

Labor Must Build Its Own Party-- Dobbs on Radio

NEW YORK, July 16 — The American labor movement must break its ties to the parties of Big Business and build its own Labor Party as a step on the road to a Workers and Farmers Government, said Farrell Dobbs, National Chairman of the Socialist Workers Party in a radio address over the Mutual Network tonight. Because of illness, Dobbs' speech was read by Joseph Hansen, SWP candidate for U.S. Senator from New York. The full text of his speech follows:

A few days before the November 1948 presidential elections I warned the American people of the fate that was in store for them if either the Republican or Democratic Parties won the election. Truman was then being hailed as "the great friend of labor," and the guardian of peace. Few then dreamed we would soon become involved in a war in Asia.

Let me quote a few lines from the radio speech I made on the eve of the elections two years ago.

"When the returns are announced on Nov. 3, regardless whether Truman or Dewey is elected President," I then said, "Big Business will be the winner and the American working people the losers."

"The great wealth, the natural resources and the productive system of America will remain under the domination of giant monopoly corporations."

"The decision on war or peace — a decision which means life or death for the human race — will remain in the hands of a tiny group of industrial overlords and brass hats who control the bipartisan government in Washington."

"Prices will continue to rise unless a new depression substitutes unemployment for the high cost of living as the main evil plaguing the American people."

"The offensive against the labor movement will grow in scope and fury... the unions will fight for their very existence against repressive legislation, government-by-injunction and police terror."

"The Congressional witch-hunters and inquisitors, now safely in office, will continue their dynamiting operations to blow up the precious democratic rights of the American people."



FARRELL DOBBS

These were the predictions I made on Oct. 28, 1946 in the name of the Socialist Workers Party. Need I say tonight that they have been confirmed in every respect?

If the American people stand today on the brink of a terrible catastrophe — in peril of the loss of life and limb on distant battlefields and the loss of liberty at home — that is the direct consequence of a great betrayal which occurred in 1946 and in the two ensuing years.

American labor, 16,000,000 strong — together with its allies among the Negro people and the middle class — was ready for a radical change. Labor was fed up with the domination of our country by Big Business, Big Banks and Big Brass and by their Democratic and Republican agents. Labor was worried over the trend toward a new world war and toward a police state at home.

A bold and courageous leadership could have created a great labor party which would have genuinely fought for the interests of the working people, for all the poor and oppressed in the country.

An end could have been made to big fortunes and big profits — an end to the oligarchy of the 60 ruling families. Homes could have been provided for all the people — security for the aged — government-subsidized medical care and education for all. Complete and unrestricted civil rights could have been guaranteed for the peoples of all races, colors and nationalities — and above all a foreign policy that would bring peace to the world.

Such would have been the program of the labor party and of the Workers and Farmers Government it would have created. Such

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SWP CONVENTION TAKES FIRM ANTI-WAR STAND

By Ruth Johnson

NEW YORK, July 18. — Meeting at Beethoven Hall last weekend, the National Legislative Convention of the Socialist Workers Party appealed to all radical workers for support in the 1950 elections.

Denouncing Truman's undeclared war in Korea and calling attention to the fact that hostilities abroad are being accompanied by another undeclared war against organized labor and democratic rights at home, the SWP appeal warned that "For the American people, the war in Korea and other wars which may follow in its wake can only mean loss of life on distant battlefields, the lowering of living standards and loss of liberty." (See full text of convention appeal, printed elsewhere on this page.)

Of all political parties only the Socialist Workers Party offers the working people and the minorities a program to meet their needs, said Farrell Dobbs, National Chairman of the SWP, in the keynote address.

Where is the peace so glibly promised us by Truman, Dobbs asked. "There is no peace and will be none so long as monopoly capitalism dominates this country... This is the time to sound the alarm, for a military dictatorship is creeping over this country."

In this time of crisis, all other political parties have proved their bankruptcy, he continued, pointing to the role of the Progressive Party, the betrayal of socialist traditions by Norman Thomas' Socialist Party, the hypocrisy of the Stalinists who are "shouting very loudly for peace" while hoping to promote a Washington-Moscow deal.

ADOPT PLATFORM

The 58 delegates, representing Socialist Workers Party branches throughout the country, unanimously voted to adopt the 1950 Election Platform presented by Michael Bartell, candidate for Governor of New York. The platform, which will appear in a

future issue of The Militant, stresses the party's opposition to intervention in Korea, its defense of civil liberties, the rights of minorities and the independence of the labor movement.

The platform sums up its goal as the establishment of a "Workers' and Farmers' Government." "Such a government, based on democratically elected committees and councils of workers, farmers, housewives, soldiers and minority groups, will extend democracy

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The National Legislative Convention of the Socialist Workers Party meets at a moment of grave danger for the working people of the United States.

The 60 ruling families of the plutocracy, the brass hats and their political agents in the Democratic and Republican Parties have plunged the country into a bloody military adventure in Korea. Without their consent the American people have been committed to uphold unpopular and despotic regimes, to buttress oppressive colonial empires and to suppress the just struggles of the peoples of the Orient for freedom, independence and the right to determine their own fate. Without their consent, the American people have become the pawns in a "calculated risk" that may very well lead to atomic destruction and World War III.

We brand as a lie the official propaganda that this war is being fought against totalitarianism and dictatorship. From the very beginning, we Trotskyists have

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THE MILITANT

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Workers of the World, Unite!

All Present and Accounted For



Wallace Breaks Silence, Backs Truman's War

By John G. Wright

After sitting on the fence for three weeks, Henry A. Wallace, banner-bearer of the Progressive Party, jumped with both feet into the war camp of American imperialism.

"The time has passed now for trying to find out who is to blame," he declared in his July 16 statement, and then went on to say that "when my country is at war and the United Nations sanctions that war, I am on the side of my country and the United Nations."

He called for the continuation of "our fight against the North Korean troops" to the bitter end. And going beyond Korea, Wallace indicated that he was moving toward the acceptance of the "new Asia policy" of the Truman administration. The Kremlin, he demands, must immediately agree to enter into "negotiations for the settlement of the whole Asiatic problem not merely in terms of boundaries and seating of the new Chinese government but also in terms of trade and that development for the sake of the people on which world peace depends."

SLAM AT CO-LEADERS

Wallace, to be sure, did not spell out just what is "that development" without which there cannot be any cessation of hostilities, but his meaning is obvious: with the possible exception of China, Asia must be made "safe" for capitalism, in the first instance, for American capitalism.

And in passing, Wallace did not forget to take his first slam at the other leaders of the Progressive Party. "I cannot agree," he said pointedly, "with those who want to start a propaganda drive to pull the United Nations' troops out of Korea."

This happens to be the gist of the statement adopted, with two dissenting votes, by the Progressive National Committee. Last minute attempts by the other Progressive leaders to negotiate with Wallace for a statement acceptable to both sides led to no results, or more accurately, produced the public split.

TRUE TO HIMSELF

Wallace's defection from the "camp of peace" will doubtless come as a surprise to many followers of the Progressive Party, especially among the Stalinists and their periphery. But the fact remains that Wallace has simply remained true to himself.

He never disguised his basic support of capitalism. To be sure,

he drew a distinction between "progressive" and "reactionary" capitalism, championing the former as against the latter. But this "distinction" was simply a demagogic device. The only capitalism the world has ever known and will know is the reactionary decaying war-bent system which Wallace now openly supports.

But even here he also remains true to himself. Two years ago, when the Progressive Party was first launched and Wallace hailed as its Gideon, a N. Y. Times reporter on April 25, 1948, asked the following question: "If there were a war, would you support the United States' war efforts regardless of your

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Two Years Ago We Predicted That Wallace Would Be in the War Camp

The Socialist Workers Party has warned repeatedly that when the showdown came, Henry A. Wallace would unfurl his true colors. His "anti-war" stand was a fraud from the outset. One such warning was made by James P. Cannon, SWP National Secretary, in his article "Wallace and the War," which appeared in our issue of May 10, 1948. Even at that time Wallace made it clear in an interview with a N.Y. Times reporter what position he would take in the event of war. Cannon's comments in this connection read as if they were written not two years ago but rather in connection with Wallace's declaration of last week:

Here's what Cannon wrote: "This unambiguous declaration (by Wallace) of fundamental loyalty to American imperialism under conditions of war may shock and surprise some people who have taken his anti-war fulminations for good coin and thought him worthy of support on that ground. But that's only the result of misunderstanding on their part. This latest clarifying statement of Wallace's flows logically from his basic program. All the inconsistency is on the side of those who permitted themselves to expect that a party, pledged by its program to the support of American capitalism, could jump over its own head and withhold its support at the most critical moment, when the very existence of the regime will be staked on the issue of a war."

SWP Appeal to Radical Workers for Support in '50

been irreconcilable opponents of Stalinism, its police state and the privileges it has extorted from the Russian people. We have opposed this criminal regime solely in the interests of the cause of socialism and greater democracy for the working people, never for the sake of capitalist profits and imperialist expansion.

HYPOCRITICAL PRETEXT

But for our rulers, the Big Banks, Big Business, the Big Brass, together with the Republican and Democratic Parties, the issue of Stalinist totalitarianism is only a hypocritical pretext for their own plans to impose the domination of U. S. imperialism on the world and the iron heel of a police state on the American people.

In the name of democracy, the Truman administration is sacrificing American lives to uphold the corrupt police regime of Syngman Rhee, a regime so unpopular with the Korean people that even supporters of the war admit it

could not last 24 hours without the support of U. S. arms.

In the name of democracy, the Truman Administration shields the corrupt dictatorship of Chiang Kai-shek who was driven out of China by an enraged people.

In the name of democracy, the Truman Administration is supporting Bao Dai, the puppet of the French Empire, against the overwhelming majority of the Indo-Chinese people.

In the name of democracy, the Truman administration, the Republican Party, the Brass Hats, industrialists and witch-hunters are using the conflict in Korea to tighten the screws of a police state on the nation. The undeclared war was set into motion without even the consent of Congress which is required under the Constitution and certainly without consulting the American people who will be called upon to make the major sacrifices. Plans are now openly being made to regiment labor, throttle the independence of the trade unions,

stamp out democratic rights and all dissenting opinion.

If successful, the war in Korea will yield new profits to Standard Oil, Du Pont, the rubber barons, the copper trust and the big money interests out of the sweat of the labor of the peoples in Asia. Successful or not, the war will yield a golden harvest to the munition makers, the plane manufacturers, the crooked contractors and the other merchants of death. It will give labor-hating corporations their long-awaited opportunity to crack down on the unions.

For the American people, the war in Korea and other wars which may follow in its wake can only mean loss of life on distant battlefields, the lowering of living standards and loss of liberty at home.

The delegates of the Socialist Workers Party, assembled in National Legislative Convention, call upon the American people to bring this mad imperialist adventure to an end. Withdraw the

Truman Starts Shift to Full War Footing

AFL Head Invites War Dictatorship Over Workers

By Joseph Keller

AFL President William Green is so eager to serve the Wall Street war machine that he can't wait until Washington clamps a war dictatorship over labor. He's actually clamoring for it publicly.

In a statement in the latest issue of the American Federationist, official AFL journal, Green proposes, in effect, that labor be put into a war strait-jacket such as Big Business and the Truman administration are preparing through the National Security Resources Board.

Green states that the Korean war contains "the implications of a third World War" which requires "all-out preparedness for any eventuality." First and foremost for such "preparedness" — that is, all-out militarization of the country — "there must be mobilization of labor."

Such "mobilization of labor," of course, has already been blue-printed by Washington. It means freezing wages and jobs, banning strikes, military supervision of workers in war industries and labor conscription.

THE NSRB'S PLANS

Green's proposal throws light on the real aims of the meeting of 22 top officials of the AFL, CIO and independent unions on July 11 with W. Stuart Symington, Big Business czar of the National Security Resources Board, for what was called "a briefing session on the board's plans."

It should surprise no one that the union leaders like Green are so ready to sacrifice all labor's rights to the war machine. They have been preparing this great betrayal all along.

The day after Pearl Harbor in the last year they rushed to offer the "no-strike pledge" and to place labor's fate in the hands of the corporation-dominated War Labor Board. But even they balked at Roosevelt's demand for labor conscription. Now Green has seized on the occasion of American imperialism's undeclared war in Korea to demand, in effect, even labor conscription.

Step by step since the end of the Second World War, the Trumanite union leaders have been consciously preparing their latest betrayal. They have tried to make

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Huge New Military Spending To Slash Living Standards

"The stern days ahead." These are the symbolic last words of Truman's radio talk on his new war bill. They are an ominous forecast of what the American people face in the program Truman outlined

on July 19 for the prosecution of his undeclared war in Korea and the tremendous expansion of the U. S. military machine.

Truman made clear that a new stage has been entered in American capitalism's preparations for World War III. America is to be put on a permanent war footing. Everything else will be subordinated to the single aim of mobilizing speedily and fully for global war.

Thus, the authoritative N. Y. Times bluntly described Truman's program as "a long and firm step toward complete mobilization for total war." Arthur Krock, Times columnist with a direct pipe-line to Truman, said that the President's Congressional and radio messages are "grim confirmations" that the stage of the "cold war" is "ended."

Truman's messages mean, said Krock, not only the complete militarization of the United States but "turning the rest of the world into an armed camp." The "normal process of civilian life in the United States... and Western Europe," he added, "are to be subordinated to the acquisition of military power for the foreseeable future."

The "good times" are over — except for the war profiteers. The war machine is to take immediately another \$10 billion to

be paid for by higher taxes. Rising prices and shortages are on the order of the day. Housing, health facilities, schools, automobiles, television sets — all the things the people need and want — are to be sacrificed to the war program.

JUST THE BEGINNING

Most of the press and radio commentators expressed "surprise" at the huge sum Truman asked Congress to appropriate immediately for the armed forces in addition to the more than \$14 billion already voted. They had predicted Truman would seek not more than \$5 billion. He demanded twice that amount and stressed it is only a beginning.

This sum, he explained, is intended not merely to wage the war in Korea but to increase "substantially" the armed forces "over and above the increases which are needed in Korea." The additional \$10 billion are only for "the needs of our own military forces," but "additional assistance" will be asked "to increase the strength of certain other free nations, whose security is vital to our own." These "free nations" include every fascist, imperialist, capitalist regime in the world.

Naturally, said Truman, the

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U.S. UNIONIST TELLS WHY KOREA HATES RHEE RULE

American imperialist propaganda is attempting to hide from the American people the fact that a genuine civil war is going on between the North Korean and South Korean

regimes and that the North Korean forces have the overwhelming support of the Korean people against the South Korean government of Syngman Rhee.

Why the Syngman Rhee government is almost universally detested by the Koreans and could not have survived a week without U. S. military support was revealed last week by no less an authority than Stanley Earl, an official ECA labor adviser in

Korea and former secretary-treasurer of the Oregon State CIO.

Earl, who threatened to "blow the lid off" the conditions in Korea, was interviewed by Federated Press correspondent Kathleen Cronin after his return on July 14 from Seoul. The Marshall Plan labor consultant revealed: "Last year the Rhee government put 150,000 people with families in jail. The prisons are bulging. I went through them, but no one else did."

WORKERS OPPRESSED

He describes the workers in South Korea as "oppressed, suppressed and regimented." The Rhee government "couldn't distinguish between communism and unionism." He spent half his time trying to get unionists he was supposed to be working with out of prison. "The people I worked with were continually being put into jail."

He added, "The workers had no faith in the corrupt union leadership of the government-controlled unions, or in the word of the government itself in adjudicating grievances."

The South Korean army leaders were so corrupt, Earl said, that he knew one South Korean division commander who charged his troops one million won a month for the use of their own mess hall. Just the day before the war began, he said, the Rhee army looted rice from the public, although the army warehouses were bulging with rice.

Under this corrupt regime which was being financed and armed by Washington, Earl reported, the average worker

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European Notebook

Our Alternative to the Schuman Plan

By Ernest Germain

The discussions unleashed by the Schuman Plan inside European working class organizations give the impression of hopeless conservatism and confusion associated for so many years with every utterance of the official labor movement. Continental reformists have come out openly for the support of that utterly reactionary plan, which is nothing but a conspiracy by the big French and German industrialists to drive down the living standards of the Western European masses to the wretched level of the German workers. Stalinists have attacked the plan in the name of "national sovereignty" — a reactionary myth whose real meaning is that the exploitation of the French workers must remain the monopoly of French capitalists.

The British Labor Party leaders have criticized the Schuman plan from an equally reactionary angle, in the interests of the British capitalist class in its struggle for markets with Uncle Sam and the poor relations on the continent, while paying lip service to the defense of the living standards of the British workers. Stalinist-controlled unions have denounced the plan as an "instrument of American warmongers"; the French CGT and the so-called "Free" (i.e. Stalinist) All-German Trade Union Federation have published a joint declaration to this effect. As for the reformist-led miners and metal workers unions of Western Europe, they have decided to endorse the plan while posing some "conditions" which have no chance of being taken seriously by anybody, including the authors themselves.

THE TROTSKYIST PLAN

There has therefore been no real working class answer to the Schuman Plan, defending the

common interests of the European workers against the conspiracy of the European industrialists, and it remained for the Fourth International to at least outline a working class alternative. This alternative is the concrete content of the central slogan of all European Fourth Internationalists — the Socialist United States of Europe, which counterposes a socialist and revolutionary policy to every one of the Schuman proposals.

The Schuman Plan is an answer to the burning question in European capitalist circles: how to dispose of an "overproduction" of coal and steel which is rapidly piling up in every Western European country. Two years ago a universal shortage of these basic raw materials was delaying reconstruction; today the universal shortage has given way to a universal glut. Industrialists look with growing uneasiness upon their own factories and the steady flow of goods leaving them. Stocks are piling up everywhere, the home market is shrinking because of the shrinking living standards of the workers, and exports are becoming tougher and tougher because of cut-throat competition.

The industrialists therefore want to "regulate" production and competition, to divide up markets; to arrange agreements among themselves (and on the back of the public) in order to prevent a sharp decline of prices and profits. That's why the Schuman Plan intends to build up a "pool" (read: a cartel) of the Western European steel and coal industries.

PLANNED ECONOMY

To these preoccupations of a capitalist market economy, the program of the Socialist United States of Europe opposes the

solutions of a socialist planned economy. To the workers and the public bewildered by the figures and speeches which the bourgeois "specialists" throw at them, the revolutionists must say: "Let's replace the problem of markets with the problem of wants and needs. Let's not get a headache figuring out how a dozen billionaire monopolists can be assured of their 'fair profits,' but let's draw up instead a list of all the wants and needs of the common peoples of Europe and let's see how we can satisfy them."

Such a list would be the first step towards a planned European economy. It should be drafted by democratically elected representatives of the workers, poor peasants and the housewives in every country. It would expose the shameless lie of "overproduction," for while the capitalists are talking about a "glut," millions of European families lack adequate houses, even primitive furniture, even relatively adequate clothing — without speaking about bicycles, motorcycles, radio sets, electrical gadgets, automobiles and other products of our present technology.

The industrialists who worked out the Schuman Plan in order to guarantee themselves high prices and high profits can't see another road toward "stabilization" than the rationalization of industries on a European scale, i.e. the closing down of factories in countries where wages are high in favor of factories in countries where wages are lower. (At this very moment, the biggest Belgian trust, Societe Generale, has closed down a large ship-repairing wharf at Antwerp, throwing several thousands of the most militant Belgian workers out of their jobs while a shipowners' company controlled by the same

trust has sent its ships to be repaired at the German wharves of Bremerhaven, where wages are much lower and where there is no permanent threat of "labor trouble.") The Schuman Plan in action would mean restriction of production, widespread unemployment and the growing poverty of the working class population in several countries — all this in order to prevent "overproduction."

A SOCIALIST EUROPE

The Socialist United States of Europe, on the contrary, would take the listed needs of 500 million Europeans and would draft the complete inventory of all European productive capacities. It would then calculate which part of these minimum needs of the working population could be immediately fulfilled with the existing facilities, and how many new facilities had to be built in order to fulfill all the listed needs. Consequently, it would work out a program of expansion of light and heavy industry. Every single worker and peasant would be kept busy — producing a higher standard of living for all the toiling masses of the continent.

And instead of bothering about "foreign markets," the Socialist United States of Europe would immediately set free all the oppressed colonial and semi-colonial peoples of Africa, Asia and Oceania, and would offer them help to build a new life in the shape of gifts and grants of plant and agricultural and industrial equipment. In exchange for these gifts of liberty and prosperity, the peoples of these continents would be only too willing to provide a Socialist Europe with most of the raw materials and food products which are lacking there.

TRY TO SQUARE CIRCLE

The Schuman Plan desperately tries to square the circle: Keeping profits high in a shrinking market through a shrinking production. The only way out of this vicious circle is to increase the production. Arms are made to be used. The more the capitalist governments of Western Europe spend on armament, the more arms will they use in their present wars against the colonial peoples struggling for emancipation, the quicker will they prepare a war of aggression against the Soviet Union.

For this reason alone the Schuman Plan completely ties Western Europe to the imperialist purposes of Wall Street and

thereby helps the Kremlin to weld more closely the ranks of the Communist Parties and of the masses of the USSR around the Soviet bureaucracy, threatened by the aggressive policy of world capitalism. The Schuman Plan therefore appears as a means of perpetuating the cold war and taking a big step forward — on the road toward a shooting war.

The Socialist United States of Europe, offering freedom to the oppressed peoples of the East and prosperity to the masses of Europe, would completely reverse the present world situation and rapidly put an end to the cold war. Socialist Europe would offer the masses of the Stalinist-dominated Eastern European countries so many advantages that, linked with the crisis in the CP's of these countries and with the revolutionary upsurge unleashed over the whole continent, socialism would sweep to the very borders of the USSR.

POLITICAL EFFECTS

It is very doubtful that such an upsurge would halt at these borders. It would in any case exercise a powerful attraction on the Soviet peoples and undermine the basis of the Stalinist dictatorship. As for its repercussions on the American scene, they would be incalculable. Everywhere in the world pessimism, desperate passivity and reaction would be conquered by a conscious struggle for a brighter future for all mankind.

The Schuman Plan is based on a "cartel" of European industry under capitalist ownership and capitalist management. Under this set-up mankind can expect nothing but misery and decay. The program of the Socialist United States of Europe is the program of collective ownership and working class management of European industry. These are the conditions that open up for the whole world the road toward peace, plenty and progress.

That is why the Socialist United States of Europe is more than a revolutionary alternative to the Schuman Plan. It is the common denominator of all revolutionary policies today in Europe. It will slowly but surely be assimilated by the advanced layers of the European working class through all the negative experiences of today, and through the magnificent positive example of Yugoslavia. When this assimilation becomes a fact, the victory of socialism will be put on the agenda, in Europe and in the world.

What Radio Listeners Write About Hansen Talk on ABC

Following are some of the comments from the scores of letters and postcards received by the Socialist Workers Party in the first mail after Joseph Hansen's speech over the ABC network on "World Empire or World Socialism" on July 15. Only three of the letters were unfavorable; we print parts of two, the third being unprintable.

I tuned in accidentally on your talk over ABC this afternoon. It was inspiring to hear someone dare to say over the radio what several of my friends and I have been thinking and saying in the privacy of our homes. I am sure there are many more like us. All Protestants, we are also deeply disturbed over the great influence of the Vatican in the administration's foreign policy and its encroachment on our educational system. I am enclosing my check for \$2. Please send me 8 copies of your address.

Mrs. V. D. Austin, Tex.

Enclosed please find 10¢ for which please send me a copy of Mr. Joseph Hansen's speech. It came in very clear away down here, relayed I suppose. I have some friends that I think would be benefited if shown a copy of that speech.

H. A. F. Key West, Fla.

Please send a copy. I enjoyed his speech very much and my views are exactly the same as that of the future Senator. Thank you and hope you are successful in your fine work.

P. B. Lackawanna, N.Y.

Listened to Mr. Hansen's talk Saturday afternoon and would greatly appreciate a copy of his speech. It made good sense.

Mrs. J. E. Dobbs Ferry, N.Y.

I would like a copy of the speech delivered by your Senatorial candidate. I was fascinated by the way the speech was delivered.

H. M. New Haven, Conn.

Please send me a copy of the splendid radio address Saturday afternoon.

J. T. Newport, R. I.

E. & L. C. New York City

Please send me a copy of your speech today. I have three sons, age 24 to 30, and am very worried. Are all the rulers gone MAD? I would also like a trial copy of your paper.

M. B. Z. Jackson, Mo.

If you expect to delude the people with such drivel as you promulgated over the air waves this date, you must have a very low opinion of their intelligence. One can only infer that you and your followers would disfavor the dissemination of education and factual information.

R. G. I. Chapel Hill, N.C.

I oppose Socialism and its program of "fare-thee-well" and "individual - incentive - killing" Welfare Management of our daily bread by crack-pot political bureaucrats who are expert only in waste, confusion, inefficiency and parasitic extravagance. I am for the American Way of Life.

J. T. D. Flushing, N.Y.

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\$10,000 Militant Fund Is Completed on Time; Thanks to Our Readers!

By Reba Aubrey
Fund Campaign Manager

The three-month campaign for a \$10,000 fund to help publish The Militant scored a smashing success. On July 18 when the scoreboard was posted for the last time, the grand total was \$10,198.

The scoreboard tells only the last part of the story — that all the Socialist Workers Party branches and friends of The Militant fulfilled their quotas IN FULL AND ON TIME. The other part of the story behind each 100% completed quota is the sacrifices that made this success possible. The friends of The Militant know how important it is to get the message of socialism to the working people. They know that The Militant has no wealthy advertisers or big financial interests behind it as does the capitalist press, and that it depends on the generous contributions of its readers to keep rolling off the press regularly throughout the year.

The campaign finished with Flint in first place. Detroit, St. Louis, Buffalo, and Newark likewise completed their quota over 100%. But each and every branch wins top honors for the extra push and effort that put the finishing punch in the campaign.

Detroit is above Youngstown but only thanks to a repayment of solidarity and support by the steel town to the auto center. In the last campaign when Youngstown was hit by the steel strike, Detroit shouldered part of its obligation. Now when the Detroit auto workers were pinched by the struggle against the Chrysler Corporation, Youngstown promised to help out. The \$79 beyond their quota was credited to Detroit at Youngstown's request.

We believe that the letter just received from Philadelphia gives a good indication of the determination of all to make this campaign a 100% success. Comrade Alma writes: "Well, we made it! The chances looked pretty slim

MILITANT FUND SCOREBOARD

Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
Flint	\$ 175	\$ 228	130
Detroit	800	879	110
St. Louis	50	53	106
Buffalo	400	417	104
Newark	350	350	103
St. Paul-Minneapolis	750	752	100
Akron	75	75	100
Allentown	40	40	100
Boston	175	175	100
Chicago	350	350	100
Cleveland	250	250	100
Connecticut	50	50	100
Los Angeles	1,300	1,300	100
Lynn	50	50	100
Milwaukee	150	150	100
New York	2,500	2,500	100
Oakland	100	100	100
Philadelphia	300	300	100
Pittsburgh	150	150	100
San Francisco	700	700	100
Seattle	150	150	100
Toledo	50	50	100
West Virginia	25	25	100
Worcester	30	30	100
Youngstown	850	350	100
General	680	714	105
Total through July 18	\$10,000	\$10,198	102

for awhile, but as usual, the comrades put forth that last extra effort and now we're busting our vests because we lined up to the slogan: IN, FULL AND ON TIME."

Ten branches of the Socialist Workers Party were awarded a recording of four revolutionary songs — Whirlwinds of Danger, The Locomotive, To Labor, and May Day Song. This recording by the Militant Chorus went to those branches as the first ones to complete their quotas. We wish we could have awarded more recordings, as every branch certainly deserves one for the success it scored. But the ten recordings went to the first to get under the wire and they were: Pittsburgh, Flint, St. Louis,

West Virginia, Buffalo, Youngstown, Boston, Allentown, New York, and Connecticut.

Our special thanks to the many friends of The Militant who rallied with nickels, dimes, quarters and that green-colored folding money to push the "General" quota over the top to 105%. A number of contributions remain to be acknowledged:

H. C. of Cincinnati sent in \$5 with this comment: "This is simply the best I can do at this time."

W. C. of Canada contributed \$7 to renew his subscription, the balance "to help The Militant."

S. A. M. of Portland, Oregon, mailed in \$2 "to be added to the 'General' quota" and he wishes us "more power!"

D. McC. of Chicago sent in \$5.

Once again, our warmest thanks to all who helped to make this campaign a rousing success. And now just to end on the proper note, we'd like to call your attention to the subscription campaign reported below in the Militant Army.

Without waiting for the glow of the successful financial campaign to wear off, let's roll up our sleeves and slam this one over the fence too. Let's see how many new readers we can get for America's leading socialist weekly!

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'Welfare State' — Or Socialism? (Part V)

Government 'Cushions'—For War, Not Welfare

By Art Preis

With production outstripping domestic and foreign markets, with profitable capital outlets shrinking at home and abroad, what can keep American capitalist economy from eventually suffering a jarring fall? The "welfare staters" answer — government "cushions."

The "cushions" they point to are such measures as unemployment compensation, old-age pensions, etc. But does anyone honestly believe that the few billions spent for social palliatives are holding up American capitalism?

In 1939 Roosevelt utterly failed to end the depression though he spent triple the amount the government expended in 1929, mostly on welfare measures. Roosevelt had to turn to all-out war-spending that totalled nearly \$400 billion in four years to revive American capitalism.

The Truman administration's program of "compensatory spending" is likewise based wholly on war preparations. If government war-spending were stopped or limited, the American economy would collapse overnight.

Edward G. Nourse, former president of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, admitted: "If the prospects for peace had improved or even not grown worse, through 1947 and 1948 our ability to adjust our economy to the requirements of sustained peacetime prosperity would progressively have been put to the test in one industry after another."

The real nature of U.S. capitalism's "cushions" was explained even more clearly by the Feb. 17 U.S. News: "Auto industry won't always be geared to a 6 million car-and-truck basis. Apartment building boom will have to level off sometime. House building is to reach a temporary saturation point some day. . . (But) armaments always can be pushed if private activity slows. War scares are easy to create, are nearly sure-fire producers of (government) money for more and more arms."

War Budget Effect on Welfare

Walter Reuther contended at the 1950 ADA convention that the country must "build adequate military defense and a program of social action at home. . . adequate defense plus a social offensive here and abroad." Reuther does not propose to reduce arms spending in order to increase welfare spending. Nowhere has he opened his mouth against Truman's 1951 war budget or the billion dollars Congress has added to it. When he says the government must also increase its welfare spending, it is calculated demagoguery. For he knows as well as anyone that it is precisely the staggering war budget that prohibits any significant outlays for social welfare and security.

The debt load on the American people already defies comprehension. Private debt has doubled since the end of the war and is twice what it was in 1929. The total of all debt, federal, state and private has reached nearly \$650 billion! That's more than the assessed value of the whole United States, including all its farms, factories, mines, railroads, homes, schools, hospitals, public buildings. Citing this colossal debt, the March 25 Business Week observed gloomily: "If the economic trapdoor opened under us, today's high debt could be the noose to hang us."

War financing has already piled up a \$257 billion federal debt as of June 1950. The American people pay nearly \$6 billion a year just in interest on this debt to the financiers. But that's just the beginning. Debts have to be paid when they mature, unless the government is to declare bankruptcy. This year the Treasury had to pay off only about a billion dollars to amortize matured debt. But the big flood is yet to come. In 1952, it will have to pay off over \$4 billion; in

1954, \$9 billion. By 1955, the annual cost of maturation will be larger than this year's total government spending for all non-war purposes, including welfare.

According to the "welfare state" theory of government "compensatory spending" and "cushions," the government increases its debt and "primes the pump" with deficit spending in bad times; it pays off the debt in good times when revenues are supposed to provide a surplus over expenditures. But this process is now IN REVERSE. At the very peak of the business boom, the government is rolling the federal debt up higher and higher. It is engaged in deficit spending; its expenditures are higher than its revenues.

And the end is not in sight. When asked at a Senate hearing on the foreign arms program whether war spending would be lowered, Secretary of State Acheson replied: "I think that the most honest answer would be that in the immediate future it might be increased. . . we have to put more, rather than less, effort into the defense field." (That was before the Korean war began.)

They Prefer Arms Spending

Even if the American capitalists did not have the pretext of Stalin's "aggressions" to justify their war spending, the capitalist "welfare state" would still try to prop up the profit system through military preparations rather than welfare spending.

Armaments and militarism mean, as they say, a "fast buck" and an unlimited market. Arms don't pile up to a "saturation" point. They become quickly obsolete; they are speedily used up in war; you can never get enough of them, because you never know whether the "enemy" has more than you have. And who will count the cost — or quibble about profits — when the country is in "danger" and the "first job" is to "speed the ammunition?"

But suppose the government stopped buying up vast quantities of materials for war, suppose all the steel and chemicals and oil now wasted for war purposes were suddenly made available for civilian consumption? The supply of all these materials would become tremendous. Artificial scarcities — and high prices — would disappear overnight. Standard Oil and U.S. Steel and DuPont would suffer a tremendous sag in their war-inflated profits.

And suppose the government took the money it now spends for war and put it into low-cost housing, schools, hospitals? How long would the housing and building shortage last? What would happen to the exorbitant profits of the construction and real estate interests, to the landlords' high rents for tenements, if there were enough decent homes for everyone? A plentiful supply of modern houses might be a great boon to the people, but it would represent catastrophe to the profiteers.

It would be no less a catastrophe for the monopolists if the government provided the aged with the pensions of decent living and the unemployed with adequate aid. Would the workers in the factories, mills and mines stand for low wages, speed-up, long hours, the arrogance and abuse of the bosses, if they did not fear starvation? It is the whip of hunger and insecurity, the sight of the miserable unemployed outside the factory gate, that keeps the workers toiling on the belt-line turning out huge profits for the capitalists.

That is why the capitalist class fights adequate welfare programs tooth and nail. That is why the capitalist "welfare state" — devoted first of all to capitalist profits — will not provide more than the meanest hand-out when workers are jobless or too old for the speed-up.

(Next Week: CLASS STRUGGLE vs CLASS COLLABORATION)

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TROTSKY

"The capitalist world has no way out, unless a prolonged death agony is so considered. It is necessary to prepare for long years, if not decades, of war, uprisings, brief interludes of truce, new wars and new uprisings. A young revolutionary party must base itself on this perspective. History will provide it with enough opportunities and possibilities to test itself, to accumulate experience and to mature. The swifter the ranks of the vanguard are fused the more the epoch of bloody convulsions will be shortened, the less destruction will our planet suffer. But the great historical problem will not be solved in any case until a revolutionary party stands at the head of the proletariat."

— Leon Trotsky, Imperialist War and Proletarian Revolution, 1940.



LENIN

By Fred Hart

The new law in Yugoslavia to establish workers control and management of industry has the Cominform press screaming in rage. This historic step forward toward socialism by the Yugoslav people is being greeted by the Kremlin with a slander campaign of unrestrained ferocity. Why?

Every move of the Yugoslav people toward breaking down bureaucracy and furthering democratic workers' rule exposes the totalitarian nature of the regimes in the Soviet Union and Stalin's satellite countries. Nothing can be more damaging to Stalinism, in the long run, than the growing contrast between Yugoslavia under the Tito government and the Soviet Union and eastern Europe under Stalin.

What will the workers in the Stalinist-ruled lands think when they learn that Yugoslavia, far from being the "fascist capitalist imperialist" country described by Moscow, is doing what no capitalist country has done or would ever do, namely, place direct control and management of industry in the hands of the workers?

Certainly it will expose the Cominform slanders about the nature of the regime in Yugoslavia and arouse the sympathies of the workers and peasants under Stalinist rule. It will inspire them to emulate the revolutionary example of Yugoslavia and throw off the Stalinist yoke.

FRENZIED VITUPERATION

Hence, the July 7 issue of the Cominform organ, the mis-called *For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy*, goes into paroxysms of vituperation against this latest revolutionary development in Yugoslavia.

This move against bureaucracy and to strengthen democratic control by the workers, which is the greatest guarantee against a restoration of capitalism, is described by the Cominform as nothing less than "a law annulling the nationalization of enterprises" and "another step towards restoring capitalism in Yugoslavia."

But was it not the Tito regime itself that led the struggle of the Yugoslav workers and peasants from the beginning, kicked out the monarchy, introduced nationalizations on a scale far more sweeping than anywhere in Eastern Europe, wiped out the capitalist class? How does this square with the conduct of any fascist regime, which is the naked dictatorship of the capitalist class?

Ah, says the Cominform sheet, it was all a very slick trick. The "Tito clique," you see, "had to adopt measures such as nationalization of industry and transport to mislead the working people and to establish itself in power."

"SLICK TRICK"

So the Tito regime and the Yugoslav Communist Party, which until two years ago formed part of the Cominform itself, proceeded to wipe out the capitalist state, capitalist property and the capitalist class itself, as a measure of establishing — fascism! Such is the nonsense being peddled by the Cominform.

The contradictions in the Cominform article stand out like neon lights. On the one hand, it speaks of the law for workers control of industry as merely a "step toward restoring capitalism in Yugoslavia." On the other, it claims that "private enterprise has been given full reign. . . private enterprise has been openly restored and the country has been placed under the complete control of the American monopolies."

Strange, is it not, that this "fascist capitalist imperialist" country under "the complete control of the American monopolies" was the only country represented in the United Nations Security Council to vote against American armed intervention in Korea?

ROLE OF THE STATE

But the Cominform paper is not halted by contradictions. On the theme that workers control of industry means a "step toward restoration of capitalism" it asks, "But can the Yugoslav fascists immediately, by means of a single decree, completely restore private ownership in industry?" And it answers, "Of course not." To do so would "mean provoking a direct revolt on the part of the working class." Hence, Tito must resort to a "round-about way."

This "round-about way" is nothing less than "talk about abolishing bureaucracy, 'enhancing the role' of the working class, transferring enterprises, railways and mines to 'labor collectives,' stupid, ignorant talk about the dying away of the State! . . ."

This talk, says *For a Lasting Peace*, etc., is just a smoke screen for a program which "resembles in every detail the fascist corporatist system of Mussolini." Let us see.

The new law in Yugoslavia provides that in every single factory and enterprise the workers are to elect by secret ballot their own workers councils.

These democratically-elected workers committees are to establish from their own membership management committees which are to direct the enterprises in all phases, planning, supervision of the books and records, allocation of work, working conditions, operations, etc.

THE NEW LAW

The law provides that no outside management is permitted in any plants, which are to be under the direct control and management of the workers — and only the workers. Where was that ever seen in any capitalist state, fascist or so-called democratic?

The "corporate state" of Mussolini maintained private ownership of the means of production and deprived the workers of all voice in industry. Certainly, no one ever heard Mussolini talk about "abolishing bureaucracy" and the "dying away of the state."

In its scornful references to these latter points, the Cominform mouth-piece reveals the deepest source of its frenzy. This is the greatest sore-spot to the Kremlin. Every person who has the slightest acquaintance with Marxism knows that under socialism the state and its institutions for control or suppression, along with all forms of bureaucracy, must "wither away" as the working people assume the full administration of the economy.

But under Stalin's "socialism" the state and the bureaucratic apparatus of suppression appears in its most monstrous form, an ever-growing totalitarian weight on the masses, crushing all initiative, all rights. The idea of workers control is intolerable to the Stalin bureaucracy, which long ago destroyed the workers control established in the Soviet Union by Lenin and Trotsky.

IDEA IS INTOLERABLE

So today, the Kremlin autocrats must assail workers control of industry as its very opposite, the "restoration of capitalism." It must attack all talk of workers control, abolishing bureaucracy and reducing the function of the state as the "raving of lunatics" like that "blockhead and ignoramus Tito."

But this will not alter the enthusiasm with which the Yugoslav masses have greeted this new measure of class power and workers democracy. Nor will it persuade the oppressed workers under Stalinism that what is developing in Yugoslavia is not to be infinitely more desired than what they are now "enjoying."

WHY NEHRU ENGAGES IN MEDIATION AND IRRITATES U.S. IMPERIALISTS

By Paul G. Stevens

On July 13 the Indian Ambassador to Washington, Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, submitted to the State Department a note from her government relative to Korea. A similar note was handed to the Foreign Ministry at Moscow by the Indian plenipotentiary there. The texts of these diplomatic messages were not immediately made public. But it was understood that India proposed to the two big powers a concrete basis for a settlement of the Korean war.

Although no official reply was forthcoming for several days, the State Department lost no time in voicing its displeasure with the initiative of the Indian government. In the manner of overlords waving aside an annoying interjection by a vassal, a Department spokesman bluntly stated to the press that its "rock bottom" demand would be a return to the conditions that prevailed "before the North Koreans crossed the 38th Parallel."

NOT IN THE MOOD

In other words, the reply to India is that the United States will sit down to talk peace only on its own terms, i.e., the basis of unconditional surrender to its declared military objective in the Korean war. Obviously Washington just isn't in the mood to negotiate.

What the U. S. imperialists want from India are not irritating mediation attempts. They want compliance with the "United Nations request" for token troops in Korea. As a Times editorial writer puts it, Asian troops are needed to prevent the Soviet Union from "convincing Asia that this is a war of 'Western Imperialism.'"

Washington's slap in the face for the Nehru government, particularly while Moscow slyly accepts India's mediation offer, is hardly calculated to put American imperialism's all-out power drive in Asia in a better light. Nor is the arrogant saber-rattling in Washington going to facilitate Prime Minister Nehru's task of

lining up Asian governments with the Western powers while continuing to preach "independence of action" in the struggle between the "two power blocs."

Actually, the notes to Washington and Moscow were undoubtedly in part designed by Jawaharlal Nehru to offset the damage to his prestige among the anti-imperialist masses of India and the Far East brought on by his endorsement of and association with the hated colonial regimes in the UN on the Korean war.

CAUTIOUS MOVES

While the new rulers of India, the native capitalists and landlords whom the Nehru government represents, have strong economic ties to Anglo-American capitalism, they have experienced at first hand the insurgent mood of Asia's millions following World War II. Apart from advantages and concessions they may seek to extort in the present situation, they have to take into account the repercussions and even dangers of outright cooperation with Washington and London. They must move cautiously, probing the ground under their feet with every step.

They feel the power of this mass insurgency in Asia and desire to ride its crest in a bid for an independent role in the world political struggle. But their actual economic and political dependence on Western Imperialism forces them to retreat as they have in bowing to Washington's injunction against neutrals.

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At the same time, the whole political situation in the Far East impels the Indian bourgeoisie to repeated attempts to maneuver between the two power blocs. For while its economy is threatened without Wall Street credits, its very existence is at stake if it loses the confidence of the masses.

This explains the seemingly inconsistent course followed by the Nehru regime — both its endorsement of Wall Street's UN-rubber-stamp war in Korea as well as Nehru's mediation notes to the State Department and the Kremlin.

THE ASIAN VOLCANO

Stalin understands only too well the dilemma of the Indian bourgeoisie and is more than ready to pay the price of bolstering its sway over the workers and peasants of that country in return for the slightest concessions to his Great Power politics. The Labor Party bureaucracy, which is defending the interests of British capitalism also appreciates the difficulties of India's new rulers and is itself far from enthusiastic over the prospect of being sucked too deeply into the American imbroglio in Korea, as is indicated by its own reluctance to send token troops and the conversations between its Moscow ambassador and Gromyko. Only the power-drunk Knights of the Atom Bomb blind themselves to the dangers and explosive power of the volcano into which they have leaped in Asia.

Washington's blustering rejection of the Nehru note merely serves to emphasize more sharply than ever the ruthless drive of American capitalism for the conquest of Asia, without which its dreams of the "American Century," i.e., of world dominion, must go a-glimmering. This can only add fuel to the flames of hatred for Western imperialism which our overlords have stirred up in Asia. It is more necessary than ever for the American working class to demonstrate to the masses everywhere that it has nothing in common with its rulers and all their monstrous works.

DOBBS URGES LABOR TO BUILD OWN PARTY

(Cont. from page 1)

was the policy of the Socialist Workers Party — the Socialist Workers Party alone.

But those who had the power to make this fateful decision — the leaders of the CIO, of the AFL and of the Negro people — chose a different road, the road of submission, impotence, defeat and reaction.

They counselled the people to accept for good coin the demagoguery of Harry Truman, the arch-hypocrite among American politicians today. They who had the power to establish a mighty independent party of labor sold the votes of the working people to the Democratic Party for a mess of promises.

The full measure of this betrayal is only now becoming apparent. The road of American politics in the past two years is littered with the broken promises of Harry Truman.

The Taft-Hartley Law remains on the statute books. The Democratic Party has so completely forgotten about the slave-labor law that the CIO-endorsed Democratic governor of Ohio has announced that he is considering the support of Senator Robert Taft, the arch foe of organized labor.

Genuine civil rights legislation has been effectively killed in Congress. And even the show-window FEPC law has suffered a slow death in the Senate.

The housing program and social security laws are pure farce, nothing but crumbs from the table of the wealthiest and most prosperous capitalists in the world.

"Fair Deal" Becomes War Deal

Never in the history of our country has there been an administration so generous in its promises and so trifling in its performance.

Never in our history have the labor leaders given such unqualified support to an administration which has been so brazen an instrument of the big monopoly interests. In the brief span of two years the "Fair Deal" has degenerated into a "war deal."

It began pouring billions of dollars of Marshall Plan money and Atlantic Pact arms into Europe and Asia to support unpopular governments, tottering capitalists, hated dictators, racketeers, swindlers and parasites.

The results are now clear for all to see on the blood-soaked battlefields of Korea.

Truman did not bother to ask the American people whether they wanted to become involved in a war in Asia. He did not bother to submit his decision to Congress as is required under the Constitution. He did not stop to consult the labor movement which put him into office and has so much at stake in the undeclared war. He took the power in his own hands and ordered the people to fall into line.

And this too has been consistent with the evolution of the Democratic administration. Truman has filled the air with promises of a Welfare State millennium; but the reality has been a steady drift toward a police state.

"Loyalty" purges and witch-hunting have become commonplace, daily occurrences invading all walks of life, from government service to the schools and universities to private employment. The FBI is being built up into an omnipotent political police. The courts are grinding out decisions which trample on the Bill of Rights. They are making the expression of minority opinion and criticism a crime.

Attacks on Our Democratic Rights

This attack against our democratic rights is aimed first and foremost against organized labor. Big Business wants the working people to shoulder the burden and the costs of its drive for world profits and world empire. It wants a docile and helpless trade union movement which will meekly submit to a break-neck speed-up and feudal discipline in the plants and factories, and to a lower standard of living. Above all it needs a war situation to carry out these anti-labor plans.

Look at the vicious way Truman ordered the army to break the AFL switchmen's strike on the Rock Island Railroad a week ago.

The strike was entirely legal. The railroad workers had complied with every detail of the delaying and hamstringing procedure of the Railway Labor Act — the predecessor of the Taft-Hartley Law. But the switchmen wanted too much. They wanted a 40 hour week. Eight hours less toil for the profit-bloated railroad magnates has become as criminal a demand as the demand for freedom and independence by the peoples of Asia.

The switchmen were the first casualty of the undeclared war in Korea. But they will not be the last.

Even now the plans are being completed in Washington for a mobilization bill which will place the working people in a strait-jacket of regimentation. Wages will be frozen. Workers' will be bound to their jobs. Strikes will be outlawed. "Dollar-a-year" industrialists will administer the plan in the interests of Big Business and the Big Brass.

Now Is Time for Organized Resistance

It is time to sound the alarm. The creeping encroachments of the police state have become a present danger. The assault against the labor movement is reaching menacing proportions.

The capitulation of cowardly labor leaders will not buy immunity for the workers from the contemplated attacks by Big Business and Big Government.

As the entire history of the working class shows, attacks have never been beaten back by compliance and surrender. They can only be defeated by resistance, organized resistance.

The independence of the labor movement is the first requirement for this struggle.

Labor must preserve its right to strike. It must free itself from the crushing embrace of government arbitration and fact-finding boards.

It must take upon itself the defense of the democratic rights of all. And as a first step it must stop the purges and the witch-hunts in the unions themselves.

Above all it must smash the chains that bind it to the parties of Big Business and build its own party — a labor party that will take the road to a Workers and Farmers government, to prosperity, security, freedom and peace for the working people of America and of the entire world.

The Socialist Workers Party summons you, the working people, to fight for this program in the 1950 Congressional elections. It is on this program that we urge you to support and vote for our candidates when you go to the polls in November.

The fate of the nation is in the hands of labor. It alone can stop the fatal drift toward war and dictatorship. The working people must act.

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The Cost of Empire Today

In the first stage of American armed intervention in the Korean civil war, the capitalist press and radio uniformly described it as a "little" war, scarcely more than the "police action" which Truman called it. The idea was conveyed that no one had to be concerned, so long as the war could be "contained" in Korea. If the fighting were limited to this small backward country, it would cost America little.

The very use of the phrase "police action" by Truman showed the attitude of the American imperialists. A few American troops in Korea would "straighten things out" in short order.

Like all imperialists, the American capitalists look on colonial peoples like the Koreans as sub-humans, fit only to be ruled and exploited by some rich, industrially-powerful capitalist nation — preferably the U.S.A.

But less than a month of the Korean events sufficed to blast the arrogant assumption that a war against any colonial people fighting for their national independence is just a pushover, a "little" war.

Today, the tone has changed. The press, the officials in Washington, the generals now speak of the possibility that the American armed forces will be driven out of Korea altogether. They talk now about "mobilizing our resources," "going on a war footing," "making sacrifices" so that the U.S. armed forces might be

able "to mount a counter-offensive" next November or in the spring. In short, this "little" war, even if limited to Korea, is turning into a big war, costly in American lives and resources.

We are finding out that times have changed since the British empire was founded with a small expenditure of troops in a series of small colonial wars spread over hundreds of years. Today, the invasion and seizure of colonies is an extremely dangerous and expensive proposition.

The colonial peoples are in revolt and their number is legion. American armies in Korea, or anywhere else in Asia, are confronting a revolutionary tide, millions upon millions of people who are fighting for a cause they believe in and for which they are ready to lay down their lives.

The American boys being sent over to die in Korea are completely surrounded by a hostile people. Their guns do not intimidate but only inflame the populace. They are learning in blood the difference between subduing a passive people and an armed people in revolt.

An atom-bomb war with a major power like the Soviet Union may be the biggest and most frightful of all wars. But no war is "little" today. Before American imperialism can conquer even backward colonial peoples, it will have to wade through oceans of blood and despoil the American people themselves to pay for such conquest.

Progressive Party in Crisis

Among the rank and file of the Progressive Party, especially its youth, there are many who are neither Stalinists nor personal followers of Wallace. They joined the Progressives in the mistaken belief that this party would prove an effective means of fighting for peace and for a better world. Most of them sincerely want to struggle against war; their sentiments are anti-capitalist.

The complete unmasking of Wallace as an ally of the imperialist warmakers now confronts them with the fateful choice of what road to follow. Politically the Progressive Party is now a corpse and it is merely a question of time before it is buried formally.

Wallace and his personal followers have made their choice. It is the camp of capitalism and war. So far as the Stalinists are concerned, their choice is a foregone conclusion. They will continue to follow blindly the commands of the Kremlin bureaucracy, no matter what blows are thereby dealt to the struggle against war and to the cause of socialism.

The most insidious argument the Stalinists use is that whoever breaks with them inescapably falls into the embraces of imperialism. Hitler never invented a bigger lie than this lie that the only choice is between imperialism and Stalinism. The true choice is entirely different.

It is the choice between capitalism and socialism, with which Stalinism has nothing in common.

Whoever chooses the cause of revolutionary socialism remains the most consistent enemy of imperialism. This has been proved beyond the shadow of a doubt by the Trotskyist movement which has fought irreconcilably against both imperialism and Stalinism for more than a quarter of a century.

And the most recent demonstration of this came, appropriately enough, simultaneously with Wallace's pro-war declaration. On the front page we carry an appeal to all radical workers issued last week by the National Legislative Convention of the Socialist Workers Party. Its anti-imperialist, anti-war and pro-socialist position is principled and unambiguous. It is worlds apart not only from Wallace and his followers but also from the Stalinists and their counter-revolutionary politics.

These two events of the last week-end — Wallace's pro-war proclamation and the revolutionary appeal of the Socialist Workers Party — dramatically point up the real choice before the Progressive rank and file. To effectively fight war, it is necessary to fight capitalism itself, it is necessary to embrace the cause of socialism to which the Socialist Workers Party is dedicated.

GREEN INVITES WAR DICTATORSHIP

(Continued from Page 1)

organized labor goose-step to every command of the U. S. State Department and the militarists.

They hailed Truman's use of the atom bomb on Japan. They cheered the Truman Doctrine and the "cold war." They peddled the Marshall Plan. They approved the action of Truman and Stalin that sliced Korea in two. They backed the North Atlantic military alliance and the tens of billions spent on war preparations.

LIKE SCARED RABBITS

At the same time, they have run like scared rabbits before the blows of reaction. They opposed any militant fight against enactment of the Taft-Hartley Act and speedily capitulated to it once it was passed. They have consistently covered up for Truman's brutal strikebreaking under the Taft-Hartley Act and kept virtually silent when he ordered the Army, after the outbreak of war in Korea, to smash the strike

of AFL switchmen on the railroads.

Even as they are preparing to sell the workers down the river, some of the union leaders still pretend to a certain concern about the threat of reaction. Thus, Allan L. Swim, editor of the CIO News, takes a little time off from his red-baiting and war-mongering to complain in the July 10 issue that "with the Korean war creating fear throughout the world" there is "a real threat — a real possibility" that the "fascist-minded and reactionaries" may "set us back years in our quest for greater freedom in our fight for broadened civil liberties."

These reactionaries, writes Swim, are saying, "Yes, sir, we've really got to crack down on our subversive elements. Our loyalty tests must be harder to pass. More people should be required to sign loyalty pledges. And, of course, labor unions would be brought under strict controls because, after all, they harbor many subversives."

Swim here admits that the union leaders are perfectly conscious of what is in store for labor in the war program. But that doesn't stop these labor officials from supporting that program and carrying through their own witch-hunt inside the unions against anyone who dares to oppose Truman's war policies.

On the very day Swim's editorial was published, the majority of leaders of CIO United Auto Workers Ford Local 600 adopted a motion to force the 650 elected and appointed officers and committeemen in the local to sign a pledge of support to Truman's undeclared imperialist war in Korea.

In the name of another "war for democracy" whose aim includes Wall Street conquest of hundreds of millions of colonial peoples, the union leaders like Green are moving to perpetrate their greatest betrayal of American labor.

Let the People Decide

By William E. Bohannon
SWP Candidate for Congress, 11th District, N. J.

As The Militant has already pointed out several times, the United States was put into the war in Korea by a single individual's decision. Congress was not consulted or asked for its consent, even though it was in session and evidently ready to endorse any imperialist adventure in the interests of the capitalist class.

The same kind of thing is happening in the field of American politics at home, and was happening even before the present war began. In the case of the "loyalty" purge also, a single individual's decision created a "subversive" blacklist which semi-outlawed scores of organizations in political opposition to the administration. There too Congress was not consulted, although it supports the purge almost unanimously.

And it should be remembered that last year the administration openly took the position that it was not necessary for Congress to grant the President strike-breaking injunction powers because, Truman claimed, such powers were already "inherent" in the Presidency.

If we add these usurpations of power together, they disclose a steady trend toward rule-by-decree. Some people might call it the growth of a Bonapartist tendency; others might prefer the term "police-state." But whatever designation is used, this trend is unmistakably in a direction counter to the democratic process. (And these violators of the Constitution have the nerve to include on their "subversive" list working class organizations which they charge want to change the government by "other than constitutional means.")

It is not merely the flouting of the Constitution that we object to and warn against in these cases. Even more urgent is the danger that was pointed to in last week's front page Militant editorial — that if Truman can put the country into a "little" war on his own initiative, the precedent is being set for him to try the same thing in the case of a full-scale world war. If on his own say-so, Truman can make outcasts of the

members of opposition political parties, what is going to stop him from going further and outlawing them altogether? If he can without legal authority arrogate to himself the power to break strikes by injunction, what is going to stop him from using the same power to castrate the unions altogether?

Capitalism never has granted real or full democracy to a majority of the people; and we have had to fight hard to get whatever democratic rights we now possess. But now things are going from bad to worse, and unless the labor and Negro movements organize a struggle of resistance against the growing encroachments on our rights, we face the danger of falling victim to an American military-police state fully as evil as any ever ruled by Hitler or Stalin.

I liked the tone of last week's editorial because it expressed the vast differences between our party and those of the capitalists. Calling for a referendum to take the war-making powers away from the White House and Congress and let the people decide the question of war or peace, the editorial asked: "Who has a better right (than the people) to decide whether or not this country should go to war? Who will make a wiser or juster or more democratic decision than they? Why should any politician be afraid to let the voice of the people be heard, or to let their wishes prevail?"

That's the spirit in which our party approaches all the big political questions, not only the problem of war. We are really in favor of letting the majority decide; we want to arm the people with the truth so that their decisions and actions will be in their own interests; and we are willing to abide by the decision of the majority. In each of these respects we are 100% different from the capitalist politicians, who have no respect or tolerance for the rights or intelligence of the majority and who do everything in their power to circumvent their wishes. If anyone doubts this, he should follow the development of the 1950 election campaign closely, and it will become plain that we revolutionary socialists are consistent fighters for democracy while the "democratic" capitalist politicians are actually the architects of a dictatorial police state.

TRUMAN STARTS SHIFT TO FULL WAR FOOTING HERE AND ABROAD

(Continued from page 1)

all-out mobilization and building of this world-wide superwar machine "will necessarily have repercussions upon our domestic economy." The "magnitude of the demands for military purposes" will "require substantial redirection of economic resources."

INTO WAR MAW

Since this will mean inevitable shortages—particularly in metals like steel and aluminum — Truman asked Congress for power to allocate and to establish priorities for materials necessary for war, "to limit the use of materials for non-essential purposes," and "to lessen the demand upon services, commodities, raw materials, manpower and facilities which are in competition with those needed for national defense."

The day before he delivered his message Truman had indicated that this diversion of production from civilian needs to war would mean. He issued an order to the Veterans Administration and Federal Housing Agency to drastically curtail cash housing credits, raise the requirements for cash down payments on all government-insured housing loans and limit the public housing program to 30,000 units until 1951, while suspending school construction commitments altogether.

Not only are homes, schools and other needs of the people to be fed into the maw of war, but more direct payment is demanded. Truman declared that "we should increase federal revenues more sharply" and "finance the greatest possible amount of needed expenditures by taxation." In his radio speech, he explained this means "substantial" increases in taxes, a "contribution" that not only the war profiteers but "every one of us should stand ready to make."

TAXES AND PROFITEERING

He claimed that "a major aim" of this monstrous new tax burden on the people will be "the elimination of profiteering." But everyone knows from the record of the past two wars that for every dollar more taxed from the war corporations, the working people will pay out ten. Besides, Truman asked for authority to provide "certain types of financial assistance to private industry," including loans for new plants up to 75% of their value on terms which the administration will have full power to determine. This means the government intends to hand out tens of bil-

lions to the war industries as it did in the last war.

While Truman talks about "elimination of profiteering," the profiteers have already been on a mad spree from the first moment when Truman ordered U. S. forces to intervene in Korea. Food corporations and dealers, commodities speculators have been holding back supplies, creating scarcity and forcing up prices. Food prices have shot up almost 10% in four weeks. But Truman did not propose immediate price controls or rationing. He said he would recommend such measures only if prices should rise "unduly." How much is "unduly"?

But the biggest sacrifice the American people face is the loss of their loved ones, sons, brothers, fathers, husbands. These are to be dragged from their families by the millions. World-wide, all-out war mobilization needs men, cannon fodder by the millions and tens of millions. Truman is demanding them by asking for the removal of statutory limitations on the size of the armed forces. The sky is the limit.

THE NEXT STEPS

But this is just the start of the new stage in American im-

perialism's program to conquer the world. Truman did not tell the people everything his program will call for. He did not dare give them the "full dose" all at once.

But the next steps, already blue-printed, call for a wage freeze and a labor draft. Every worker is going to be under army-like discipline and regimentation. He will be told where he can work, when he must work, how he must work and what he is to be paid for it.

If Truman did not ask for this drastic measure yet, it is only because he does not need it. He already has effective power to curb wages and break strikes, which he demonstrated once more when he ordered the army out against the AFL Switchmen's strike after the Korean war broke. He has the Taft-Hartley Act. And he has the aid of the servile union leaders who rushed to pledge their support to Truman's war program.

But all these will not suffice to curb labor when the full weight of the new war measures press down on the workers. Then will come the moves to freeze labor to the job, bar wage increases, crush civil rights and put the military boot with full force on the American people.

U.S. UNIONIST TELLS WHY KOREA HATES RHEE RULE

(Continued from Page 1)

earned only about \$2.50 a month, while a month's supply of rice for a family of five cost four times that amount. Coal miners were three months behind in their pay.

In the recent parliamentary election campaign, when Rhee's opponents won an overwhelming majority, "Rhee charged all 'middle of the road' opponents with being Communists or leftists," Earl said. "Some of the opposition was thrown into jail and subjected to the brutal police methods of a force still made up in large part of police who dominated their fellow Koreans for 30 years under Japanese rule."

U. S. OFFICIALS

Earl was bitter about the conduct and attitude of the American officials in South Korea. "You can't instill democracy with cocktail parties for the big shots and conferences with the bankers."

I told them to go out and talk to the people, but they never did."

He himself did attempt to investigate conditions because "I did not go over there to sit at a desk and liquidate the working class," which was the objective of the Rhee regime and its imperialist backers.

U. S. LABOR MOVEMENT

Earl said he finally asked to be returned to this country to explain to Washington what was going on. "I did not think the American labor movement should lend itself to anything so corrupt," he said. But his request was denied. He was evacuated after the disintegrating Rhee army abandoned Seoul.

These facts cited by an eye-witness, a well-known union leader who is not a Stalinist and who supports the Marshall Plan, confirm that the Korean people hate and despise the Rhee regime. They are supporting the North Korean army which is leading the popular struggle against the Rhee despotism and against the invading forces of U. S. imperialism which are seeking to reimpose Rhee upon them.

Two Cities Pass Laws Typical of Police-State Rule

The City Commission of Birmingham, Ala., unanimously and without discussion, has passed an ordinance outlawing the Communist Party within its city limits, and ordering its members "to leave town or face fines and jail."

Possession or distribution of any literature connected in any way with the CP is declared "prima facie evidence" of membership and so is "voluntary association or communication with any person or persons established to be or have been" CP members. In outlawing political parties, drawing up proscription lists and establishing guilt by association, this ordinance matches the Nazi legal code.

On the very same day, July 18, the Common Council of Detroit, by a vote of 7 to 1, banned the sale of "subversive newspapers and literature, including the Daily Worker and its supplement, The Michigan Herald" on all sidewalk newsstands. Here we have two instances of how the police-state is being installed step by step on a "city-wide" scale.

Grieving Parent



Joseph Cyborski is shown in his Chicago home reading the telegram which informed him that his son is missing in action in Korea. The victim, Raymond, 26, an air force lieutenant, is seen in the photo.

New York YPA Starts Witch-Hunt Expulsions

NEW YORK, July 20 — In the midst of the ferocious witch-hunting campaign against them, the Stalinists have launched their own witch-hunt in the ranks of the Young Progressives of America.

In a star-chamber proceeding, worthy of the best of Truman's loyalty purge "trials," the Stalinists have expelled two members of the West Side club of the YPA and have prepared a similar trial for two more members of the club.

The victimization was based on two cardinal crimes against the Stalinist code, daring to defend Yugoslavia and attempting to commit the YPA in support of the civil rights of Trotskyists.

Several months ago the club had voted to sponsor a meeting where O. John Rogge, National Committee member of the Progressive Party, would report on his recent visit to Yugoslavia.

After all arrangements for the meeting had been made, the Stalinist majority of the club, on orders from the YPA County Committee, suddenly reversed themselves and voted to cancel the meeting.

In agreement with Rogge, a group of club members then decided to sponsor the meeting as individuals. For doing this they found themselves on trial confronted with the rather unoriginal Stalinist charge of "disruption" of YPA.

One member of the club was expelled on the basis of a statement of another club member, that she had been seen distributing a leaflet for the Rogge meeting which allegedly announced that the meeting was being held under the auspices of the club.

The second member was expelled on two counts: 1. That he had supported the Rogge meeting. 2. That some eight months

ago he had introduced a resolution into the YPA National Convention calling for support of the campaign to win a presidential pardon for the eighteen Trotskyist victims of the Smith Act.

The proceedings were replete with the trappings of a Washington or Moscow kangaroo court. More than a dozen members of other YPA Clubs were denied admission to the trial on the grounds that this was strictly an "internal" problem of the West Side Club. This, despite the fact that the entire trial was launched and prosecuted by a leader of the County YPA who is not a member of the club!

DENIED WITNESS

Denying the charge that the leaflets she had distributed bore the name of YPA, the first defendant demanded that the club hear the testimony of another YPA member who had distributed the announcement of the Rogge meeting with her. This elementary right of presenting a witness for the defense was contemptuously denied.

After listening to an hour-long harangue by the whip from the County Committee on the "anti-progressive" nature of "Trotskyism," the Stalinist membership of the club then proceeded to vote for the expulsions "not on the basis of political ideas, but disruption!"

The disgraceful action of the Stalinists in this whole matter will undoubtedly do them serious damage in the organization. It is helping serious young people to see that while the Stalinists will attempt every possible rotten compromise to maintain their alliance with so-called liberals, they will war with every dirty weapon at their command against any manifestation of support for genuinely progressive ideas such as the defense of the new socialist regime in Yugoslavia or even the simple proposition of defending all victims of the capitalist witch-hunt.

Spanish Exiles Nail Anti-Yugoslav Lies

Twenty-one prominent Spanish republicans who are now in exile in Mexico have issued a public declaration denouncing the Cominform-Kremlin inspired campaign of slander and calumny against the Yugoslav participants of the International Brigade.

Among the signatories are General Jose Miaja, one time commander-in-chief of the Loyalist forces; his secretary Captain Antonio Lopez; Jesus Fernandez, former Minister and member of the Political Bureau of the Spanish CP and five other prominent Spanish Communists; Socialist deputy Jose Sosa and three Councilors of the Madrid board, one Socialist and two Republicans; along with Jose Vage, General Secretary of the Spanish Workmen's Union and others.

Branding the lie that the Yugoslavians were Hitlerite agents and "the limit of effrontery" and "an insult to all of us," this declaration goes on to say: "It cannot be tolerated that people who are glaringly devoid of any sense of responsibility, should so abuse men who fought in our trenches."

Vicious Purge Is Launched in Ford Local 600

DETROIT — On July 9, Carl Stellato, president of UAW Ford Local 600, used the Korean crisis as a pretext to push through the local's General Council a proposal to initiate a far-reaching union "loyalty pledge" and purge.

Every official and committee-man in the local is required to sign a statement pledging allegiance to the U. S. government and support of "the policy of the CIO." The signer must also swear that he is "not a member of the Communist Party, Fascist Party or the KKK," that he opposes "the policy of the Soviet Union and its satellite nations" and that he will "not distribute any leaflets or other forms of literature in favor of such policy or program."

Almost every sentence in this pledge is a blow against union democracy and the democratic traditions of this country. The requirement that everyone "support CIO policy" is outrageous because there are many unionists who feel that present CIO policies are harmful to the interests of the rank and file workers. There are many others who accept CIO policy today but may come into conflict with it in the future. By signing this pledge they must commit themselves to go along with Reuther, Murray and Co., regardless of the disastrous consequences to the union — or else get kicked out.

THE SAME PRACTICES

Making union representatives swear they are not members of the Communist Party, "Fascist Party" or KKK shows how bankrupt is the program of the present CIO leadership. If they fear the programs of these groups, it is because of the harmfulness and inadequacies of their own program. To top it off, they are resorting to the same dictatorial practices they condemn in these groups.

It should be added that there never has been an organization called the "Fascist Party" in the U. S., but there are hundreds of fascist organizations with patriotic American names — which are not included in the pledge. Stellato no doubt threw in the KKK for good measure, and possibly to show liberals and Negroes he is against "all totalitarianism." But the KKK elements won't mind too much; they have been clamoring for a war on "communism" for a long time, and know they are in the same "patriotic" camp as Stellato, where they will work together in persecuting militant workers under the guise of fighting "communism."

The prohibition against distribution of literature which can be accused of "favoring" the Soviet Union's policy makes a complete mockery of all democratic rights within the UAW, and tramples on the Bill of Rights. It could be used to victimize workers who may feel the union contract is bad but who will be barred from saying so through leaflets because that would be attacking "CIO policy." Or it could be used against workers who are hostile to Stalinism

but want to express their opposition in leaflets to imperialist adventures in such colonial lands as Korea.

In spite of Stellato's right wing majority on the lame-duck General Council (elected long before the last general local election, which swept the right wing out of control), he carried his proposal only by 75-63. He immediately announced that all pledges must be signed by Aug. 1, and that he is preparing a membership meeting where non-signers will be charged with "conduct unbecoming a union representative" and brought before a trial board.

The UAW International lost no time in lining up with Stellato. Its statement declared: "The fight being carried on now by the president of Local 600 is a continuation of the fight during the past years by the union to rid itself of disruptive, anti-union, communist elements."

OPPOSITION'S APPEAL

The leaders of the opposition to Stellato's purge include middle of the road elements, independents, non-Stalinist left-wingers, some Reutherites and a handful of Stalinists. At present it seems as if they are going to put up a fight to preserve democracy in the UAW. They have issued a leaflet calling for opposition to the drive to "Taft-Hartleyize our union," and Stellato's attempt to wrap himself in the flag while pointing an accusing finger at any and all members of our local who might feel a desire to express themselves in opposition to Stellato's opinions.

The leaflet questioned Stellato's right to "override the intelligence and judgment" of the membership, who elected the opposition and swept out the Reutherites. It also accused Stellato of using the pledge to divert the members' attention from the issues facing them, such as the speed-up and run-away shop. It was signed by 5 of the 9 top officers of Local 600, and 9 of the 17 unit presidents — that is, a majority of Local 600's executive board.

Some workers may wonder why this union, once the most democratic of all, is now moving so quickly to totalitarian practices. The answer will be found in the needs of American capitalism. Since World War II the capitalists have been striving to subdue the workers and render them docile for the next war. They used all the propaganda techniques they knew plus the Taft-Hartley Act — and they still couldn't beat down the American working class.

Failing in their direct attack, they have turned to their friends in the unions, the labor bureaucracy, to do the job for them. Stellato's "loyalty pledge" is not the first time this labor bureaucracy is doing the capitalists' dirty work, but it is the clearest and sharpest example of the whole process.

Henry Wallace Comes Out In Support of Truman's War

(Continued from Page 1)
opinion on the present U. S. foreign policy?"

And Wallace's answer was an unqualified one. "Certainly," he said.

THE STALINIST ROLE

But all this while, the Stalinists painted up Wallace as the guardian of peace, just as they did Trygve Lie and the United Nations. In this country they crawled before Wallace even more abjectly than they did before Lie.

They deliberately blocked all moves toward the formation of a Labor Party for the sake of their "peace crusade" in alliance with Wallace in 1948. They reserved their vilest attacks for the Trotskyists who exposed Wallace for what he was and predicted that he would do exactly what he now has done. In brief, the real treachery was committed not by Wallace but by Stalin and his agents who played Wallace's game and covered up for him.

The Daily Worker in a remarkably restrained editorial on July 17 accuses Wallace of having

"joined those same forces who vilified and traduced him throughout the period of the cold war... Henry Wallace has left Gideon's Army."

And what about "Gideon's Army" whose leader has decamped? For that, the Daily Worker still has nothing but praise: "the Progressive Party stands by its principles."

UNHAPPY FUTURE

The very future of the Progressive Party, never too auspicious to begin with, now hangs in the balance. An open and bitter struggle between the pro-war faction and the hard Stalinist core will continue to tear the organization to pieces.

Wallace has already publicly announced that if the party rank and file reject his war stand, he will quit the Progressive Party. On the other hand, if Wallace wins out, the Stalinists who now have the organizational control will do everything in their power to wreck it. The chances of this party's surviving long do not appear bright, whichever side wins out.

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