthcoming from the White House. Two days later the Senate went through the motions of "reconsidering" the loan, which was even more of a travesty than the passage of the loan itself.

The Senators were not to be dissuaded by the Administration. Were they not extending Truman's "anti-Communist" program to Spain where Franco has crushed "Communism" more effectively than anywhere else?

# THE MILITANT

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## SWP Completes Petition Quota in 45 N. Y. Counties

(Continued from Page 1)

report to the police station where he was told that he was disturbing the citizens of the community.

In Cobleskill, mobs were being whipped up to commit violence and the crew was compelled to leave town just one step ahead of the mobs.

In Watkins Glen the crew was chased 15 miles out of town before they eluded their pursuers. They rode to Waverly where they found that the cops had been tipped off and were ready for them. They were unceremoniously told by the town officials to get out.

These examples could easily be multiplied ten times over. The neo-Fascist forces were organizing in league with the authorities to frighten the petition workers and to intimidate the people from signing. Nowhere was this more openly and flagrantly expressed than in Penn Yan in Yates County.

The District Attorney, Lyman Smith, warned the crew to get out of town in these words: "My advice to you is to leave this county. If the people around here get riled up you'll get hurt. If any disturbances take place I'll have you locked up."

Sensing that they were not intimidated he could scarcely conceal his admiration and said, "I only wish the Republican Party had as much guts as you." As the crew left his office he called out, "Now I'm warning you if you don't leave I'll round up the veterans in town and let them take care of you."

The crew left town but returned in a few days to find that the local newspaper, the Chronicle-Express, carried inflammatory articles against them. A front page item was headlined: "Subversive Red Party Seeks Penn Yan Signers." The article began, "For the second time within a week, Penn Yan has been invaded by representatives of the Socialist Workers Party branded as 'subversive' by both the Army and the F.B.I."

At this writing we are assured of complying with the reactionary election laws of N. Y. State by obtaining far more than the required number of signatures. The task would have been impossible without the workers and minority groups of the various communities. This became evident from the attitude of the workers in their neighborhoods and around the factories.

At the Corning Glass works in Steuben County the workers signed willingly; in the working class town of Canastota with a large Italian section, getting signatures was a pleasure; and the railroad workers of Oneonta were the chief signers.

The crews saw the class struggle written into the petitions. It was always the workers, the minority groups, the most impoverished who signed willingly when they heard about a worker's party running in the elections. Many farmers also came to our rescue by showing sympathy to our cause and independence in their actions.

A tribute is in order to the crews which worked upstate. Even our bitterest enemies had to grudgingly express admiration for the courage exhibited by the SWP petition workers. In the face of the strongest pressure and vicious opposition, every man and woman of the upstate Trotskyist brigade carried out the assignment in superlative fashion.

# Bridges Imprisoned, Bail Revoked In Anti-Labor Move by Washington

## Preparing the Draft



Selective service officials in Washington who are working on the Army's call for 100,000 more draftees during September and October. (L. to r.) Col. Daniel C. Omer, Selective Service Director Lewis B. Hershey and Col. Bernard T. Franck.

## Trotsky Memorial Meeting Will be Held at Mt. Spring

The tenth anniversary of the assassination of Leon Trotsky will be commemorated by the New York, Philadelphia and Newark branches of the Socialist Workers Party at a jointly sponsored Trotsky Memorial Weekend at Mountain Spring Camp. The entire facilities of the camp have been rented for the encampment on August 19 and 20.

The principal feature of the weekend will be an address on Sunday afternoon by William F. Warde, National Educational Director of the SWP. Warde will analyze the present crisis of American imperialism in Korea in the light of Trotsky's program and will deal with the tasks and perspectives facing the American Trotskyist movement today.

### CABARET NITE

The weekend will also include a full program of sports and recreation, with a Cabaret Nite on

Climaxing the 15-year campaign by the government and shipowners to "get" Harry Bridges, Federal Judge George B. Harris on Aug. 5 ordered the president of the CIO Longshoremen to be jailed pending outcome of his appeal against a frame-up conviction for perjury.

On the demand of F. Joseph Donohue, special assistant to the U. S. Attorney General, Judge Harris revoked Bridges' bail privilege. The union leader had been free on a \$25,000 bond while waiting for a higher court to act on his appeal. He has been sentenced to five years' imprisonment on the perjury charge.

### NO PRECEDENT

The vindictive and punitive denial of bail to Bridges is virtually unprecedented. Bail is almost never denied in an appeals case except on a conviction of murder. Bridges was convicted last April on a charge of lying when he swore he had never been a member of the Communist Party at the time he secured citizenship papers in 1945.

The pretext for the Judge's ruling was the claim that Bridges' activities since his conviction constituted a "danger to internal security." This "danger," it was brought out in the hearing, was based on Bridges' opposition to a union resolution calling for unconditional support of Truman's undeclared war in Korea.

Bridges had asked the membership to wait and consider before passing the resolution. He told the court that he had made no public statement on the Korea events other than an expression of opinion at a closed union meeting in which he said he had favored a United Nations cease-fire order and a peaceful negotiation of the conflict.

### OPPOSES VICTIMIZING

The Judge, in his order, placed special stress on the fact that Bridges "has spearheaded, since his release on bail, a serious opposition to security measures designed to protect the people of San Francisco, this port and the welfare of our armed forces." This referred to Bridges' opposition to the government's move to "screen" maritime workers and remove so-called "subversives" from their jobs. Bridges had correctly charged that this was an attempt to victimize union militants on behalf of the anti-labor shipowners.

The jailing of Bridges on the grounds of his views on the Korean situation constitutes one of the grossest violations of the right of free speech this country has witnessed in decades. It establishes a judicial precedent

that would regard as "criminal" the voicing of any opposition to or disagreement with Truman's war program.

### SILENCE OPPOSITION

That the purpose behind the latest victimization of Bridges is, in part, to intimidate and silence those who criticize Truman's war program was indicated by Donohue when he presented the government's case. He argued that "this is the hour in which all men must declare themselves for us or against us."

"There can be no minority opinion on this," Donohue even attacked as "highly impertinent" a mere protest by the American Civil Liberties Union which had correctly called the move to jail Bridges "an unconscionable violation of free speech" and had asked leave to file its own brief on Bridges' behalf.

### THIRD TIME

Since 1939, higher judicial authorities have three times reversed deportation orders against the Australian-born Bridges. One such reversal came from the U. S. Supreme Court itself. In each case, the charge was Bridges' alleged membership in the Communist Party.

A government witness in the perjury trial last April confessed on the stand that in Oct. 1948 he had been called in by former Attorney General Tom Clark and told that "they wanted to remove the influence of Mr. Bridges and others from the labor movement." The perjury charge was cooked up last year when the government was trying to break the strike of CIO Longshoremen in Hawaii.

### HONEYMOON OVER

When Bridges supported the last imperialist war, played ball with the employers and government, broke strikes, fingered union militants for the FBI and called for a permanent no-strike pledge, the Roosevelt and, later, the Truman administration went to bat for him and blocked his deportation.

But when the Washington-Moscow honeymoon ended and Bridges began to talk a bit more militant and to criticize Truman's foreign policy, then the malevolent campaign to victimize him was renewed and intensified. The Justice Department lined up some of his known union enemies as stoopigeons against him in the perjury trial.

# Seamen Leaders Help Weaken Hiring Hall by Backing Purge

On July 24 leaders of the seafaring unions of both coasts agreed in Washington to a plan of government regulation that may prove to be the death warrant for the union hiring hall in the maritime industry. It was a bloodless victory for the shipowners and the government. Under the pretext of the Korean war, they drove a deeper wedge into maritime unionism in a few hours than in all the past 16 years of their schemes, plots and attacks. They were dealing this time not with the militant sailors of '34, '36 and '38 who were ready to lay down their lives for their hiring hall, but with submissive, corrupt and treacherous labor bureaucrats.

The shipowners and the government have lost no time in the two weeks since the Washington agreement in using their newly-found anti-union weapons. In accordance with the agreement strutting Coast Guard officers have been boarding the ships on both coasts to "screen" seamen and "weed out subversives." The number of militants who have already been "screened" out of their livelihood is beginning to mount.

In 1936, the government gave up its attempt to operate its own hiring hall when it ran into determined mass picket lines. Today, the establishment of the MSTs has encountered nothing more than a few mumbling protests from the cowardly gang that rules the maritime unions.

The response of the union czars to this new attack on the hiring hall varied according to background and interest. But all were agreed that "the communists" had to be purged and not one showed the slightest inclination to fight the growing anti-union drive.

### CURRAN TAKES LEAD

Joseph Curran, President of the National Maritime Union, CIO, is credited by the N. Y. Times with "alarming fears of some union men (at the Washington conference) that the rejection powers (granted the Coast Guard) would be misused by the companies." The story is credible because it is right in line with Curran's record of capitulation to the pre-war and wartime period — along with the Stalinists — to government-shipowner attacks on the maritime unions. It is in line with

Curran's recent moves to purge all opposition from the NMU and convert it into a union bureaucrats crimp joint.

Accompanying the report of the Washington sell-out agreement in the NMU Pilot, July 27, is a prominently displayed story of the formation of a "Labor-Management Maritime Committee." Curran shares the presidency with John M. Franklin, President of the US Lines which maintains the most vicious blackball system in the industry. The display of Franklin's picture in the same Pilot is reminiscent of the last war when shipowners were invited to the union hall and the motto of the Curran-Stalinist leadership was "Reading, Writing and No Striking."

### HALL MUMBLES

The attitude of the AFL maritime leaders was somewhat more cautious and was calculated with an eye to jurisdictional warfare. Paul Hall, Secretary Treasurer of the SIU declared: "Increased bureaucratic controls, unless watched carefully, conceivably could result in piecemeal restrictions upon the freedom of merchant seamen — or other working men for that matter."

Despite this admitted danger, Hall signed the Washington agreement. Under this plan, the only appeal from a coast guard purge is a tripartite board, stacked two-to-one against the unions. Strikes against Coast Guard decisions are specifically prohibited. "There are commies in the other unions," was Hall's only alibi for his sellout.

Harry Lundeborg, Secretary of the SUP-AFL, balked at the Coast Guard plan — at least in words. He said he had gotten rid of the "Commies and Trotskyites" himself and didn't want any outside interference. Curran and Malone, of the West Coast Marine Firemen, according to Lundeborg, had invited the government to step in and help them get rid of the "Commies." And finally, that SUP representatives at the Washington conference were only "observers."

All of this is pure sham. West coast ships are now being "screened" daily with no opposition from the SUP. In fact, Lundeborg is screaming about the MSTs, not because it is a fink hall, but because it is hiring "unscreened" seamen who may turn out to be "Communists."

### DOUBLE THE ANTE

Sensing in Lundeborg's attitude, a move to eliminate his union as "commie-infested," Malone carried the coast guard purge directly into the firemen's union. A referendum is being driven through requiring all members to sign an anti-Communist affidavit. Another resolution, up for vote, proposes to reduce members who are "screened" off ships as "poor security risks" to probationary status, and then to expel them for 99 years.

"These are good omens," says the N. Y. Times editorially, "not only for the current time of trouble, but for the shipping industry when the crisis is over." For the seamen, they are omens of the old bondage.

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