

KOREAN WAR--ITS ORIGIN AND ITS NATURE

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THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XVI - No. 29

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, JULY 21, 1952

PRICE: FIVE CENTS

"Let Us Create Worker-Farmer Govt."--Dobbs

(Following is the full, advance text of the acceptance speech by Farrell Dobbs, presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party. It is scheduled to be delivered over a CBS nationwide radio hook-up, Saturday, July 26, 1952, from the SWP convention hall. — Ed.)

You've been listening to many politicians who want your vote in November. You've heard all of them promise to work for peace. They make that promise because they know that genuine and lasting peace is the most cherished hope of the American people.

You've heard Democrats and Republicans argue — in the name of peace — whether we should concentrate on a big air force or a big ground force.

You've seen them combine to draft our youth and spend billions to stockpile atom bombs and build military bases throughout the world.

You've seen Democrats and Republicans work together to make alliances with foreign rulers who are despised by the rank and file of all humanity.

These are not peace moves. Armies, weapons and military alliances are intended for war and for no other purpose.

We have already been thrust into battle in Korea in violation of the constitution of our country. Republicans call it Truman's war. But you can't name one prominent Republican who demanded this illegal war be stopped. The truth is the Republicans and Democrats are equally responsible for two years of destruction and slaughter in Korea. To them this so-called police action is merely a dress rehearsal in preparation for war on a world scale.

This drive toward war stems from a fundamental antagonism between two classes, an antagonism that exists within nations and flows across international frontiers. On one side stands the class of wealthy bankers, industrialists and landlords; on the other the class of those who toil, in the city and on the land.

The toilers of the world are fighting for a full share of the products of their labor. This demand is reflected in the great steel strike here in America; in the British Labor Party demand for more bread and less bullets; in the present struggle to nationalize the tin mines in Bolivia under workers' control; in the fight to expel foreign exploiters from China. To achieve their goal the working people want a government of their own choosing.

These social struggles are weakening the hold of the wealthy class in every country. In all of Western Europe, including England, there is not a single strong and stable government. Several countries that have long been colonial slaves to wealthy foreigners have already won their independence. Others are in revolt or moving toward it.

The wealthy classes, led by the American capitalists for whom the Democrats and Republicans speak, are trying to suppress these revolts of the toilers by force and violence.

That is why American troops were rushed into Korea on the side of Syngman Rhee. That is the reason for the

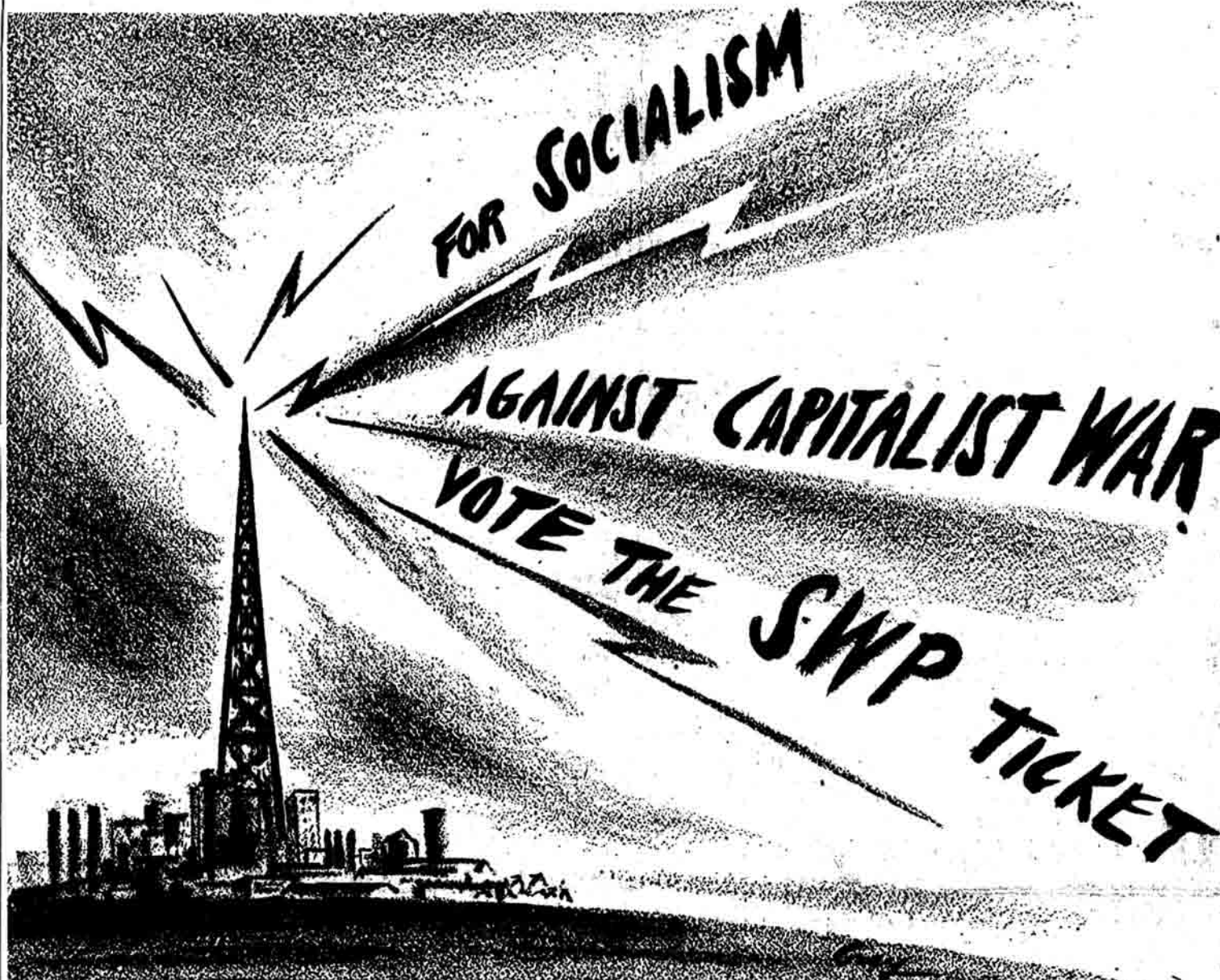
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SWP Presidential Candidate



FARRELL DOBBS

Socialist Anti-War Statement Keynotes Convention of SWP



Delegates Convene to Draft Election Platform, Nominate 1952 Presidential Ticket

By Joseph Keller

NEW YORK, July 17 — Launching its socialist anti-war election campaign, the Socialist Workers Party today convened its 15th National Convention to draft a 1952 election platform and to nominate its presidential and vice-presidential candidates. Delegates and visitors from all parts of the United States attended the opening sessions here at the Cornish Arms Hotel.

Farrell Dobbs, who headed the SWP's first national ticket in 1948, will undoubtedly be the party's choice once more to carry its banner as the working-class opponent to the presidential candidates of the Democratic and Republican parties of Big Business. Dobbs came to the convention fresh from the fight he has been leading in Michigan against the Trucks Police-State Law. After having ruled the SWP off the Michigan ballot under this law, state officials were forced a few weeks ago to restore the party's ballot listing.

In contrast to the Republican and Democratic conventions where Big Money dictates to the delegates, the SWP is a gathering of workers who, in an uncorrupted atmosphere, freely discuss and make their own decisions.

A stirring convention keynote was struck by Vincent R. Dunne, SWP National Labor Secretary, and famed Minneapolis labor leader, in an address broadcast tonight over a Mutual national radio network. He appealed to the American working class for "the formation of the independent anti-war political movement of the American working people."

"Our country is the last bulwark of the outlived and dying system of world capitalism," said Comrade Dunne in his opening words. "Here alone, the minority rule of the industrial and financial oligarchy over the lives of the majority of the people still

SWP Keynoter



VINCENT R. DUNNE

appears secure and is still unchallenged."

But everywhere else — "from the China seas to Central Europe, from Egypt to South Africa, from Indo-China to Bolivia . . . all of western Europe and the British Isles" — the world is "pregnant with a new social order. Its goal is to abolish the exploitation of man by man, and to place ownership and control of natural resources and the tools of industry in the hands of the working people."

PEACE OR WAR?

How shall the United States react to these earth-shaking social transformations under way everywhere? Will it be progress or counter-revolution, socialism or reaction, the sword of conquest or

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Eisenhower, Wall St. Militarist, Has War Policy Like Truman's

By Fred Hart

Eisenhower is the presidential candidate of the biggest bankers, financiers and industrialists in this country. If ever these multi-billionaires handpicked a candidate and put him over at a Republican convention, it is Eisenhower. Why did they choose him? Why do they rave about him? Why do they need him?

Because he stands for everything they do, favors what they favor, opposes what they oppose. Because Eisenhower serves, as he always has served, their interests without hesitation or questioning.

The monopolists recognize no human right or need as standing above the preservation and extension of the private ownership of the basic means of production. Eisenhower worships private property as the supreme human

right, just as fanatically as they do. He has stated that when private property "falls all else falls with it."

The billionaire corporations are the avowed enemies of labor. Eisenhower is as anti-labor as they are. He has not hesitated to publicly commend the Taft-Hartley law. The plank in the Republican platform perpetuating Taft-Hartley met with his approval.

AGAINST FEPC

The monopolists are the chief promoters of racism, of racial segregation and all the nefarious practices connected with the oppression of national minorities, Negroes in particular. Eisenhower sees eye to eye with them on this. He rejects as "punitive" the FEPC and all other federal legislation of the same nature. He has defended before Congressional committees, the segregation

policies in the army. The Republican plank on FEPC, watered down from their own previous campaign promises to be acceptable to the Southern Jim Crowists, is wholly in line with Eisenhower's expressed views.

Like his monopolist backers, Eisenhower is an enemy of even mild social reforms. He has condemned social security as fit only for slaves or criminals. As late as 1950 he advised those Americans who want social security to "go to prison" as the best place to get it. The rabid Republican plank against national health insurance met with his wholehearted approval.

ENEMY OF CIVIL RIGHTS

Like his billionaire promoters, Eisenhower is an enemy of civil liberties. The Republican platform he has approved, calls for a widening of the witch-hunt. He

has not only refrained from dissociating himself publicly from the notorious McCarthy but has demonstratively approved the choice of witch-hunter Nixon as his vice-presidential running mate.

Like his billionaire sponsors, Eisenhower is the mortal enemy of the American youth. He has been among the outspoken supporters of a large standing army, of permanent conscription and universal military training. In December 1950, speaking to students in his "civilian" capacity as President of Columbia University he outlined his "very best" program for the youth. "It is nothing but a dream," he said, "to think you are going to live in a carefree world where everything will be all right. At the very, very best, gentlemen, most of your life is going to be lived in a period of tension."

GLOBAL WAR POLICY

Eisenhower has no foreign policy different from that of the Truman administration. Eisenhower, as chief of NATO, has personally done as much as Truman or Acheson to implement this foreign policy, whose goal is global war. He has underwritten the "compromise" Republican foreign policy which calls for ending "the neglect of the Far East," which can only mean further military involvement on the Asian continent.

Eisenhower passed, 42 years ago, from high school straight to West Point. He knows no other adult environment, training, manner of living, thinking or acting than that of a militarist. The army regime is the quintessence of totalitarianism. As all of history proves, large standing armies, generals and dictatorships have marched hand in hand.

For the deepest reaction represented by monopoly capitalism, this political militarist is indeed an ideal candidate. He is the "strong crusader" to head the "garrison state," or more accurately the police and military dictatorship that the capitalist class has been moving toward on road to its global atomic war.

DEFEAT OF "OLD GUARD" TERMED "REVOLUTION" IN REPUBLICAN PARTY

By Harry Frankel

The feverish battle in the Chicago convention hall has come to an end, and the Republican Party emerges from the conflict considerably changed. Arthur Krock, veteran N.Y. Times Washington correspondent, assessed the change as follows: "This amounts to a revolution, and revolution against power as long entrenched as that which was overthrown this week in Chicago cannot be achieved by compromise or coup d'état; it requires victory by joined battle."

Who "joined battle" in Chicago and why? The Republican Party, like the Democratic, is a capitalist party. Its energies are devoted to preserving the rule of capitalism. And yet, there are serious divergencies of opinion within the capitalist class and its parties, as there are within every class. After all, American capitalism today faces some very tough decisions, and this gives rise to controversy.

The Republican "Old Guard," represented by Taft, exhibits trends of thinking within the ruling class which the dominant powers at the heart of that class reject. It is a dwindling viewpoint; one which was defeated in past Presidential contests, but which rallied its forces for its greatest counter-revolutionary showdown. The world crisis of capitalism is seen by them as a single, unified problem, which will be settled on the European and Soviet heartlands. That is why they abjure precipitate, one-sided or other "easy" solutions to the capitalist crisis. They press steadily towards a fast approaching decisive settlement with the manifold anti-capitalist forces of the world.

MAIN STRATEGY

A certain line of action has been firmly adopted by the commanding sections of American capitalism in the present crisis of world capitalism. That line is: a consistent military and political build-up, directed towards war against the Soviet bloc and the colonial-proletarian revolution. In the view of the central core of the American capitalists, this war should not be precipitated "hastily"; that

is, before military preparations in Europe and the Middle East are completed. Nor should it be undertaken one-sidedly, in China as against Europe where capitalism must be saved if it is to be saved at all.

These strategists conceive of the coming war as a great counter-revolutionary showdown. The world crisis of capitalism is seen by them as a single, unified problem, which will be settled on the European and Soviet heartlands. That is why they abjure precipitate, one-sided or other "easy" solutions to the capitalist crisis. They press steadily towards a fast approaching decisive settlement with the manifold anti-capitalist forces of the world.

TAFT GROUP POLICIES

What does the Taft wing counterpose to this Truman-Marshall-Eisenhower-Acheson-Wall Street policy? First of all, it must be at once clear that it does not pro-

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FUND CAMPAIGN PASSES ONE-THIRD OF QUOTA

By Reba Aubrey, Fund Campaign Manager

Branches of the Socialist Workers Party sent in \$1,003 this week on their pledges in the Presidential Election — Anti-Trucks Law Fund Campaign. The total amount through July 14 is \$6,002 or 34% of the \$17,500 goal to be reached by Aug. 31.

Connecticut continues to hold first place on the scoreboard with \$81, which is 65% of its \$125 pledge.

Comrade Frank of Buffalo walked into our office this morning, greeting us with these words: "I've got some money on our pledge — \$246. We had planned to pay our pledge in full by the time of the National Convention, but we can't because some of our comrades are on strike." He explained that those still working have increased their pledges and stepped up their payments so the branch won't fall behind schedule in the campaign. With this \$246 Buffalo shot from seventh to second place, reaching \$608 on its \$1,000 quota.

Detroit 55% put them in third place on the scoreboard. Cleveland gained six places with an \$84.42 payment, giving them 55% of their \$300 pledge. This branch now holds fourth place.

Chicago chalked up a \$159.50 gain for a total of \$768 or 51% of its \$1,500 pledge. \$25 from Minneapolis raises the Twin Cities amount to \$460.50 — 46% of their \$1,000 pledge. The above seven branches are on schedule with 46% or better. New York rolled up \$422 during the week, which gives them 39% of their \$4,500 pledge. The Newark comrades sent in \$20, bringing their total to \$299.

"Sorry we can't send more than \$8 this week on our Fund pledge," says Comrade Alma for Philadelphia.

Boston's \$16 payment increased their percentage from 14 to 17. "Here is \$127 on our Presidential Election — Anti-Trucks Law Fund pledge," writes Comrade Ralph for San Francisco. "We are a little slow in getting started, but we'll get going now." San Francisco now has 15% of its \$900 pledge.

Our friends in the South, whose pledge shows under "General" on the scoreboard, sent in \$35. One of them says: "A friend chipped in \$25 so we can, therefore, increase our pledge from \$115 to \$140."

Since the campaign has reached half-way mark and we have only 34% of the \$17,500 national goal, it will be necessary for those branches still in the zero column and those behind schedule to step up the pace if we are to finish the campaign in full and on time.

Fund Scoreboard

Radio-TV
Schedule of
SWP Broadcasts

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Stalinist Poison-Pen Artists Hard at Work in Seattle

By Joseph Hansen

One of the demands made upon science is that it approach the real world around us objectively. No matter how repulsive the material, the scientist cannot afford to be squeamish. In the social sciences, however, the repulsiveness of some objects is considerably greater than in the natural sciences. Capitalist politics, for instance, are far more repellent than anything medical research handles. This is due to the moral element involved, and it is one reason why a Marxist must have a stronger stomach than a bacteriologist.

In the order of revolting objects, however, nothing quite reaches Stalinism, the political current which masquerades as the bearer of socialist truth while it actually lives by the lie. These were some of the things that occurred to me when a recent product of Stalinism was tossed on my desk. At the small I had to remind myself to remain objective, and not give way to the feeling that even a sewage worker has it better, dealing as he does with objects that never make out they are anything lovelier than what they plainly are.

The item is an article from Seattle in the June 13 West Coast People's World headlined: "Trotskyites are self-proved FBI agents." Note that. Not only "FBI agents" but "self-proved." It is the fifth of a slanderous series against the Socialist Workers Party already reported in previous issues of The Militant.

RE-WITES HISTORY

Before the Stalinist hack who concocted the article gets down to the "self-proof," he finds it necessary to provide a historic background to make his defamatory more plausible. "After 1917 it was quite obvious," he says, "that Leon Trotsky & Co. (who did not join the Bolshevik party until that year) could not openly oppose socialism. To do so would have exposed them before the working class. So they attacked socialism by harping on Trotsky's pet brain-storm that socialism could not be built in a single country."

I will not bother to argue about this standard Stalinist rewrite of history. Whoever does not know the facts and is interested can get an idea of Trotsky's role in founding the Soviet Union and leading its defense against invading imperialist armies by going to any

public library and checking the newspapers of the time.

As for building socialism in a single country — this reactionary brain-storm was first advanced by Stalin after Lenin's death. In Lenin's time all the Bolsheviks, including Stalin, held the Marxist view that the building of a socialist economy requires the united efforts of at least several industrially-advanced countries for even a beginning. Stalin advanced his reactionary concept as the rallying slogan of the counter-revolutionary forces that brought about the degeneration of the workers' state, the destruction of the Bolshevik party, the establishment of Stalin's police regime and the enthronement of the lie, the frame-up and the firing squad in Moscow.

THREE LIES

The Seattle purveyor of Stalinist re-writes of history gives us another bit of background: "There is a hideous saying that describes the 'moral code' of the Trotskyites. It is 'The enemy of my enemy is my friend.' They use it to justify their deal with Hitler's Gestapo to send assassins, wreckers and spies into the Soviet Union. They used it in their abortive efforts to hamper the war against Nazi Germany, Mussolini's Italy and Hirohito's Japan."

Leaving aside the typical Stalinist spoonful of snake oil about morality, here are the facts about the three lies that follow: (1) It was Stalin who made a deal with Hitler in 1939, not Trotsky. (2) The followers of Trotsky justified nothing about Hitler or his regime. Hitler hunted them down as his most intransigent opponents. As for the Stalinist slander that Trotsky made a deal with Hitler's Gestapo, this was investigated by the impartial John Dewey Commission in 1937 and proved to be a frame-up. (3) In World War II, the followers of Trotsky defended the Soviet Union but they opposed the war of the imperialist powers and advocated socialism as the only road to enduring peace. For this political position they were made the first victims of the infamous Smith "Gag" Act and railroaded to prison.

NO INNOCENT DUPE

Continuing his slanders, the Seattle Stalinist hack, again referring to the hideous "moral code" with which he is so familiar, makes it big and really smelly: "They use it today to justify their connections with

the FBI and their cooperation, open and covert, with the anti-labor, pro-Fascist witch-hunt committees. They use it to justify their openly admitted alliance with union-smashing employers."

This filth is not written by someone unfamiliar with The Militant, someone for example who has been kept doped on a straight diet of the stuff canned in the GPU lie factory in Moscow. The author knows the truth. This is easily proved from the article itself. The Seattle correspondent of the People's World combed through the pages of The Militant for a number of years hunting for a phrase, a single word that might be torn out of context so that it could be quoted as "evidence" and thus give his foul fabrications at least a light coating of something more substantial than his own bare assertions. This research brought up the following exhibit:

QUOTES, STALINIST STYLE

"Three years ago The Militant (how nice and radical that sounds!), the Trotskyite newspaper let the cat out of the bag. At that time the notorious Trotskyite Ruth Fischer was testifying before the Congressional un-American Activities Committee against Gerhardt Eisler, who happens also to be her brother.

"For reasons best known to the editors, The Militant published an editorial denying that Ruth Fischer, whom they described as 'the informer,' was in the 'organized Trotskyite movement.'"

The phrases put in quotes by the Seattle Stalinist are distortions of the original editorial, but let us continue with the rest of his find:

"Five weeks later came the bald admission that the editor was wrong. The Militant published a statement signed by James P. Cannon . . . The article said that the criticism of Fischer was a 'most unfortunate and most inexcusable error.'"

"The article went on to say that . . . all the more inexcusable since we Trotskyites for many years have been explaining the criminal character of Stalinism and have been denouncing it and 'informing' against it . . . We have done this on every possible occasion, and we will gladly do the same on any occasion where the opportunity presents itself."

It becomes still plainer if you turn to the original sources.

Fights Oath



Daniel Roberts, Chairman of Seattle Socialist Workers Party, who was prevented from filing papers as candidate for mayor last December when he refused to sign a "loyalty oath" imposed by a state witch-hunters' law. The SWP in Seattle is now the object of a malicious slander campaign in the Stalinist People's World. Roberts is backing the Progressive Party court fight against the oath.

You will find them in The Militant not "three years ago" but five years ago, during the months when The Militant was publicizing fresh evidence about the guilt of Stalin's GPU in the murder of Trotsky as belatedly revealed by ex-Stalinist Budenz. The first editorial is in the Feb. 15, 1947 issue; the second, Mar. 29, 1947.

The first editorial simply made the point that Ruth Fischer is not a Trotskyite. In passing, she was mistakenly labelled an "informer."

"In view of the invidious connotation which is popularly attached to the word 'informer,'" said James P. Cannon, author of the editorial, "this was a most unfortunate and most inexcusable error."

"The article went on to say that . . . all the more inexcusable since we Trotskyites for many years have been explaining the criminal character of Stalinism and have been denouncing it and 'informing' against it . . . We have done this on every possible occasion, and we will gladly do the same on any occasion where the opportunity presents itself."

It becomes still plainer if you turn to the original sources.

tees, or even capitalist courts. And we will gladly do the same again on any occasion where the opportunity presents itself."

POLITICAL MURDERS

Outlining the position of the Socialist Workers Party on testifying about the crimes of Stalinism, Cannon said: "Political assassinations, the dread weapon introduced into the labor movement by Stalinism, is a standing threat to the free functioning and even to the very existence of every activist. All factions, all tendencies, all people who hope and strive for a better world must unite to expose and denounce such assassinations, no matter who the victim may be at the moment. We have always taken this position, and not only in the case of Trotskyists, who contributed more than one drop to the rivers of blood shed by the Stalinist Mafia."

There is the "evidence" uncovered by the Seattle Stalinist after combing through The Militant for I don't know how many years. Compare the 'original words' with what was torn out of context. Note the peculiar sensitivity of this Stalinist operator, how he left out all reference to the GPU murder machine, to the assassinations committed by Stalinism, that Cannon was talking about. And how he omitted the reference to the Commission of Inquiry into the Moscow Trials headed by John Dewey, which proved Trotsky innocent of Stalin's frame-up charges. This cover-up of Stalin's GPU murder machine is characteristic of those associated with it.

Finally, note that this wielder of the poison pen submitted a collection of garbled phrases containing the word "informer" as sole substantiation of his slander that we are "self-proved FBI agents." Paste this in your notebook if you are interested in collecting typical examples of the calculated use of the lie in Stalinist propaganda.

Why this sneer attack on the Seattle branch of the Socialist

Workers Party? The answer is self-evident as soon as you know that the SWP recently challenged a Washington state "loyalty" oath provision for elected officials and asked for a united front of the labor movement in this free speech case. The Stalinists promptly stabbed the case in the back by asking the court to throw it out.

This treacherous action shocked many members of the Progressive Party and Communist Party in Seattle, particularly when the SWP demonstrated its principled stand in defense of civil liberties by supporting the Stalinists in their action against the reactionary law and calling on the whole labor and liberal movement to do likewise. In a situation like this, the leaders of the Seattle Stalinists resorted to the traditional method of the school in which they received their training — accuse your victim of the crime you yourself are guilty of.

THE REAL CRIMINALS

And as a matter of fact they took some obscene literature attacking the Communist Party which they claimed they received in the mail, handed it to the Postal authorities, asserted that it was prepared and mailed by members of the Socialist Workers Party and demanded criminal proceedings by the Post Office against the SWP. Such "evidence" was either too flimsy or too obviously a crude frame-up to excite the police with whom the Stalinists were trying to cooperate as agents, and the Postal authorities took no action.

But that hasn't stopped these local imitators of the Moscow frame-up machine from continuing to claim they have "documentary proof" implicating the SWP in the illegal mailing of obscene literature in Seattle. In accordance with the cynical view of Hitler, they seem to believe that the bigger the lie the easier people believe it. Plain enough?

ANTI-WAR DECLARATION KEYNOTES CONVENTION

(Continued from page 1)

the hand of friendship, peace or war? asked Dunne.

Thus far, he charged, the masses of the American people are not being consulted and are not given the opportunity to freely determine the course of our country on these momentous questions.

"The policies of the nation are decided by the financial overlords of Wall Street, by the Brass Hats of the Pentagon and their rubber-stamped by their Democratic and Republican hirelings in the White House and on Capitol Hill."

The Socialist Workers Party "accuses this gang of billionaires, militarists and politicians," declared Dunne, "of a conspiracy to hurl the workers and farmers of America into a war against the workers and farmers of the rest of the world. We accuse them of leading our country down the road of disaster: Under their leadership millions of our youth will die in foreign battlefields, our cities will lie in ruins, our cherished liberties will be smashed."

ATTACKS WITCH HUNT

He predicted that "we will have an American version of the despotism of Hitler, Hirohito, the Czar or Mussolini," if the U.S. war-lords keep control. "In the five years since the cold war began we have seen the first crops of this grim harvest. Critical opinion is virtually outlawed. Men and women are imprisoned for mere advocacy of nonconformist ideas. Government employees are purged . . . A certain of fear has dropped over the schools and universities."

The capitalist rulers, who boast of the superiority of their so-called "free enterprise," have no confidence in their system, he said. That is why they have "bolted the gates of the country from within and without: American critics are forbidden to travel abroad and foreign critics are barred from entry." All the blows at civil rights are but "preliminary steps for the reign of terror" that will be unleashed in the event of world war.

NEGRO PEOPLE VICTIMS

The drive for world conquest and world counter-revolution, Dunne pointed out, has coincided "with attacks on American labor" and "the Negro people have been the special victims."

"During the five years of the 'cold war' labor has been subject to more injunctions, fines and restrictions and governmental strikebreaking than at any time

since the open shop days of Herbert Hoover." New laws are in the legislative hoppers, state and national, "designed to cripple, paralyze and regiment the union movement" in order to slash incomes and extort billions in taxes from labor to pay for U.S. military subjugation of the peoples of Asia, Europe and the rest of the world.

SCORES JIM CROW

After four years, Truman's Civil Rights program is "still a dead letter," Dunne stated. "The blight of inequality, segregation and Jim Crow remains virtually unaltered." Truman's promises of civil rights legislation have been "a sham intended to hoodwink American voters and to deceive the peoples of other countries about Wall Street's so-called democratic aims."

The enemy of the Negro people, the enemy of organized labor is "identical with the foe who is ready to reduce the earth to atomic ashes in a war against the poor and oppressed of the world," said Dunne. "That enemy is Big Business and its State Department."

He especially warned the ranks of labor "to beware of the policies of your official leadership and to reject them before they lead us to disaster." Support of the war aims of Wall Street "cannot be reconciled with a program of social welfare. Imperialism abroad and equal rights at home don't mix . . . The record of this false, treacherous program of the union leadership condemns itself."

NEED FOR LABOR PARTY

While all doors of official Washington are open to the monopolists, the representatives of labor and the Negro people "can hardly get a hearing." This is not due to any weakness in organization or numerical forces of labor and the Negro people.

"What is lacking is independence: independence from the capitalist parties; independence from their war program. What is wanting is a great labor party devoted to the cause of peace and friendship between the working people of all lands, a party dedicated to the establishment of a government of workers and farmers in the United States."

It is with confidence that the American workers "will find a way to create such a labor party," concluded Dunne, that the SWP brings its election program and its candidates to the people.

The American Way of Life

Magic Money

The other day I read a column about stock ownership by Max Lerner in the N.Y. Post. He winds up: "I have myself never owned a share of stock in my life. But as soon as I can save"

up some money, I intend to start. Like other Americans, I have been bitten by the great American dream: To have your money work for you, silently and effectively, while you doze in the sun." Now I'm not much of a dreamer, but for hard-headed practical purposes, that's the best dream I ever heard of. I don't know how you get "bitten by a dream," but I had it brother, I had it bad. All that evening, I could think of nothing but money at work: money raising me a fine truck garden, money tailoring a new set of duds for the family, money polishing the car; in short, money making my living for me "silently and effectively."

The next day I laid off work, went downtown and drew my little hoard out of the bank, and set out for the country. I found a shady spot, set out my money in a nice little heap, and sat down to watch it work. It never stirred. So I figured I'd try dozing off; maybe money don't work so good when you're watching it. I woke about two hours later, and that lazy old green stuff was lying there just as dead as before. It never did a lick more than I did.

A DISAPPOINTED MAN

I put the money back in my pocket and went back to town, a disappointed man. The next day when I went to work, I stopped in the office to see my boss. He has lots of money and knows how to make it do all sorts of things: work, talk, grow, etc. I told him my trouble.

He laughed. "Well now, that notion about 'money working for you' is just a manner of speaking. As a matter of fact, when it comes to work, money is in the same class as platinum-blond gold diggers and angora cats. All it can do is lay around and look pretty."

"What's the angle then, boss?"

I asked. "How do people get so much out of it?"

The boss leaned back and got expansive. I could see he was on his favorite topic. "Money," he said, "is like a perpetual motion machine. The only way to make it work is by magic. You get to change it into something else."

GETS VAGUE

Here the boss started to get vague. He even seemed a little embarrassed, like a man who suddenly realizes he's been talking too much. "Oh, you know, stuff and things."

"I get it," I said. "Machinery. You have to buy machinery with the money."

"Well —" his embarrassment hung on.

"And materials for the machines to work on." I thought I was really cooking now. He hemmed and hawed a little bit, and finally gave it to me straight. "Look, I've been around money, machinery, materials and all that kind of stuff for a long time, and I've never seen any of them do a tap of work. The only item in God's creation I've ever seen do any work is people."

"YOU MEAN —"

I started to see daylight. "You mean, anybody who has money 'working for him' is really living off the labor of other people?"

There was a sudden change in the boss. "Listen," he shouted. "What d'ya wanta get so smart for? It won't do you any good to know so much. Now quit standing around here. Get out on the floor and do some work. D'ya think I'm made of money? D'ya think money grows on trees?"

He had me there. He's not made of money, but of flesh and blood like me. Money doesn't grow on trees, or anywhere else. Money doesn't work. But I do.

— Harry Frankel

"Create Worker-Farmer Govt."

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clamor to cross the Yalu into revolutionary China, in the same manner that the British King sent his redcoats against the American independence fighters of 1776.

That is why preparations are under way to rearm Japan and Western Germany, and to make the fascist government of Spain a full member of the North Atlantic military alliance.

DON'T WANT WAR

There was a time when European governments could produce a reliable army for such an alliance. They can't do that today. The French people don't want war. The British don't want war. The Germans don't want war. None of the European people want war. They don't even want to rearm.

The truth is that the United States will have to bear the main burden of any new war, just as we have had to furnish 90% of the foreign troops in Korea.

If we go to war against the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, China and other Asian countries, as the Republicans and Democrats intend, our country, with a population of only 155 million, would bear the main brunt of the fighting against a billion people, almost half the human race.

This would be no 19th century conflict between a small army

with modern firearms and a large force with wooden spears. Even the once defenseless colonial people now have tanks, jet planes and skilled troops that know how to use them.

Korea is not the only place where this iron fact has been demonstrated. Back in 1885 the French imperialists put down an Indo-Chinese revolt with only 500 men. Today a modern French army of over two hundred thousand can't even hold its own against the rebellious Indo-Chinese people.

Military propagandists hint that the Asian armies can be defeated by use of atomic weapons. But it is well for us to remember that the United States no longer holds a monopoly on the atom bomb.

Large numbers and modern weapons are not the only factors that have helped Asian armies prevent an American victory in Korea and a French victory in Indo-China.

THEIR SECRET WEAPON

The colonial independence fighters have a secret weapon that no modern capitalist army can ever hope to possess. That weapon is revolutionary morale.

George Washington had that secret weapon against the British King. Abraham Lincoln had it against the slave owners. But no magic can give revolutionary

morale to an American army fighting six thousand miles from home to impose a dictator on people of another country.

Our troops have learned in Korea that we are no longer welcomed as liberators. In the next war our armies will face hatred on every battlefield, in every street, in every home behind the lines.

Fighting under these conditions, with no prospect of victory, our troops in Korea have already suffered over 120,000 casualties; and that is only the beginning under the war plans of the Republicans and Democrats.

PRICE WE WILL PAY

The bigger the war, the heavier the price we will pay here at home, as well as on the battlefields. We are already plagued by troubles that flow from the bi-partisan war policy — taxes, inflation, anti-labor laws, thought control, military brass in government, and corruption from one end of the war administration to the other.

If we get into a general war, something else will hit us. New York, Akron, Detroit and other American cities will look like the pictures we saw in the last war of London, Stalingrad and Hiroshima.

Did you know that the Federal Civil Defense Administration is asking funds to stockpile a million shrouds? They want them for the burial of atom bomb victims in this country.

People are hoping for a way to avoid this nightmare future. Members of unions and Negro organizations look to their leaders to help them realize this hope.

SOWING ILLUSIONS

But most of these leaders are supporting the preparations to launch war against a majority of mankind. To help put over this program they sow the illusion that we can take this insane step and maintain our civil rights and living standards here at home.

The cold facts are that our democratic rights are already being suppressed to silence opposi-

tion to the unpopular conflict in Korea. Our living standards have already been reduced to pay the military costs. The more countries we fight the worse it will get. This can be avoided only by stopping the war.

The Stalinist misleaders falsely claim that war can be prevented through a five-power peace conference. The cold facts are that whether or not such a conference is held, we will be dragged into world conflict if the Democratic and Republican representatives of the wealthy class retain control of the government.

WAY TO STOP WAR

War can be prevented only by creating a Workers and Farmers government. Such a government, truly representative of those who toil in our great country would change things fundamentally.

A Workers and Farmers government would stop the war in Korea and bring our troops home from all foreign lands. It would recognize the new government of China and support the right of people in every country to have a social system of their own choosing, with the kind of government they want.

Here in America a Workers and Farmers government would halt war production and launch full-scale peace production, planned according to peoples' needs.

It would abolish Jim Crow, tear up the Taft-Hartley Act and all thought-control laws. It would reinstate the Bill of Rights and give real meaning to the principle that all people are entitled to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

BREAK GRIP OF FEAR

The creation of a Workers and Farmers government in America would break the grip of brutality and fear in the world and usher in a new era of enduring peace. This is the kind of government for which the Socialist Workers Party stands. I proudly accept nomination as the presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party to carry this program of peace and social progress to the American people.

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THE MILITANT

Published Weekly in the interests of the Working People
THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION

116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y. Phone: EL 5-7400

Editor: GEORGE BREITMAN Business Manager: JOSEPH HANSEN
Subscription: \$2 per year; \$1 for 6 months. Foreign: \$3.50 per year.
Single copies: 10¢. (5 or more copies): 8¢ each in U.S.
to each foreign country.
Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's policies. These are expressed in its editorials.
*Entered as second class matter March 7, 1944 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879.

Vol. XVI - No. 29

Monday, July 21, 1952

"Property Rights First"

Buried inside a steel strike story in the July 14 Christian Science Monitor, a conservative capitalist paper, we find a convincing, if unintentional, admission of the truth about where the patriotism of the corporation owners starts and stops. Roland Sawyer, the Monitor staff correspondent in Pittsburgh, writes:

"However, in a struggle of the intensity of the present one, in which the issue has become one of who is running the mills, the management or the union, NATIONAL DEFENSE COMES SECOND. (Our emphasis). The steel companies fought the President's seizure order on the issue that he had seized private property without warrant and won."

We leave aside the question of the falseness of the issue of the strike as raised above. We are interested in the statement of the extent of the so-called patriotism of the steel barons who have been screaming "bloody treason" against the union for daring to strike for its just demands. When it comes to what the steel companies consider a threat to their property interests, then "national defense comes second."

"National defense" has long served the exploiters of labor as an excuse for opposing unionism and denying union demands. The industrialists and bankers and their political agents and propagandists never cease to demand "stern action" against the unions, particularly during strikes, in the name of "national defense."

For the capitalist, "national defense" is always equated with his own interests. These interests are not at all complex. They are tied up with one very simple thing — profits. He is for the "national defense" of his profits and his means to increase profits. We have always contended that the patriotism of the capitalists goes no deeper than their portfolios of stocks and bonds and their bank accounts.

There are repeated examples in history where the capitalists of a nation have even opened the doors to an enemy imperialist army rather than yield an iota of their property rights to their own people. The French capitalists invited the German army in to crush the French revolutionary workers during the Franco-Prussian war and repeated their treachery in 1940 with Hitler. The U.S. monopolies maintained their cartel agreements with the German and Japanese capitalists right through World War II.

American workers should examine with a sharp and wary eye this slogan of "national defense" as used by the big corporations and their political tools. Whether as a pretext to break a steel strike or to invade a Korea to put down a national independence struggle against foreign imperialism, "national defense" is a disguise for the self-interest of the tiny ruling capitalist minority. But the capitalists will invariably find that "national defense comes second" when it stands in the way of their dominant slogan: "Our property rights first."

Lewis and Labor Party

Editorial policies of John L. Lewis' United Mine Workers Journal are of interest to militant workers, because Lewis, having become critical of both capitalist parties, often has shrewd observations to make about them. But, while the UMW Journal has both old parties well-ticketed, it provides no hint of an answer to the question: Where do we go from here?

A good example is the editorial on "Platforms: Promises Versus Performance" in the July 1 issue. It says: "With the Chicago-bound delegates of both major parties prepared to take part in the quadrennial festival of drafting platforms and nominating candidates, it is instructive to look back at the record." The editorial then goes on: "Judging by the fury of campaign oratory, the on-looker might suppose that the two parties are poles apart, that anything favored by one is anathema to the other; yet their most recent platforms contain language that is strikingly alike on many points. Except for the customary viewing with alarm directed at the other side, the platforms, when they get to the affirmative, talk in phrases that are common to all politicians, regardless of party."

The editorial then points out that the 1948 platform of both parties contained "wide assurances" to labor, but that in the case of both the Republicans and the Democrats, promise was better than performance. It says:

"Neither Republicans nor Democrats made any really serious efforts... to live up to the pledges of their 1948 platforms."

"The labor sections of those platforms were dishonored... So, when we read again the fair words of the platforms that will issue from Chicago in a few days, let us not be taken unawares or be too easily beguiled by high-falutin' promises. Let's study the record and hold accountable the politicians of both parties who have betrayed their pledges and the voters. Platforms should be built not merely to run on but also to stand on — after election."

That is a good sentiment. But good sentiments don't get the labor movement anywhere. The whole political problem that confronts the labor movement is: What is the alternative to accepting fine-sounding promises year after year, and seeing them broken after each election?

The Socialist Workers Party proposes a labor party. Such a party, being strictly accountable to the union movement, would have to live up to its promises. Its officers, its candidates, its program, would be drawn straight from the ranks of the labor movement. This party could be a party that would take its platforms seriously.

The trouble with the Democratic and Republican parties is that they are conscientiously dedicated to serving a certain master: the capitalist class. That is why they break platform promises. A party founded, not on a capitalist, but on a labor basis, could initiate a great new trend in American politics.

Korean War -- Its Class Origin And Nature: A Marxist Analysis

By Art Preis

As I explained in my May 19 Militant article in defense of L. F. Stone and his book, *The Hidden History of the Korean War*, I was not then attempting a critical Marxist analysis of Stone's views. I felt it my first duty to demonstrate that I stand unconditionally on his side against those who are out to destroy him because he has had the honesty and guts to investigate with open eyes and to speak up against the crime of U.S. imperialist invasion of Korea.

I also wanted to emphasize the positive and courageous contribution Stone has made in producing the first serious, factual, book-length study of the U.S. intervention on behalf of Syngman Rhee's dictatorship.

My article made it clear, however, that I am not in accord with all of Stone's analysis of the Korean events. I stressed our differences by stating that Stone wrote from the "point of view of a left liberal, not a Marxist."

For weeks after its release on May 5, Stone's book was ignored by almost all of the liberal and radical publications. I don't know whether my May 19 Militant article, which was reprinted in full in the May 26 N.Y. Daily Compass, had anything to do with it, but several of the liberal and "left" journals have since felt obliged to devote considerable space to reviews of the "Hidden History."

I have been most interested, however, in what the official Stalinist press might say about Stone's book. For nearly two months after it was released, the Communist Party publications were silent. It was clear that the "Hidden History" represented an embarrassment to the Stalinists.

Could they afford to ignore a book that does so devastating a job of exposing the lies, deceptions, contradictions and atrocities perpetrated by the Washington-Pentagon mob in Korea? Could they permit us Trotskyists to come forth as the sole defenders of the only prominent, independent, liberal, professional journalist who has defied official opinion on Korea?

On the other hand, could they sanction in any way a book which dismisses the official Kremlin account of the war's origin as unreliable — "simplistic propaganda" — and, moreover, presents strong evidence to show that the North Koreans were denied arms aid by the Kremlin just when a few more planes might have spelled victory?

NOT FOND OF STONE

Furthermore, the Stalinists have never been fond of Stone. He has hit them on more than one sensitive spot. He has defended civil rights for Trotskyists, a mortal sin in Stalinist eyes. He has attacked the repressions in the Soviet Union. Only recently, he criticized reactionary aspects of Stalin's proposals for Germany.

Finally, on June 29, the Stalinists published their first official pronouncement on Stone's book. They decided to give it the "friendly" treatment with a full page review by John Pittman in the Sunday Worker. While apparently a favorable review, it's something like having a rattlesnake side up to you.

The review does not fail to offer a sorrowful reproach about "an uncritical hoopla from the Trotskyites which Stone was politically naive enough to accept at face value and to print in his Daily Compass column."

While conceding that Stone's book is "a valuable work of po-

John L. Lewis Has Good Gop Ticket

In a sarcastic statement handed out at the Republican National Convention in Chicago on July 9, John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers of America, proposed his idea of a good presidential ticket for the Republicans to nominate.

Lewis suggested as a ticket — Taft and Hartley. The statement, handed out by a representative of Lewis, said: "Mr. Lewis pointed out that much of Mr. Taft's fame of late has been due to his collaborative effort with Mr. Hartley. He added that Gilbert and Sullivan were extremely successful but that their success diminished when the team was split up."

"Lewis suggested a Taft-Hartley ticket for the Republican Party would give the voters a clear-cut opportunity to decide between the issues."

"Conquered" PW's on Kojé



With poised rifles, U.S. troops backed by tanks stand over North Korean prisoners of war as they sit outside a prison compound on Kojé Island. Last month U.S. forces killed 41 PW's and wounded hundreds of others with flame-throwers, tear-gas, grenades and bayonets when large compounds were broken up. A series of new killings and woundings has been reported.

lemical journalism in the best bourgeois tradition and should be "widely circulated," the Worker warns that it contains "viewpoints and formulations with which no Marxist writer can agree."

The allegedly "Marxist" difference that the Stalinists find with Stone's account of the origin of the Korean War is this: That Stone, in exposing the provocations of the Rhee regime in South Korea and the conniving of Gen. MacArthur and John Foster Dulles in the Far East, "never says explicitly that the Korean war was planned, provoked and launched by Washington."

"Stone never goes beyond the hypothesis that the North Koreans invaded South Korea 'encouraged politically by silence, invited militarily by defensive formations, and finally set off by some minor lunge across the border when all was ready.' The review complains that 'the word 'counterattacked,' rather than 'invaded,' would have been the truthful characterization of the actual developments. It would have dissociated the North Korean action from the connotation of aggression, implicit in the word 'invasion.'"

ANTI-MARXIST POSITION

Now this single and only criticism which the Worker directs at length at Stone's book is more revealing of the Worker's anti-Marxism than of Stone's Marxism. For the Worker pounces upon an error of theoretical approach by Stone — and demands only that he compound this error according to the exact propaganda line of the Stalinists. Stone isn't wrong enough for the Stalinists.

Stone's shortcoming, as I see it, is in confining the question of the origin of the Korean War to the issue of who provoked whom or who shot first. He does not present the Korean conflict as a clash of social forces, of classes. He does not see in the U.S. intervention, an expression of the inherent counter-revolutionary drive of the imperialist capitalist system in America, rather than a plot by a few top convicts.

Stone does say that the Korean War has been a stimulant to arms production in America and that the American business and political rulers fear the consequences on the U.S. economy of a cessation of the Korean War. But, in tracing the origin of the war to the preliminary maneuvers, provocations, feints and counter-feints, he is content to base himself upon the concept of "aggression" — who knocked the chip off whose shoulder.

NOT DECISIVE

Who shot first, however, is not the decisive question. In fact, it

2 Out of 1,000 Miners Will Die

Two out of every 1,000 miners will die this year, primarily from roof cave-ins, coal-dust explosions and haulage accidents, according to Dr. I. Hartmann, a U.S. Bureau of Mines scientist in charge of the Bureau's experimental research. The above "accidents," all of them avoidable through proper inspection and installation of safety devices, still account for 80% of the annual mine casualties. That's considered "progress."

is difficult to say of many past wars who did indeed shoot first. Did the "shot" that was heard "round the world" on Lexington Green in 1775 come from a British musket or a Colonial rifle? The controversy has not yet been settled. But is there any doubt that the right was on the side of the patriot fighters for independence, regardless of who fired the first shot, and that in the historical sense the aggression was all on the part of the reactionary British rulers?

But Stone is committing no more of an error, in approaching the question of the nature and origin of the Korean War from the limited conception of "who shot first," than all those who have assailed him both from the right and from the so-called "left," the Stalinists. The latter too accept this false approach. The pro-imperialists assail Stone because he does not subscribe to their lie that the Korean War was the result of an "unprovoked aggression" by the North Koreans upon the "peace-loving, democratic" South Korean regime of Syngman Rhee. The Stalinists, on the other hand, try to slip the knife between Stone's ribs because he doesn't say positively and absolutely that the South Koreans "invaded" North Korea and that the North Koreans merely "counterattacked."

STONE CAUTIOUS

Stone at least proceeds cautiously and does not try to go beyond what he thinks his facts warrant. That is not enough for the Stalinists. They demand that he accept without reservation their exact version of "who shot first."

Stone does not profess to be a Marxist. He does not claim to approach the question of war, or anything else from the standpoint of that "class conscious" reader to whom the Worker says it is addressing its review. The Stalinists do claim to be Marxists. And that's a far worse crime than taking mere money under false pretenses.

THE REAL CRITERIA

You will search the Worker review in vain for the words "civil war." Yet this phrase is a touchstone of a real Marxist analysis of the Korean War. The decisive questions regarding the nature of the Korean War are: What classes are involved? What is the social basis of the struggle? What are the real aims of the contestants? What class interests do they serve?

Why are the lips of the Stalinists sealed as to the true character of the internal struggle in Korea that led to civil war? The answer can be found in the foreign policy of the Kremlin. Stalin demands "peaceable co-existence with capitalism." In practice, this means he seeks deals with world imperialism that will stave off the threat of war on the Soviet Union. In return for such deals he offers his services in betraying proletarian revolutions and colonial uprisings that threaten world capitalism.

FEAR REVOLUTION

This is not the whole story, however. The bureaucratic caste in the Soviet Union is itself in deadly fear of such disturbances, hence "they can spread to the USSR and rejuvenate the workers state. That would mean the end of Stalinism. Thus, the Kremlin has a double motive for stifling such class struggles.

When an elemental upthrust of the oppressed classes occurs, as in China and Korea, then Moscow goes along, but hesitatingly and fearfully, and unwilling to admit a class struggle has broken out that demands full revolutionary support, especially from those claiming to stand for socialism. The Militant, Oct. 16, 1950, cites the testimony of former Soviet Lt. Col. Kyril Kanov as positive evidence that Stalin did not want the North Korean regime to gain strength enough to stand as a force independent of the Kremlin.

From the start of the Korean war, the Socialist Workers Party went right to the heart of the issue. In his "Letter to the President and Members of the Congress," published in the July 31, 1950 Militant, James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the SWP, correctly stated the Marxist position on Korea.

"IMPERIALIST INVASION"

Cannon characterized Truman's "policy action" as "a brutal imperialist invasion" to prop up the "bloody dictatorship of Syngman Rhee" in South Korea. The "explosion in Korea on June 25," said Cannon, "expressed the profound desire of the Koreans themselves to unify their country, to rid themselves of foreign domination and to win their complete national independence. It is part of the mighty uprising of the hundreds of millions of colonial people throughout Asia against Western imperialism."

But, he added, "this is more than a fight for unification and national liberation. It is a civil war. On the one side are the Korean workers, peasants and student youth. On the other are the Korean landlords, usurers, capitalists and their police and political agents. The impoverished and exploited working masses have risen up to drive out the native parasites as well as their foreign protectors..."

CLASS WAR UNFOLDING

"Whatever the wishes of the Kremlin, a class war has been unfolding in Korea. The North Korean regime... has decreed land reforms and taken nationalization measures in the territories it has won. The establishment of people's committees has been reported."

"These reforms, these promises of a better economic and social order have attracted the peasants and workers. This prospect of a new life is what has imbued a starving subject people with the will to fight to the death."

Cannon therefore demanded the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. armed forces from Korea without waiting for conclusive proof of who shot first on June 25, 1950 and without stopping to argue the question of who provoked whom.

(To be continued)

U.S. Steel Lies With Figures

U.S. Steel earned last year 14.5% profit on its investment, socking away 7.3% while paying out the rest — a 7.2% dividend — to the stockholders. It now shrieks loudly how poor it really is, having earned a mere 5.2% profit — not on its capital investment but on every sales dollar, that is. Their hope apparently is that the public is too dumb to see through this juggling with figures.

\$17,500 FUND SCOREBOARD

Branch	Pledge	Paid	Percent
Connecticut	\$ 125	\$ 81	65
Buffalo	1,000	608	61
Detroit	2,113	1,194	57
Cleveland	300	164	55
Chicago	1,500	768	51
Allentown	40	20	50
Minneapolis-St. Paul	1,000	460	46
Akron	150	60	40
New York	4,500	1,742	39
Flint	300	100	33
Newark	1,000	290	29
Seattle	400	91	23
Philadelphia	350	70	20
Boston	500	87	17
Milwaukee	275	45	16
San Francisco	900	137	15
Pittsburgh	40	5	13
Los Angeles	2,200	0	0
Oakland	300	0	0
St. Louis	50	0	0
Youngstown	400	0	0
General	140	80	57
Total through July 14	\$17,500	6,002	34

NEW YORK TB CASES HIGHER THAN IN 1931

By Harry Ring

Despite enormous progress in the diagnosis and treatment of tuberculosis, the number of cases in New York City in 1951 exceeded those of the depression year of 1931. According to the annual report of the New York Tuberculosis and Health Association, the number of known TB cases in 1931 was 17,645. On December 31, 1951 the figure stood at 17,911.

Of course, the population increased during the past 20 years, so that the percentage of cases declined. But the report drives home the lesson that all the wonder drugs in the world cannot cope with the primary cause of TB — poor housing and lack of proper food. This dread killer is truly the poor man's disease.

WORST IN HARLEM

Manhattan, with more people to the square mile living and working within its boundaries, continues to have the highest rate of cases in the city, the report shows. But that doesn't mean Park Avenue. "While tuberculosis is still rampant in the lower East and West Sides of Manhattan, just as it was fifty years ago, the greatest amount is found in central Harlem," the report states.

Chalk up another victory for Jim Crow. Not only the worst

jobs at the lowest pay, the worst housing at the highest rentals, the worst food at the highest prices, but also the highest TB rate in the city. This is the cost of capitalist rule for the Negro people of Harlem!

CITY HALL RESPONSIBLE

While the brutal exploitation of the poor by the bosses and landlords provides the fertile breeding ground for TB, the capitalist politicians in City Hall are responsible for the utter lack of adequate facilities for the treatment of the disease.

This wealthiest city in the world has but thirteen hospitals equipped to handle these 17,911 cases. All of these hospitals, the report charges, are undermanned and overcrowded. Six of them have more than 100% bed occupancy.

The Association's report says, "We look forward to the day when tuberculosis can be called the 'vanishing' disease. At this moment it is not." To this they could well have added, "And so long as capitalist poverty continues it won't be."

DEFEAT OF "OLD GUARD" TERMED "REVOLUTION"

(Continued from page 1)

ject a consistent line. It includes some "arm-to-the-teeth-but-keep-to-ourselves" proponents. It includes some who say that the Korean war was a "mistake" and others who say that the Korean war should be broadened to take in the entire Orient. It even includes some who say both of these things in the same breath. It includes some of the bitterest warmongers, who do not find it inconsistent, at the same time, to promise a "cheaper" war than that promised by the Truman-Eisenhower wing.

These tendencies, ranging from the sober-sided Hoover to lunatic crackpots, despite their apparent diversity, all have one thing in common. They have the hope, or the dream, that the awesome showdown which looms before world capitalism can in some way be averted, conjured away, or blustered out of existence. This is the wing in which many of the illusions of the capitalist class are concentrated; illusions about "lightning wars," "air-power victories," "impregnable fortress in the Western Hemisphere," and so on.

NOSTALGIA FOR OLD DAYS

As a symbol of all this nostalgia for days that will never return, they present to the world — Herbert Hoover, who, like Harding, calls for a "return to normalcy." Poor old fellow! He will never see "normalcy" again. As a symbol of the longing for a "lightning victory," they present Douglas MacArthur, who promises that miracle despite his bitter lesson near the Yalu. And finally, as a symbol of the "cheap" war and the smashed labor movement, they present Robert A. Taft, whose achievements thus far are mainly in the realm of promises.

The defeat of this wing of the Republican Party shows the great power exercised by the commanding heights of Wall Street in the two-party structure. Taft came to the convention, as he boasts, with more delegates committed to him than any other Presidential aspirant in the history of the Republican Party. Still, he lost, and his loss seems now to have been almost a foregone conclusion. Taft tried to fight Wall Street with money, corruption and pres-

sure. He now knows that he would be as wise to fight a shark with his bare teeth. Wall Street proved to be far better equipped for such a test than the miscellaneous assortment of dissidents that challenged it in Chicago.

With the Taft wing out of the way, two things are sure. The first is that the big-war showdown policy of the Truman-Eisenhower camp has definitely conquered the central sections of the capitalist class as against the policy of those Wall Street regards as "irresponsible." The second is that Wall Street has achieved its political objective for 1952. Both parties are consistently committed to its line, and Wall Street can leave the rest to the politicians. From here on out, Wall Street figures, it's "heads I win, tails you lose."

Radio-TV Schedule Hear the Socialist Anti-War Candidates

The Presidential campaign of the Socialist Workers Party will open with the following series of radio and television broadcasts to be carried coast-to-coast:

Saturday, July 19
1:30-1:45 P.M. CBS-TV
Saturday, July 19
11:15-11:30 P.M. CBS-Radio
Sunday, July 20
3:15-3:30 P.M. NBC-Radio
Sunday, July 20
8:00-8:15 P.M. ABC-TV
Sunday, July 20
11:00-11:15 P.M. ABC-Radio
(In New York 10:30-10:45 P.M. on WJZ)
Friday, August 1
11:00-11:15 P.M. CBS-TV
(All Eastern Daylight Saving Time)

NAACP Marks Time

By Jean Blake

Now that the excitement of the 43rd annual convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has died down, the 750 delegates from 37 states have returned home, and the resolutions have been digested, it is possible to add up the plusses and minusses and get the net result.

There were no big changes made in policy or perspectives of the organization. In ordinary times this might not have too much significance, and in a period of reaction like the present it might be considered gratifying by some that the Association did not succumb to the tremendous pressure on all institutions to conform to the line of the government on foreign policy and to silence all criticism at home.

But these are times that require more than standing still. Militant leadership and a correct program of struggle are the burning needs of the Negro movement for equality. The convention did not provide them.

On the credit side of the ledger, we may note, as we predicted in this column some weeks ago, that the rosy glow of polyantha confidence that Jim Crow would fade away, was finally dispersed. In contrast to the last few conventions, a more realistic view of the situation in the struggle against segregation and discrimination was presented. "1951, The Year of the Hate-Bomb" was the title of the 76-page annual report this year, and the theme of the keynote address.

Instead of placing the accent on a few court victories here and there, Roy Wilkins, the NAACP administrator, pointed out that "Cases involving the violation of Negroes' rights in 1951 were probably more shocking than during any other year in recent history."

Also on the positive side was his de-emphasis on the bogey of communism. Placing the government witch-hunt of both the administration and the McCarthyites in proper perspective, he said: "... the hatebombs this year will fail... because we are men and not children... Because we refuse to be hushed by the false and hysterical cries of 'communism.'"

On the negative side of the convention's actions, the criticisms of the abuses under the

Loyalty Program were weakened by endorsement of the program, and by the reaffirmation of the NAACP's anti-Communist resolutions of 1950 and 1951.

In the same way, every other reform proposal was made meaningless by being tied to support of the capitalist system and government. Political action, under the guise of non-partisanship which endorses no party or candidates, remains capitalist political action. The NAACP simply proposes to provide a gauge of legislative demands by which members may evaluate the candidates of the Democratic and Republican parties.

How much of a farce this non-partisanship is, was revealed by the fact that it is Truman's civil rights program that provides the basis for judging candidates, Wilkins said:

"Whatever one may think about the Man from Missouri in the White House, he has set up an uncompromising yardstick on civil rights by which both major parties and all candidates can be measured."

It was this type of indirect Democratic politics at the convention as well as in NAACP policies and statements that gave rise to the biggest fight of the convention, except one that never reached the floor: the conflict between the liberal retired Federal Judge J. Waties Waring, formerly of South Carolina, and Walter White over NAACP policies and perspectives.

Waring failed to make a scheduled speech at the convention, and while no one would give an official explanation, the reason reported in the press was that a feud exists between the two men and their factions on the Board of Directors.

Waring objects to the NAACP leadership's policies of gradualism in fighting segregation, and of playing Democratic politics.

While these charges are certainly valid, even this feud has not brought forth the type of leadership in the NAACP that Negro advancement requires at this time. No one from the Waring group came forward with a proposal for independent political action, for a break with both Democrats and Republicans and the formation of a labor party with a radically different program.

Until such a course and such leadership emerges, the NAACP can at best, only mark time.

Caveat Emptor

By Harry Ring

It's a fortunate thing that the State Department salesmen for "our way of life" aren't working on a commission basis. If they were, the rapidly dwindling export market for the 1952 model "American freedom" would certainly make it tough for them to maintain the standard of living to which they are accustomed.

For some time they have been trying to convince the public that the drop in sales is due to unethical competitors that are slandering and misrepresenting their product. "This international communist propaganda about witch hunting, thought control, loyalty purges and Jim Crow terror," they concede, "isn't helping the foreign market any, but when we get a customer right into the store to inspect the merchandise first hand, we close a sale every time."

The fact is, however, that over-the-counter sales aren't standing up either. The most recent shopper to edge his way out of the store with a cagey "sorry to take up your time, but not right now," is Kingsley Martin, editor of London's New Statesman and Nation. He reports his impression of U.S. "freedom" merchandise in the July 5 issue of his paper:

"Nothing astonishes the European visitor more than evidence of fear... the awkward hush that may fall over a dinner table if someone ventures a 'subversive' remark; the unhappy position of a professor who is suspected of once having been associated with someone who had signed a document that was also signed by a communist."

Martin tells the following story to illustrate his opinion of what is happening to American freedom. It is both ominous and ludicrous:

"An American citizen who worked closely with the Administration during the war was recently asked to deliver a four weeks' course of lectures for a thousand dollars to an institute of higher learning. He accepted, pleased with the honor and the fee. He received a fourteen-page ques-

tionnaire which, he was informed, must be completed in every detail before he could be allowed to give the lectures.

"There were about 800 questions. They included medical queries — I noted them down myself — about whether he had 'terrifying nightmares' or was addicted to bedwetting. He was asked whether he had ever 'received literature' from any of the Attorney General's subversive organizations (it would indeed have been suspicious if he had not). Every possible detail of his public and private life, that of his father and mother, that of his wife and her father and mother had to be given. To complete this part of the questionnaire alone, as he said in his letter of refusal, would have taken a month's research.

"The last question read: Are there any unfavorable incidents in your life not mentioned above which may be discovered in subsequent investigation, whether you are directly involved or not, which may require investigation? If so, describe. If not, answer 'No.'"

"He was informed that the correctness of his answers would be investigated. I should like to point out here that purges now go by perjury, and that to omit some 'unfavorable' incident might well be accounted perjury.

"My friend, being a man of independence and integrity, refused to complete this preposterous questionnaire and lost his job and the honorarium attached to it.

"American purges," Martin concludes, "are not to be confused with those of the Soviet Union, since no one in America has been shot for heresy. But the principle which shocked the Western world about Soviet trials appears to be also at work in the U.S."

An obviously careful shopper, Mr. Martin does well in his inspection of U.S. "democracy" to follow the classic commercial maxim: Caveat emptor. Let the buyer beware!

The Gas Steal

By Glenn Kerwin

Close to a million natural gas consumers have been robbed of several million dollars by the gas companies in New York City and vicinity since the changeover from manufactured to natural gas. This was revealed by facts disclosed in the daily press last month.

The newspapers pointed out that up to 56% of the gas meters in use in residences where the change-over has been made are over 2% fast. Some are as much as 20% fast. As a result, the companies have pocketed millions in payment for gas that was never used — in fact, that never left the companies' holders.

Lack of oil vapor in the natural gas tends to have a drying and stiffening effect on the sheep-skin diaphragms through which the gas passes within the meter. The diaphragms become unable to pass as much gas as they should in a given cycle. The meter dials, calibrated to show that a given volume has passed through per cycle of the diaphragm, now indicate in a majority of cases larger volumes than have actually passed through the meters.

The newspapers did not give the entire picture and, indeed, tried to cover up for the companies. For example, the June 9 N.Y. World Telegram headlined an article in part: "Utility Firms Blameless." This is a lie. They are completely to blame.

Throughout the country, every gas company that has changed over from manufactured to natural gas has discovered a large percentage of resulting fast meters. It has also been discovered that a proper system of oil-fogging the natural gas greatly reduces the number of stiff diaphragms and corresponding fast meters.

Although knowing these facts, the companies in and near New York City did not install systems of oil-fogging, or installed ineffective systems, or installed oil-fogging after most of the damage had been done.

The data on the percentages of fast meters was prepared by the companies involved. Since they are not prone to emphasize their own demerits, it is likely that the actual percentages are higher.

As the newspapers indicated, a consumer in N.Y. state whose meter is tested and found to be over 2% fast is legally entitled to a refund of the money overcharged. However, the papers did

not tell of the insidious methods the companies use to avoid paying refunds.

A consumer who complains of high gas bills may on request have his meter tested by the company or the Public Service Commission. However, before the complainant has a chance to request a meter test, the company frequently purposely removes the meter, repairs it and then uses it on another consumer's premises.

However, a subtler means is more generally used for swindling on refunds. It is legally required that every gas meter in use be completely repaired by the gas company that owns it at least once every seven years. Normally this law is fairly strictly observed because it acts in the interest of the companies, since the average meter runs slow or even ceases registering if kept in continuous service more than seven years. But since the introduction of natural gas, many consumers have noticed their meters have not been replaced even though they have been on the premises well over seven years.

These meters at first run fast. Then, after many months of rapidity, the combination of stiff diaphragms and old age cause the diaphragms to crack up and start running slow. This is generally about the time the consumers start complaining of high bills and request meter tests. The tests reveal, of course, the new slowness of the meters and the companies keep the money they stole during the period of rapidity.

The Public Service Commission is supposed to regulate, among other things, the gas utilities. However, like all such agencies of the capitalist government, it acts chiefly to protect the interests of the companies. It is not surprising that the PSC chairman is Benjamin F. Feinberg, the former state senator who authored the infamous witch-hunt law that imposed thought-control on all the school teachers in New York State. He was hard on "Communists," but he and his PSC are now mighty soft on utilities robbing the public.

MAYNARD KREUGER, CHICAGO SOCIALIST PARTY leader and SP member for 25 years, announced his resignation from the party on July 7 and said that Norman Thomas is of similar mind. Neither Kreuger nor Thomas attended the recent SP convention.

VOLUME XVI

MONDAY, JULY 21, 1952

NUMBER 29

CCF Scores Victories In Canada

TORONTO, Canada, July 14 — Over a month has passed since voting day and it is still not known who won the British Columbia provincial elections. The march of Canada's farmer-labor party, the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF), towards the formation of a majority government has been temporarily blocked by the capitalist coalition's alternative voting system.

With five recounts to be held, the CCF is in a see-saw battle with the newly-formed British Columbia Social Credit party; it has 18 seats to the latter's 19. An upset in two seats that are now listed by a slim majority with the Social Credit party can put the CCF in as a minority government in British Columbia.

The Liberal and Tory parties were driven from office, dropping from 39 seats to a skimpy 10. Premier ("Boss") Johnson went down to defeat before CCFer Rae Eddie, international trustee of the CIO International Woodworkers of America whose 32,000 British Columbia members are on strike against the logging companies.

SASKATCHEWAN VICTORY

The British Columbia electoral stalemate follows close on the heels of the sweeping return to power of the English-speaking world's sole labor government — the Saskatchewan CCF government. Both the Tories and Social Crediters went down to a crushing defeat in the wheat province. Neither party elected a candidate, the Tories polling only 8,000 votes among a million Saskatchewan electors.

The CCF scored crushing victories in the urban areas of this predominantly farm province. Its campaign to win approval for the extension of its eight years of social security measures roused public meetings in town after town, the like of which had not been seen since the depression years of the thirties.

In reply to those who criticized the British Columbia preferential ballot for the confusion it brought with it, the now ex-Attorney General Wismer replied, "Without the alternative vote, it would have been possible for one party (read: the CCF) that wanted to upset our whole system to have become the government on a minority vote."

Veteran political writer Roy Brown freely admits that "The stage was set for the CCF to win between 30 and 35 seats when Social Credit intervened. It did not save the situation for the old parties, but spoiled all chance of a thumping CCF victory. 'Instead of going to the CCF, which polled 30.2% of the first choice votes, it is possible that the government will go to Social Credit with 26.6% of the vote, that would have normally given it only 14 seats."

So violent was the sweep against the old-line parties that they failed to get a clear majority in a single riding (election district). Third, fourth, fifth and even sixth choice votes had to be tallied, with the lowest candidates' votes being distributed, until one party had a clear majority in 43 of the 48 ridings.

Through this change in the rules of the parliamentary game, the voter's third, fourth and fifth choices were thus manipulated to become his choice for a government.

The reaction against the Liberals and Tories has thrust forward Social Credit, whose "relationship to the people," claims Rev. E. G. Hansell its campaign leader imported from Alberta, closely resembles that of the Divine Creator to all of mankind. The vote for Social Credit, now silent on its famous funny-money scheme, was a protest vote that was rolled up for the CCF but was diverted on its way. Analysis of partial returns shows that 40% of the Social Credit second choice votes went CCF.

VICTORIES FOR LEFT WING

The Saskatchewan and British Columbia victories are not just victories for the CCF but are also victories for the CCF left — for left-wing policies. It was the stand of the British Columbia and Saskatchewan sections in defense of the pro-socialist and anti-war Regina Manifesto of the movement that was instrumental in forcing the right wing to ditch their substitute program this spring.

The British Columbia provincial election program was distinctly a left-wing program despite its failure to deal with the broader issues such as the Korean war, the Garson "Gag" amendments to the criminal code, etc.

United Nationwide Action by Labor Needed for Quick Victory in Steel

By Thomas Raymond

Do You Know This?



Most of the World War I generation know that Gen. MacArthur commanded the infantry, cavalry and tanks that drove the unemployed veterans out of Washington in 1932 to break up the Bonus March. But they don't know that Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower was MacArthur's aide in this campaign. Eisenhower (center) is shown in this rare photograph with MacArthur (left) at the scene of the brutal attack on the hungry war veterans.

PP CHASES A PHANTOM--PROGRESSIVE CAPITALISM

By Tom Conlan

The political gist of the presidential platform issued by the Progressive Party in 1948, when Wallace headed this party, was the advocacy and support of "progressive capitalism." Wallace has since departed. But the 1952 platform of the Progressive Party continues to chase the phantom of "progressive capitalism," even though the phrase itself does not appear in the text.

"Progress" is now envisaged as a return to the Rooseveltian past in foreign and domestic policy. In the field of foreign policy the PP today demands as it "has steadfastly demanded a return to the Roosevelt-Willkie policy of One World that proved itself in the victory over fascism and held out the promise of an enduring peace."

That "promise" has proved to be the flimsiest of illusions. Instead of peace, there has followed: the "cold war," Korea, the world arms race, the rearmament of Japan, the deal to rearm Germany, etc. But the inspirers and authors of the PP platform are not to be deterred by such trifles. "That glorious promise can still be redeemed by the American people. The Progressive Party enters the 1952 election campaign dedicated to its redemption. They unblushingly declare. We shall presently see how the PP proposes to redeem "enduring peace."

DOMESTIC POLICY

Let us now return to domestic policy. Here the PP offers a surefire cure for all the evils of capitalism. It is — a return to the Rooseveltian "New Deal."

"Farmer and laborer, housewife and shopkeeper, all remember and urgently seek the Economic Bill of Rights first put forth by Franklin Delano Roosevelt," states the PP platform.

The "New Deal" was nothing more than a number of capitalist reforms introduced during the catastrophic depression of the Thirties in order to stabilize capitalism and to lull the growing anti-capitalist moods of the masses, and thus prevent them from taking the socialist road. Roosevelt's "Economic Bill of Rights" proved impotent to stabilize U.S. capitalism. By 1938, the U.S. economy began another precipitous plunge, the sharpest on record. Escape from depression was

then afforded only by the shift of the country's economy to war production.

WAR OR DEPRESSION

The logical and inexorable culmination of the "New Deal" was the "War Deal." The one served as a preparation for the other, and was inseparable from it. The direct connection between capitalist war preparations and even promises of reform was strikingly illustrated by Truman's 1948 demagogic promises of the "Fair Deal."

Unless it goes to war, capitalism inescapably confronts economic collapse. Whoever doesn't understand this can offer nothing except the worst of illusions to the American people.

And that is precisely what the PP platform does, although to be sure, a whole number of its domestic planks, notably those on the defense of civil rights, on the extension of these rights to Negroes and other minorities and on the struggle against the witch-hunt are in the best liberal tradition.

Because the PP keeps to the fore as the belated champion of "progressive capitalism," its anti-war struggle, the pivotal issue of our time, is simply a reshuffle of bourgeois pacifism.

"This pacifism has always consisted in a search for "guarantees" of peace, through "peace pacts" and similar diplomatic agreements. In this instance the PP's peace proposals amount to a whole number of diplomatic Kremlins.

DEAL WOULD NOT MEAN PEACE

Although the chances for a Washington-Moscow deal have grown quite remote, it is not excluded that such a deal may still be concluded. But what would that signify? Least of all, an "enduring peace." At most it would mean a temporary postponement of the eventual global conflict.

The American imperialists have speeded up arms production not only out of political choice but also from economic necessity. "The old parties," says the PP platform, "offer war and a war economy as the only way to have prosperity and stave off a depression." This is perfectly true. Is there then another course open? Yes replies the PP. "A prompt return to a peacetime economy is the only real guarantee of economic security for the American people." Not under capitalism.

Even a sizable reduction in arms expenditures, let alone a complete "return to a peacetime economy," would bring in its wake an economic collapse. To pretend the country as the PP does, is to continue the same deception as in the days of Wallace.

With the steel strike in its seventh week, the problem of delivering the knock-out blow to the steel corporations is before the labor movement. The steel corporations are apparently not yet completely convinced that they must bow to the superior might of the union.

A demonstration by the entire labor movement is required to convince them that they have no choice.

Such a demonstration could take several forms. A nationwide conference of all unions could be called to prepare a national labor holiday for the purpose of breaking the remaining resistance of the Wall Street-owned steel companies. A vast solidarity fund, along the lines initiated by John L. Lewis' United Mine Workers who recently offered \$10 million to the steelworkers, would also show the companies that they face forces too powerful to defeat.

Workers on steel picket lines are beginning to look for some means of ending the strike with victory soon, as the CIO News indicated in a recent feature article. A mill drawer is quoted as saying: "The '41 (Bethlehem Steel) strike lasted only four days," to which a heater replied: "Don't remind me! All we do in this danged strike is wait and wait some more. Go on strike, go back to work; go on strike, go again, on again. It's been going on like that for months. Enough to drive a man nuts."

The CIO News correspondent comments on this: "Waiting around week after week for a settlement of the big strike is indeed getting on the nerves of many of the 17,000 members of the USA-CIO employed at the Bethlehem Steel Corp., at Bethlehem, Pa. The hundreds of thousands of union workers in the other steel plants throughout the country must feel somewhat the same."

A GOOD MOVE

A good move is reported from Trenton, N.J., where 5,000 steel workers are on strike. Milan Bogdan, president of the CIO Central Jersey Industrial Union Council, sent out a call for every local union of the CIO in the

Trenton area to "do everything possible" to help the steel union. It is also reported that Jersey and Pennsylvania farmers are offering chickens and eggs to the striking steelworkers.

Meanwhile, the State Public Assistance Department in Pennsylvania announced that all steelworkers or any other workers idled by the steel strike who apply for relief must first dispose of any autos, TV sets, war bonds or life insurance. In other words, they must pauperize themselves before they can get a little food for their families. The Pennsylvania authorities also said that they would get liens against steelworkers' homes, in order to get back later anything they give in relief now.

STRIKE AID COMES FIRST

The CIO Community Services Committees across the nation set steel strike assistance as the very first task of the local committees. "Food, medical attention, shelter and clothing" for the families of striking workers are set as chief objectives. The CSC will concentrate on getting public and private agencies, supported by workers' taxes and contributions, to disgorge some of their funds for the benefit of the embattled workers.

Reports from the steel centers indicate that strike organizations are running smoothly. The custom of most steel locals is to provide food parcels and other relief for needy strikers. Applications are taken only from those who discharge their picketing duties, in most cases.

Local union officials also intervene with city officials, private relief organizations, landlords, etc., to ease the burden on the worse-off members. At the same time, they conduct a public campaign against prejudiced handling of steel cases by relief officials. Steel union officers have charged that there has been a "tightening up" by relief authorities in comparison with other recent strikes.

Purge in Romania

By Charles Hanley

The official Romanian press has lifted part of the secrecy surrounding the latest Stalinist purge which hit a once powerful group including Anna Pauker, former leader of Romania's Communist Party from the party's Central Committee. Pauker has been expelled and removed from her government post of Minister of Foreign Affairs. Romanian economy is in serious difficulties, a change in policy has become necessary. Pauker heads the list of scapegoats, indispensable under the Stalinist regime.

Romania's main difficulties apparently stem from the grave dislocation of agriculture. Food prices have tripled since 1947; the collection of crops proved to be difficult. Popular discontent has been mounting.

PEASANT RESISTANCE Industrial production had increased considerably since World War II. Government investments in industry in the last twelve months have been six to seven times as large as in 1948, with almost half of these investments allotted to building up heavy industry previously non-existing in the country.

Meanwhile, however, collectivization of farms has lagged behind. Farm machines are still scarce and facilities for repairing them inadequate. The peasants resent and resist the state grain collecting agencies. Black market operations have become widespread. The Stalinist policy in the countryside has been muddled and uncertain.

In all the states of Eastern Europe the development of agriculture has been permitted to lag behind the progress of industry. As a result food prices have risen much faster than industrial prices. Romania appears to be among the hardest hit by this disproportion between industry and agriculture and the resulting inflation.

THE REAL SABOTEUR

Under Lenin the reasons for the economic retreat (the NEP) were explained clearly and unequivocally. The Stalinists, in Romania as in the USSR, blame "saboteurs" for failures. The real saboteur is the bureaucratic Stalinist regime.

Purged along with Anna Pauker, who is reputed to have denounced her own husband to the GPU during Stalin's blood purges of the Thirties, is Vasile Luca, former Minister of Finance and Teohani Georgescu, former Minister of the Interior.

"INFLATION" SOCIAL TO BE HELD BY CHICAGO SWP LOCAL

Comrades and friends are invited to attend an "Inflation" social to be given by the Chicago local of the Socialist Workers Party. An evening of fun, including dancing and games, is promised in the cool headquarters of the local.

The place: 734 So. Wabash Av., Chicago. Time: Saturday, Aug. 2, 9 P.M. Everything "inflated" except the donation of 25 cents. Bring your friends.