

Hands Off Korean People's Right To Decide Own Fate!

By John G. Wright

The "calculated risk" taken by the American imperialists in connection with the Korean events has at a single stroke revealed their true character. They have acted in a way that leaves no doubt about their immediate and predatory aims. Meanwhile, of course, they continue to mouth phrases about "safeguarding world peace," "defending the rights of small nations against aggression," "acting to implement UN's ceasefire order."

Through the moves of his puppet regime in North Korea, Stalin has supplied the capitalist rulers in this country with the desired pretext. They have eagerly seized upon it not only to force a showdown in Korea "up to the 38th parallel," but also to take simultaneously a whole number of steps, summed up in Truman's enunciation of his "new foreign policy" for the whole of Asia. These new moves go far beyond what they are already doing in Korea.

There American air and naval squadrons — under MacArthur — are now engaged in combat actions. It has been officially announced that not only North Korean armed forces but all cities occupied by them, which naturally includes the South Korean civilian population, will be considered as military targets and bombed.

As we go to press, AP dispatches report the first landings of U. S. ground detachments. Previously announced was the establishment of the first "GHQ echelon" on Korean soil and the appointment of Brigadier General Church as head of all the South Korean forces. A complete war censorship on all news about Korea from Tokyo has been clamped down by MacArthur.

All this has been done without the approval of or even consultation with Congress, let alone the American people as a whole. But this war in Korea, which some dailies have inadvertently termed an "illegally declared war," is only part of what the people of this country have been committed to by Truman's decrees and arbitrary acts.

There is Formosa, a territory only yesterday acknowledged by the State Department itself as outside U. S. jurisdiction, now encircled by American naval units.

There is the announcement of "more help" for Indo-China, where the people are now fighting arms in hand against the French colonial despots and their puppet Bao Dai, and who are now to be confronted also with the full might of American military intervention.

There are the Philippines who are supposedly independent but over whom Washington has now imposed what amounts to a military protectorate.

Not since the days when the old colonial powers rushed to dismember Asiatic territories, has any single power moved so aggressively and with such force as have the American imperialists. In plain language, they are now openly making their bid to supplant the old colonial powers as the unchallenged ruler of the Far East and to reimpose the system of colonial exploitation against (Continued on page 3)

Workers of the World, Unite!

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Truman Usurps Power, Pulls Country Into Undeclared War

Korea Crisis Used to Speed Police-State Plans at Home

By George Clarke

One man, President Harry Truman, acting without consultation or consent of Congress and in downright violation of the Constitution, has precipitated this country into a full-scale war in Asia. One man, President Harry Truman, has committed the United States to warlike measures in Formosa, the Philippines and Indo-China in total disregard for the will of the peoples or the rights of sovereign nations in that part of the world. One man, President Harry Truman, has decided to gamble with the lives of the American people in a "calculated risk" which could lead to World War III. As the conflict comes closer, the differences between the totalitarian methods of Truman and those of Stalin become harder to find.

Presented with these arbitrary, authoritarian acts of the President, Congress abdicated completely, surrendering its sole right over foreign policy and its power to declare war under the US Constitution. The representatives of the two Wall Street parties fell over themselves to rubber-stamp Truman's war in the Orient.

A few questions were asked by isolationist Republican Senators. They wanted to know whether Truman has "arrogated to himself the authority of declaring war"; whether he should not have consulted with Congress before ordering the Navy and the Air Force to support the South Koreans. The questions were brushed aside by Senator Lucas, Democratic Senatorial whip. Truman's unprecedented moves were presented as the most normal and customary of actions. In any case, they were taken, said Lucas, to prevent war!

Congress then moved pell-mell to reverse its position on the peacetime draft. In the original bill passed in the House a month ago, the President was restrained from inducting conscripts until Congress had declared a national emergency. This restriction was thrown in the wastebasket as Congress passed a new bill extending the draft for another year and granting Truman authority to call the National Guard and reserve forces into active duty.

The N. Y. Times correspondent termed these "powers unprecedented for the Chief Executive except in wartime." They were adopted by the House without the asking of any questions and without opposition speeches, with only four votes being cast against. The Senate vote was unanimous.

With the steamroller moving with frenzied rapidity on such fateful questions as foreign policy, war and peace, American workers have reason to be concerned over the rights and independence of the trade union movement. The first casualty of the war against "totalitarianism" has been democracy in our own country.

Since the proclamation three years ago of the Truman Doctrine which launched the cold war, America is being steadily transformed into a police state. "Loyalty" purges and witch-hunting have become commonplace, daily occurrences, gradually encompassing all fields, from government service, the schools and universities to private employment. The FBI is being built up (Continued on page 3)

Hear the Program of Socialism Over National Radio Networks

World Empire or World Socialism
Joseph Hansen, SWP Candidate for U. S. Senate
ABC Network, Sat., July 15, 4-4:15 P.M. (EDT)

What Next for U. S. Labor?
Farrell Dobbs, SWP National Chairman
Mutual Network, Sun., July 16, 11:15-11:30 P.M. (EDT)

The Socialist Program for America
Farrell Dobbs, SWP National Chairman
CBS Network, Mon., July 17, 11:15-11:30 P.M. (EDT)
(Except WCBS, New York, which begins 11:45 P.M.)

HANSEN, BARTELL HEAD NEW YORK SWP TICKET

NEW YORK — Joseph Hansen, Associate Editor of *The Militant*, and Michael Bartell, New York City Organizer of the Socialist Workers Party, will head the New York State SWP ticket in the fall elections as candidates for United States Senator and Governor, respectively.

Other candidates on the SWP ticket, the New York State Committee announced, will be: For Lieutenant-Governor:

Gladys Barker, a young factory worker and leading member of the Lenox-Fifth Avenue Tenants League in Harlem. She was the party's candidate for President of the New York City Council in 1949.

For Comptroller: Harry Ring, former shop steward of Local 511, UAW-CIO, and SWP candidate for comptroller of New York City last year.

HANSEN SPEECH
Joseph Hansen will fire the opening gun of the campaign on July 15 over the ABC network. He will present the views of the SWP on foreign policy, giving a Marxist analysis of the Korean crisis and defending the Yugoslav revolution, which has offered a progressive, socialist alternative to world imperialism and the counter-revolutionary Kremlin.

The Socialist Workers Party will present the only working class ticket in this election, in opposition to the capitalist political machines and the cowardly labor leaders supporting them. The Stalinist-dominated ALP is expected to give open or tacit support to the banker-politician Herbert Lehman, in line with the Progressive Party decision to support "progressive" candidates of the old capitalist parties. In any case, the ALP has neither the support of the labor movement nor an anti-capitalist program, and will campaign for its own variety of "progressive capitalist" welfare state, and for "peace" based on a deal between the State Department and the Kremlin.

BIG OBSTACLE
This will be the second time the SWP is entering the gubernatorial (Continued on page 4)

JOSEPH HANSEN

PATTERSON ARRESTED, WILL FIGHT EXTRADITION

Haywood Patterson, the most prominent of the Scottsboro frame-up defendants, was arrested by FBI agents in Detroit on June 27. He was held in the county jail under \$10,000 bail, for extradition to Michigan — and the national labor movement must not be permitted to evade its duty in this case on the ground that Patterson is being defended by the Stalinist-dominated Civil Rights Congress. What's at stake in this case is a matter of elementary justice and of labor's solidarity with the victims of Southern lynch law.

Patterson was first arrested in 1931, together with eight other Negro youths, on a trumped-up rape charge. He was tried four times, sentenced to death three times, and to 75 years imprisonment in the fourth trial. Although the whole world knew he was innocent, he remained in jail for 17 years.

Then, in 1948, he succeeded in escaping from the hellish Kilby Prison in Alabama. Since that time, he has been living underground in the North. Last month, the story of his experiences, written in collaboration with Earl Conrad, was published as a book, *Scottsboro Boy*. Its account of torture, brutality and degradation shocked even a public that was already aware of the horrible conditions in Southern prisons.

For example, he said, what about 18th century "liberals or democrats" who conspired to overthrow the government if it "got oppressive enough"? Would the Smith Act apply to such people?

Kalandra Executed By Czech Stalinists
Zavis Kalandra, sentenced to death in the recent frame-up trial in Czechoslovakia, was executed on June 27, according to an announcement by the Stalinist government in Prague. Kalandra was a newspaperman who belonged to the Trotskyist movement for several years before the war and was arrested and held in Nazi concentration camps for six years. After his liberation he joined the Czech Social Democratic Party. The Stalinists forced him to "confess" to being an "American spy" out of a "malicious hatred of the working class and socialism."

CRACKDOWN
The membership of the club, which for some unaccountable reason had not met for several weeks, was hastily summoned to an emergency membership meeting, where one Joe Kay, a Stalinist hack from the YPA County Committee, laid down the line to the club. The decision to sponsor a meeting for Rogge on (Continued on page 4)

Yugoslavia, he told them, was an "obvious indication of the political immaturity of the club."

All arrangements for the meeting were to be canceled and Rogge should be extended an alternative invitation to address a meeting in their own club room, on the subject of world peace, not Yugoslavia. Kay then reorganized a motion from the floor that those responsible for the organization of the proposed meeting be brought to trial and expelled as "Trotskyite disrupters," in violation of the YPA program.

On being informed of this action, Rogge issued a statement to the press through Mrs. Weiss declaring, "I regard it as a matter of principle to hold the meeting at the scheduled time and place. If any who disagree with me wish in a democratic manner to debate any of the issues I raise, I shall be delighted to have them join me on the platform."

After unsuccessful efforts to pressure Rogge into changing his stand, the Stalinists then forced (Continued on page 4)



Rogge Defies Pressure, Speaks for Yugoslavia

NEW YORK, June 27 — Defying a frenzied Stalinist campaign to prevent him from speaking, O. John Rogge, national committee member of the Progressive Party and prominent civil liberties lawyer, tonight addressed an enthusiastic audience of several hundred on his recent visit to Yugoslavia.

Rogge had originally been invited to make the speech by unanimous vote of the West Side Club of the Young Progressives of America. The Stalinist leadership of the club, despite their hostility to Yugoslavia, had gone along with the motion for lack of valid grounds to oppose it.

The responsibility for the organization of the meeting was turned over to the maker of the motion, Ethel Peterson Weiss, a defender of Yugoslavia, with the obvious hope that the meeting would never materialize. When they were informed several weeks later that Rogge had agreed to speak and a hall was secured, the Stalinists immediately sprang into action to prevent Rogge from speaking.

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UN EXPOSED AS TOOL OF US IN KOREAN WAR

Five years ago the United Nations came into being in San Francisco. It was hailed in Moscow and in Washington — and by the Stalinists the world over — as the "great instrument of peace," the "harbinger of world government."

Today, the same United Nations is nothing but the catspaw of US imperialism, lending its prestige and a judicial cover to Truman's war in Korea. With hardly a moment's hesitation, the Security Council, save the vote of Yugoslavia which demanded an independent investigation, accepted the US resolution condemning North Korea as the aggressor. Its next move revealed even more clearly that the UN has no independent character of its own.

First Truman ordered that the air force and the navy proceed to Korea on a military mission. Then the American delegate applied to the UN for the adoption of collective sanctions. The method left no doubt as to who was issuing orders in the UN. The action of the Security Council, over the opposition of Yugoslavia, in promptly endorsing the State Department's proposal confirmed the subservient status of the UN to the hit.

The Kremlin is shouting that Southern Korea was the real aggressor, that the collective sanctions resolution violated the UN charter. These are matters of small moment to the masses of the world. It is possible that Stalin's Korean's puppets fired the first shot, just as the Kremlin once invaded Finland and now threatens Yugoslavia. Equally possible is that our own Brass Hats plotted to provoke the incident just as Roosevelt maneuvered to provoke the attack on Pearl Harbor. The Korean explosion was implicit in the cold war; the behavior of the UN a logical outcome of its whole evolution. (Continued on page 4)

What Would Happen to Jefferson Today?

By Albert Parker

What would happen to Thomas Jefferson, the author of the Declaration of Independence which is commemorated on July 4, if he were here on July 4, 1950?

This intriguing question was raised not by us but by Learned Hand, chief judge of the U. S. Court of Appeals, which is now considering the appeal of the 11 Stalinist leaders convicted under the Smith Act last year.

Judge Hand said he was troubled about the government's contention that the defendants had not been convicted for their beliefs. He said he had grave doubts that the case conformed to the "clear and present danger" decisions.

For example, he said, what about 18th century "liberals or democrats" who conspired to overthrow the government if it "got oppressive enough"? Would the Smith Act apply to such people?

How about Thomas Jefferson, who "again and again in his encyclicals advocated the propriety of overthrowing a government that had become utterly oppressive" — would he have come under the provisions of the Smith Act?

LAME ANSWER
The government attorney was embarrassed by these questions. The only answer he could think of was that "Jefferson was a man who had lived under an oppressive government," and naturally he would never think of advocating the right to revolt against a government like the present one, etc.

Judge Hand raised the question, but he didn't answer it either. So we'd better give our own answer independently.

There is absolutely no room for question about what would happen to Jefferson if he were alive today and acted as he had in 1776. He didn't merely "conspire to (Continued on page 4)

advocate" the right of revolution (as the charge reads against the victims of the Smith Act) — he actually advocated that right in the Declaration of Independence, which said that "it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish" any form of government that becomes destructive of the rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. And he not only advocated the right of revolution — he practiced it too.

With his ideas, even if he weren't imprisoned, he would be unable to sign a "loyalty" oath and he would not qualify for the most humble job in the most unimportant department any federal, state or municipal agency — let alone for the posts of Secretary of State, Ambassador to France, Vice-President and President, which he held at one time or another.

With his ideas, it would be impossible for him to get nominated as justice of the peace on the ticket of the Democratic Party which he founded.

With his ideas, the author of the Declaration of Independence would be barred from any job as a script-writer in Hollywood.

He would find it virtually impossible to get his writings printed anywhere except in the radical press with its limited circulation.

His party, or any other organization he formed, would quickly find itself on the "subversive" blacklist.

If he lost his income, he would find it difficult to get a job, especially as the officer of a union — for example, the Newspaper Guild. In some states, his radical views would be cited as a pretext to deny him a starvation relief allowance.

He would be under constant surveillance by the FBI. His telephone would be tapped, his speeches recorded at public meetings, his neighbors grilled.

WOULD BE AN OUTCAST
In short, he would be regarded by the government and all the capitalist institutions not as a national hero but as a semi-pariah, as a second-class citizen at the very best.

It was a good thing for the revolution of 1776 that Jefferson lived then rather than now, because he had big contributions to make to that revolution. In a personal sense too, maybe it was a good thing for him that he lived then rather than now.

(See William E. Bohannan's column, *The Fourth of July*, on Page 4.)

European Notebook

The Demand for 'Neutrality' in Europe

By Ernest Germain

The cry for a neutral Europe which is raised in bourgeois circles is nothing more than a blackmail maneuver toward American imperialism.

present state of world affairs, the cold war, the deadlock between the big powers, the mounting reaction and lack of any constructive perspective.

ferent to the three groupings mentioned above. For the progressives, it means independence of the Big Two, clearing of the atmosphere by settling accounts with red-baiting and Stalinist hysteria.

brought about the present state of affairs. But there is a basic and fatal flaw in the solution which they propose: their idea of neutrality is a notion of passive withdrawal from world politics.

for national and international class collaboration and conciliation. They urge the constitution of coalition governments including the CP in Western Europe and some "democratic forces" in the Eastern European countries.

does not at all mean "neutrality" in the class struggle! On the contrary, independent working class politics in Europe means today the struggle for the Socialist United States of Europe and for complete independence of the colonial peoples.

THREE GROUPS Entirely different are the movements in favor of a neutralization of Europe developing more and more in petty bourgeois and intellectual circles.

It might seem surprising that one and the same formula could be used as a common political denominator by politically divergent groupings.

PROGRESSIVE SIGN There is something fundamentally healthy and progressive in this sudden discovery of the virtues of neutrality by the European middle classes; they are becoming increasingly aware of the hopelessness of all politics centered around the cold war.

But this involves not only withdrawal from imperialist politics; it means also active support of the colonial peoples against the attempts of American imperialism to become the successor to the old European masters in the colonies.

This nostalgia for the wartime honeymoon between American imperialism and the Soviet bureaucracy comes straight out of a dream world. The real world of today is a world of growing contradictions between social classes and world powers.

This is a precondition for putting an end to the cold war and taking the shooting war off the agenda altogether. It means replacing the perspective of war by the perspective of world revolution.

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

How National Income Is Divided

By Art Preis

Although the phrase itself had not yet been coined, it was in 1933 that the Democratic administration launched its "welfare state," under the name of the "New Deal."

A recent series of tragic events symbolizes the real state of welfare. In November and December 1949, reports seeped from sunny Arizona and California that hundreds of babies of farm workers were dying of STARVATION.

Want amidst plenty is one of the characteristic features of capitalism. The starvation conditions in Arizona and California occurred while the Truman government had four billion dollars worth of "surplus" commodities, mainly food of all varieties, stored away in gloaming warehouses, idle box-cars and ships, and even in caves.

Truman's Secretary of Agriculture Brannan proposed to dye 25 million bushels of "surplus" potatoes blue and sell them for hog-feed and fertilizer at 1 cent a bushel.

This contrast of starving American babies and billions of pounds of food being withheld, destroyed or shipped to fascists, expresses the real essence of Truman's capitalist "welfare state."

One Out of Three in Want

But hunger amidst plenty is not the lot alone of a few hundred thousand farm laborers. Long years after Roosevelt proclaimed his "New Deal" for "one-third of a nation... ill-housed, ill-clad, ill-nourished," one out of every three American families remains in outright want.

This is the startling fact revealed last year by the Congressional Joint Committee on the Economic Report in its study, "Low-Income Families and Economic Stability." Here is the state of welfare they found in 1948, before the more recent rise of mass unemployment:

"Nearly 16 million, or one-third of all families and individuals in the United States, received incomes under \$2,000 (a year), and 8 millions of these received incomes under \$1,000."

This same Congressional report fixed "the minimum budget necessary for a family of four persons" at more than \$3,200 a year, as estimated in 1947 by the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Thus, of the 38.5 million American families in 1948, the lowest third had incomes no better, and in most cases worse, than a relief maintenance budget during the prewar depression.

The Growth of Unemployment

The threat of mass unemployment has been with us since the end of the war. Only briefly, in the fall of 1948, did unemployment fall below 2 million. This enabled Truman, in his Jan. 1949 "state of the union" speech, to boast of "maximum employment."

His boast was short-lived. Unemployment grew to an average of 3.5 million in the last half of 1949, reaching nearly 5 million in February 1950, according to the government's own conservative figures.

In 1949, more than 7 million workers were forced to collect unemployment compensation sometime during the year. Since a third of all wage earners are not "covered" by the compensation law, it is safe to say that not less than 10 to 11 million workers suffered some jobless period during last year.

How did the "welfare state" provide for them? Millions got no aid at all. For those who collected unemployment compensation, Truman admitted in his April 6 message to Congress, "weekly benefits averaged only \$20 — not enough to preserve a minimum standard of living."

Truman proposed to add an average of only \$4 a week to the present \$20. This proposed \$24 would equal about \$14.20 in 1939 —

LESS than a WPA relief wage! He also said that the "benefit period" should be extended in all states to 26 weeks.

The slight improvements Truman proposed were promptly pigeonholed by his own followers in Congress. Even if they were passed, they would still hold out only a bleak and miserable existence for the jobless under Truman's "Welfare State."

Conditions of the Employed Workers

How do the American workers fare when they do have jobs? At a recent convention of business men in Atlantic City, Truman's Secretary of Commerce Sawyer boasted that average hourly money earnings of manufacturing production workers rose from 63 cents in 1938 to \$1.39 in November 1949.

A March 23, 1950, United Press analysis of Labor Department wage figures reveals that while the average worker's weekly pay check increased from \$23.86 in 1939 to \$54.94 in 1949, "his buying power has climbed only 35%." Due to higher taxes and prices, the average worker's wage "boiled down to only \$32.17 in terms of 1939 purchasing power... the real increase over the 10-year span was only \$8.31."

But to get this 35% increase in real wages, the workers had to increase the country's output of goods and services 65% in 10 years. Thus, the workers' share of the national output and wealth has declined. Labor is getting a smaller and smaller slice of what it produces.

Federal Reserve Board figures show the share of wage and salary workers in the national production declined from 54% in 1944, to 52.4% in 1946, to 51.9% in 1948. As a share of the national income, wages and salaries fell from 27.7% in 1933, to 62.9% in 1944, 61.2% in 1946 and only 59% in 1948.

Moreover, the trend of wage raises has been steadily downward since the 1946 postwar strike wave netted average gains of 17 cents an hour for those who won increases. In 1947, it was 13 cents; in 1948, 10 cents. Last year it was only one cent. Most unions, outside the coal miners, settled for paltry industrial pensions, which only a few workers will eventually ever collect, and waived immediate wage raises.

The small money wage gains in the postwar years were won entirely by bitter strike struggles, while the "welfare state" administration used all its powers to prevent or whittle down wage increases.

Capitalists Can Be Grateful

One group, however, has every reason to be grateful to the "welfare state," although they assail it most loudly. These are the profiteering capitalists, particularly the monopolists.

Truman was justified in complaining about their ingratitude when he said on May 12, 1950, that "government action during the last 17 years has been the salvation of private business in this country and has strengthened the private enterprise (profit) system."

In 1939, reported corporate profits totalled \$5 billion after taxes and reserves. During the war they doubled. By 1948, they soared to \$21.2 billion — a gain of more than 400% in nine years. In 1949, they dipped to \$17.2 billion; but in the first quarter of 1950, profits of 508 leading corporations averaged a 6% increase over the 1949 period.

The corporations are making bigger profits with smaller output. The April 29 Business Week observed that although "profits index of industrial production averaged only 182 in the first three months of 1950, compared with 188 in the same period last year."

Ill Fares the Land

It is precisely during the period of the "welfare state," and particularly its war, that monopoly growth has reached its fastest pace. The Senate Small Business Committee report, "Economic Concentration in World War II," revealed that "the relative importance of big business, particularly the giant corporations, increased sharply during the war..." The 250 largest corporations wound up the war with \$39.6 billion in facilities, or almost as much as all 75,000 manufacturing corporations had held before the war.

Words that aptly describe America today were penned back in the 18th Century by the British poet, Oliver Goldsmith: "Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey, / Where wealth accumulates, and men decay."

When we see monopolies fattening as never before on the toil of the people, who are tossed mere crusts when they are unemployed or too old; when we see profits swell fourfold in a decade, while the wage-earners get an ever-smaller share of what they produce — when we see these things, what shall we call the government that has produced them? A "welfare state" or an ILL-FARED state?

(Next Week: Civil Rights and the Welfare State)

Letters from Our Readers

Norman Thomas and The SP Convention

The account of the Socialist Party convention by Comrade George Breitman in the June 12 Militant would appear to be in the main, quite objective and praiseworthy.

On several matters, however, Breitman would have done better to examine his facts more clearly. Norman Thomas' decision not to run for President in 1952 was made shortly after the 1948 election, which, in fact, he entered only under the greatest pressure by the SP membership.

Next, I must point out that "unity" with (surrender to) the Social Democratic Federation was opposed by numerous Socialists including this writer, a position which subsequent events, I believe, have justified in the eyes of many previous supporters. The SDF has proved itself a treacherous enemy not alone of Socialism, but also of both liberalism and civil liberties.

Comrade Thomas, for whom even those of us on the far left of the Socialist Party have the warmest personal regards, has not been repudiated, nor has he repudiated Comrade Hoopes. An issue of dispute between honest and loyal comrades on both sides has been decided in a democratic fashion. Mr. Thomas will continue, as he has throughout his life, to serve the cause of socialism and in so doing he will remain our most eloquent voice since Eugene Victor Debs.

Despite the above comments I wish to thank George Breitman for a good job of reporting which I urge my fellow Socialists to read and ponder. For there is much here that we should take to heart.

In conclusion I call upon all Socialists in states where the SP is not in the field to wherever possible vote Socialist by supporting the candidates of either the SWP or the SLP.

George R. Stryker

Most readers of The Militant already are acquainted with this paper's position that only a vote for the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party represents a vote for revolutionary socialism. Moreover, we have on numerous occasions shown that Debs was a fighter against imperialist war while Thomas supported the last and promises to support the next imperialist war, which certainly disqualifies him as one who serves the cause of socialism.

But leaving aside Comrade Stryker's political opinions and evaluations, I would like to deal with the one question of fact his letter raises. I was well aware that he would not again accept the SP presidential nomination. But that question was not even slated for discussion at this year's SP convention. That is why his introduction of this matter could be interpreted only in the way my article did — namely, as an attempt to pressure the convention into accepting his proposal to discontinue national SP election campaigns.

George Breitman

MILITANT FUND SCOREBOARD

Table with columns: Branch, Quota, Paid, Percent. Lists various branches like Flint, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, etc., with their respective financial contributions.

THE MILITANT ARMY

The one-month subscription campaign for The Militant opens this week. At the deadline for this issue we had heard from most of our literature agents and from branches of the Socialist Workers Party on the goals they have decided to shoot for in this campaign.

The Chicago comrades are trying for 70 points. Literature Agent Gus Mason says, "We intend to go over this and already are beginning to talk it up." He mentions that the newstands in Chicago are "still selling out each issue of The Militant."

The Los Angeles Local of the Socialist Workers Party took a goal of 75 points. The three branches are staging a contest to see who can get the most subs in the 19th Congressional District.

Literature Agent Marj Deck reports that sales continue to be good. "Ruth and I sold 30 papers in Watts. At Vernon and Central, Vivian and I sold 9 Militants and 3 copies of Fourth International in a half hour. On Wednesday I went back and sold 20 Militants in an hour."

Philadelphia took a quota of 75 points. G.L.C. expects that "with any sort of luck we'll go over the top."

Minneapolis likewise is going after 75 points. "This campaign is an excellent means to get The Militant into the hands of new readers," writes Pauline Swanson who is in charge of the campaign, "and we will certainly take advantage of it."

EXTRA PUSH NEEDED TO FULFILL MILITANT FUND BY JULY 15 DEADLINE

By Reba Aubrey Fund Campaign Manager

"The comrades in Flint were prepared for a strike. 'Steal of overtime hours (which we don't like), 'But our labor pains shall bring Party gains, 'So we're topping our quota with this much needed hike."

Flint's "hike" of \$25 shot them over their goal — to 121%. "We're not through yet!" says Comrade Genora. She apologizes for the poem, saying it's "corny but six of us comrades got a kick out of making it up."

They say their poem is corny; We beg to disagree, A poem that's backed by greenbacks Is a poem of high degree.

West Virginia came in with 100% this week, joining the "Big Four" at the top of the scoreboard and winning one of the Militant Chorus records to be awarded to the first ten branches completing their quotas 100%.

Chicago and Connecticut are nearing the finish line, both with 86%. Another \$50 will put Chicago over, only \$5 for Connecticut. Does anyone want to take bets on which branch will get there first?

Another tie is Buffalo and San Francisco with 82%. Both branches are pounding along at a fast clip toward the goal.

"Seeing the Twin Cities branches listed high up on the scoreboard is a mighty pretty sight!" writes Grace Carlson of Minneapolis. "Prettiest of all will be when we are 100% — which will be in plenty of time."

St. Paul and Minneapolis sent in a combined \$52 payment. A \$50 payment shot Seattle up the scoreboard to tie Boston with 77%.

Worcester made a big gain, doubling its previous score to hit 67%.

Cleveland sent in \$15 during the week, Akron \$25, Detroit \$66, Los Angeles \$140.85, New York \$53.50, Newark \$15.

"This \$21 payment brings our total to \$85 or 57% of our quota," says Comrade Virginia for Milwaukee. "Not so good considering the late date. But I know the stragglers will pay up their pledges when they see that the deadline is just around the corner. You can count on Milwaukee for 100% in the final scoreboard."

We've been spotlighting those branches that have stayed on schedule throughout the campaign, hoping all the branches would follow the pace setters. Now with only a short time left to complete this \$10,000 fund to help print The Militant, we ought to reverse this pattern. However, we believe every branch on the lower half of the scoreboard is already painfully aware of its position. We also believe that steps are being taken by these branches to fulfill their quotas 100% by July 15.

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Monday, July 3, 1950



TROTSKY

"The genuinely socialist family, from which society will remove the daily vexation of unbearable and humiliating cares, will have no need for any regimentation, and the very idea of laws about abortion and divorce will sound no better within its walls than the recollection of houses of prostitution or human sacrifice. The October legislation took a bold step in the direction of such a family. Economic and cultural backwardness has produced a cruel reaction. The Thermidorian legislation [of the Stalinist bureaucracy] is beating a retreat to the bourgeois models, covering its retreat with false speeches about the sacredness of the 'new' family. On this question, too, socialist bankruptcy covers itself with hypocritical respectability."

— Leon Trotsky, *The Revolution Betrayed*, 1937.



LENIN

'National Unity' and Korea

The shouts for "national unity" have already become so loud and domineering that even such a conservative "critic" of the administration as Senator Taft receives severe treatment for his rather cautious remark about Truman's flagrant usurpation of power in connection with the Korean events and is immediately called to order in the press and over the radio.

This clamor for "national unity" is the favorite and most deceptive device of the bitter enemies of the people, those who would without a scruple sacrifice the vital interests of this country if they or their class benefited personally thereby.

The capitalists of all countries invariably raise this cry in hours of crisis which they themselves have brought about. This small minority tries to pass off its own vested interests for those of the country as a whole; otherwise they could never retain their rule and carry out their policies. Above all, they must beat the workers into line; and this they succeed in doing by beating their leaders into line. It is for these official labor leaders that the entire hue and cry about "national unity" is, in the first instance, intended.

If anyone has had no say whatever in the present emergency, it is the workers. Their organizations were never consulted nor even informed; nor was their opinion so much as solicited. Now they will be told, and it will be the cowardly leaders who'll do it, that this is not the time to ask questions, or to be concerned about what is being done, who is doing it and why. The workers, moreover, must be kept from seriously thinking about such issues as: How are the interests of the workers and their unions affected? What will the consequences be, if labor does not follow an independent road and prevent the installation of a police state in the name of "national unity" and of ostensibly fighting totalitarianism?

Let every serious-minded worker ask himself: If elementary democratic rights are to be exercised; if there is any time these rights must be most jealously safeguarded, when is it if not at a time of "national crisis"? What good are "democratic processes" if they are the very first ones to jettisoned at the hour when the fate of our people, and even of the whole world, may be at stake?

The Defeat of Senator Graham

The labor and Negro leaders allied with the Democratic Party are getting a sound beating in the first stages of the 1950 election campaign — the primaries which are equivalent to election in the South. First, labor-supported Senator Claude Pepper of Florida was beaten in May by Rep. George A. Smathers, an openly anti-Negro, pro-Taft-Hartley demagogue who ran his campaign along "McCarthyite" lines. And now labor-supported Senator Frank P. Graham of North Carolina has been defeated in a decisive primary runoff by corporation lawyer Willis Smith, whose campaign closely paralleled that of Smathers.

This removes from the Senate two of the three Southern Democrats who have been held up by labor and Negro leaders as the models of "liberalism" and "decency," Southern style. It adds to the Senate two outright reactionaries who don't feel called on to pay even lip-service to the cause of civil and labor rights.

A few more primaries like this, and it will become obvious even to the PAC and LLPE leaders that no matter which party captures Congress next November, it will continue to be controlled by the same kind of conservative, anti-labor coalition that has blocked the passage of

progressive legislation in the 81st Congress.

Even when the PAC-LLPE policy of supporting "liberal" capitalist politicians "works," it doesn't bring any gains to the American workers. And this year, if the primaries properly indicate the trend, the PAC-LLPE policy isn't going to "work" as well as it did in 1948, and the most reactionary forces are going to become stronger and bolder.

There are many reasons but the one that stands out most prominently is the witch-hunt atmosphere which Truman helped to create and which is now being used by Republicans and conservative Democrats alike against the administration and any political figure who ever took a position slightly to the "left of center."

The official labor leaders share responsibility with Truman for these successes of reaction. They not only elected Truman but they refused to put up a fight against his witch-hunt and even imitated it within the unions. The American workers are paying dearly today for the cowardice and stupidity of their leaders, and they will have to pay still more dearly until they succeed in winning their unions over to a program of unambiguous struggle against all forms of capitalist politics and witch-hunts.

Five Million Times Zero

The Stalinists are busy helping to collect five million American signatures to a petition calling for "prohibition" of atomic weapons and vowing to regard the first government which uses them as a "war criminal." They are also busy — in a Daily Worker column entitled "Questions on Peace" — explaining how the collection of such petitions can prevent war. On June 25, this column ran the following:

Question: How can signing a petition prevent war?

Answer: There's a world-wide campaign on in every land, on every continent, to get hundreds of millions of signatures. Under these circumstances, an individual is multiplied by hundreds of millions — and that's a force to be reckoned with. In other words, war can be prevented if the people's will for peace is organized. Modern war depends on people and the total mobilization of people for war. Total mobilization of the people for peace can therefore prevent the would-be warmakers from carrying out their plans.

Instead of calling that an answer, it should have been labeled as an evasion of the question posed. A petition with one name on it protesting against war is worth zero in the struggle against war. Multiply zero by five million, or by hundreds of millions — it still amounts to zero, and it will still have zero effect on the plans of the warmongers.

The warmongers already know that the people don't want another war; they don't need petitions to inform them of this fact; only the paper manufacturers will get excited over the prospect of hundreds of millions of petitions. What the rulers fear is not pieces of paper telling them what they already know, but a movement organized for militant action to take the war-making powers out of their hands.

Yes, "total mobilization of the people for peace can prevent the would-be warmakers from carrying out their plans." But such a mobilization requires first of all that the people be told the truth about the causes of war that are inherent in the capitalist system and cannot be eradicated until the capitalist system is abolished and replaced by socialism. Such a mobilization also requires that the people be inoculated against pacifist illusions about the possibility of preventing war by signing petitions.

On both these counts the present Stalinist "peace" campaign is deficient — and deliberately so. The Stalinists don't want a genuine — that is, a revolutionary — struggle against war. All they want is a movement which can be manipulated and bartered to promote the Kremlin's efforts to secure a deal with Washington. That is why, when it comes to really fighting against war, their campaign isn't worth the paper their petitions are written on.

Korean Battleground



South Korean troops are shown during recent maneuvers near the highway and rail junction of Kaesong, a town bordering on North Korea where fighting broke out on June 25 between the puppets of Washington and Moscow.

Truman Usurps Power, Orders Undeclared War

(Cont. from page 1)

into an all-pervasive political police. The courts are grinding out reactionary decisions in contravention of the Bill of Rights, making the expression of minority and dissent opinion a crime. Meanwhile the monopolies and corporations have exploited this situation to the maximum to wrap a strait-jacket around the trade unions. The Taft-Hartley Law was only the initial step for a series of moves crippling the independence of the unions, increasing the scope and rigor of company discipline, pushing speedup to breakneck pace, hounding, discriminating against union militants and gradually reducing union grievance machinery to a fiction. While raking in a golden crop of profits, Big Business has been carrying on its own cold war against the American workers.

With this background of repression at a time when the US arms were not directly involved in conflict, American workers have reason enough to be supremely vigilant of their hard-won rights today. As US planes flew in Korean skies, an official of the government's National Security Resources Board announced that a "master plan" for industrial mobilization is being prepared for presentation to Congress on

the proclamation of a "national emergency."

The plan is nothing short of a blueprint for a military-police state. Among its provisions are the drafting of labor, the freezing of wages, censorship and a drastic curtailment of all freedom. True, the plan is not to be invoked until actual war with the Soviet Union. Its very announcement, today, constitutes a serious threat to the labor movement.

It is issued in the form of a veiled threat against strikes and demands for higher wages and greater security. The initiation of an undeclared war, even against so small a nation as Korea, will place formidable powers in the hands of the Big Brass. The tendency, as we saw during the last war, will be for the generals and admirals — the most venal creatures of the corporations — to become the deciding voice in conflicts between the unions and management. The Money Kings will use the shout of "national unity" to beat down union demands. The alibi of "top security" work will undoubtedly be put into effect on a far wider scale in order to victimize militants and radicals.

Despite the great jingo outcry in the country, this program would have tough sledding were it not for the top bureaucrats in

the union movement. The fact, unfortunately, is that the Greens, Murrays and Reuthers have sold themselves body and soul to the State Department. They have endorsed the Marshall Plan and the North Atlantic Pact and made them official union policy.

Far from resisting the witch-hunt in the country, they have introduced their own "loyalty" purges into the unions. Instead of fighting to preserve democratic rights in the nation, they are making a mockery of democracy in the unions. It is to be expected that they will lose no time climbing aboard the bandwagon of Truman's "war to prevent war" and that they will be as willing to sacrifice the rights of labor as they were in 1941.

The war in Asia is fraught with great dangers for the American people at home. The workers cannot permit the plutocrats and militarists, hell-bent for profits and empire, to decide the destiny of the nation, to take total charge of the foreign policy and the internal affairs of the nation except at the cost of the destruction of our most cherished liberties. Under guise of battling Stalin in Korea, the Truman-McCarthy coalition will not hesitate to use his most despotic methods in the United States. It must not be permitted to happen.

LET KOREAN PEOPLE DECIDE OWN FATE FREE FROM U.S. OR KREMLIN

(Continued from Page 1)

which virtually all of Asia is now in open revolt.

This series of events is taking place within the broader framework of the struggle for world domination which is the essence of the cold war and of the current new phase of developments.

It is only within this wider framework that the full meaning and implications can be understood and correctly evaluated.

LIES ABOUT KOREA

As for Korea itself, both sides have been and will continue to lie as only those who pursue great-power politics are capable of lying to their respective peoples.

The contention that either side is concerned with the self-determination of Korea is as foul a lie as Hitler ever concocted. The 30 million inhabitants of both North and South Korea have had no say whatever, especially since their "liberation." Their country was sliced into two segments by secret agreement between Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin in the course of their "great friendship" during the last war. Ever since then the population of the South as well as the North have been manipulated like so many cattle by their respective "governments," that is by Washington and the Kremlin.

The American-sponsored regime of Syngman Rhee in the South is a Korean replica of the corrupt and evil Chiang Kai-shek regime in China. It is so discredited that it had to persecute savagely even its most conservative opposition and polled only a small minority in the May elections.

As late as June 27, Hanson Baldwin, military specialist of the N. Y. Times, flatly stated that the "chief danger" to South Korea was "internal weakness rather than external assault." He stressed the "unpopularity of the Syngman Rhee government . . . and the questionable political and military reliability of the army and the police force."

It is this government, hated by

its own people and which even its own soldiers and police refuse to fight for, that Washington is seeking to reimpose by resort to war.

The last world war was a predatory war which led to an equally predatory "peace," which in turn planted all the seeds of future conflict, among which is Korea.

Each side is now busy accusing the other of having provoked the Korean hostilities. It still remains to be seen just who did "provoke" whom and the likelihood is that there was no lack of provocation on both sides. But the most important "provocation" is rooted in the dismembered condition of Korea itself whose living body has been severed in two, like Germany and Austria, and the European continent as a whole. This division of countries and even whole continents into "spheres of influence" was heralded as the surest basis and firmest guarantee of world peace. And none was louder than Stalin in spreading this criminal lie.

Stalin and his regime bear direct responsibility for the tragic plight in which the Korean people now find themselves.

Nothing could be viler than the lie now being spread that the military subjugation of Korea by the might of American imperialism will, after all, "safeguard peace."

LET KOREANS DECIDE!

There is only one way in which the Korean question can really be solved and that is by permitting the Korean people to settle their own fate. Let them decide, free from both the Kremlin and from Washington.

Neither side, of course, has the slightest intention of permitting this. In the UN even the moderate proposal by Yugoslavia that the North Koreans be allowed to present their case was voted down, obviously by command of Washington.

What the Kremlin proposes to do now about Korea remains unclear. It has proclaimed its

"neutrality," that is, left open for itself an avenue of retreat. If they decide it best suits their interests and purposes, the Stalinist bureaucracy will try to convert Korea into the same sort of testing ground for war techniques and weapons as was the case in Spain before the last war.

Or they may ruthlessly sacrifice their own native puppets along with the whole Korean people, as they did not so long ago in the case of Greece. If they decide to reply in kind, even if on a far more modest scale than has been done by Washington, it means, of course, world war.

But there is a power in the world today other than either the power of the ruthless American billionaires or of the monstrous Stalinist bureaucracy. That is the power of the mass of the people themselves. The example of Yugoslavia shows that it is possible for people even in a small country, caught in the very middle between these two giants, to pursue a course independent of both.

U. S. WORKERS' DUTY

The duty of the workers in this country is to see to it that the Korean people are given that chance, which they will never get unless the American imperialists are made to keep their hands off Korea.

Much more than Korea is actually involved: there are also the people of Formosa, of Indo-China and of the Philippines who are now confronted with the same threat of subjugation as the Koreans, even though in a different form.

The fate of these peoples, singly and collectively, is tied up directly with the issue of world peace or world war. The stormy movement of national liberation which has swept the whole of Asia has been one of the most powerful blocks in the way of the imperialist warmakers. If they succeed in stemming and crushing this liberationist movement in Asia, the American imperialists and all their allies will be all the more impelled to plunge into World War III.

Yugoslavia Today

By Vivienne Goonewardene

III. The Federated People's Republic

With the complete nationalization of banking and state control of foreign trade, the basis for a socialist economy has been created in Yugoslavia. It was under the leadership of the Communist Party that the working class fought a national liberation war against the fascists and their native allies, the reactionary Serbian and Croatian bourgeoisies, seized the state power and guaranteed the liberation of the masses of Yugoslavia.

The Yugoslav experience demonstrates the truth of the theory of permanent revolution — that the bourgeoisie in this epoch of imperialism cannot lead a national revolutionary war, and that this task devolves on the working masses, and their vanguard, the proletarian party, in the struggle for socialism. It illustrates that in this imperialist epoch the independence of a small country can be achieved only through a social revolution — a class war against fascism, imperialism, and their local agents, the native bourgeoisie.

During the war the Yugoslav Communist Party was under pressure from the Allied governments, including the Russian, to subordinate itself to Mikhailovich, who was the representative of the emigre government in London as well as a collaborator of the Nazis, using the arms he obtained from the Allies against the partisan fighters and not against the fascists.

But the stormy development of the struggle prevented this, and the Communist Party followed an independent policy, just as later it resisted the pressure to turn its country into a sphere of interest of the Soviet Union. Instead, in the fire of the national liberation war, the old organs of administration and power were overthrown and supplanted by democratic organs elected by the masses to organize the rear and gear it to the needs of the war. In the midst of the liberation struggle a new Federated People's Republic of Yugoslavia was created on the recognition of the socialist right of self-determination of peoples and the right of secession from the federation.

The Functioning of the New Government

The Federated People's Republic of Yugoslavia is governed by two elected assemblies: the House of Nationalities and the Federal Assembly. The former is elected on a Republican basis where every republic sends in 30 deputies, the autonomous provinces 20, and the autonomous regions 15. The latter is elected on the territorial basis of one deputy for 40,000 citizens. Every law has to be approved by majorities of both houses.

Election to these assemblies and to all other administrative organs is by adult universal franchise, and every man and woman over 18 years of age has the right to contest an election as well as vote. Though for the economic development of this country this centralized administration is essential, yet the stress today is on decentralization of administration, whereby the various Republics have the authority to draw up plans for their own development and make their own constitution, while there is a mutual recognition of the necessity of aiding the more backward sections of the country.

It is necessary to stress the attitude of this state toward the men who produce in order to emphasize the difference with the attitude to working class conditions in capitalist countries. Here the new factories are not set up in drab surroundings, but in a beautiful setting, and the factories are equipped with showers, reading rooms, restaurants and rooms for relaxation in sport. The workers' towns that are constructed side by side with the mines and factories are equipped with modern conveniences, and the factory gives a low interest loan to the worker to furnish his flat. Schools, theaters, lecture halls, cinemas, reading rooms and libraries are part and parcel of the preconceived architectural plan.

The cultural life of the workers gets every attention of the trade unions and the state. Culture and art, which were hitherto the monopoly of a privileged few, are now the prerogative of the masses. Dramatic clubs, discussion groups, lectures on literature, music and politics, are organized at the lecture halls and reading rooms. Courses of general education are conducted to liquidate illiteracy. Physical culture organizations at factory and school receive special attention, and the masses participate more and more in this field of activity.

The Press and the Fight Against Illiteracy

The press in Yugoslavia indicates the rapid progress achieved under the new regime, and the level of cultural life before the war indicates the tempo of development. Over 45% of the people in pre-war Yugoslavia could not read or write; in Macedonia over 67% of the population could not read or write, and had hardly any educational institutions. There were no schools for minorities or for nations like the Macedonians, and hardly any schools were built in the villages. Today the Federal Republics, the trade unions, the People's Front, the anti-fascist women's front and the state all combine in a powerful drive to build more schools, universities, technical colleges and teachers' training institutions.

Newspapers in Serbian, Croatian, Macedonian, Italian, Hungarian, Czech, Slovakian, Rumanian and Russian are published in Yugoslavia, and the press is certainly a popular press. The trade unions have their own paper in every republic, the workers' collectives, technical institutions and literary societies have their own magazines and newspapers. Today the level of illiteracy has been reduced to almost 12%. Over 1,350,000 daily papers are sold and an average edition of a book runs to about 30,000 copies. Even the national minorities have their own schools.

In the reading rooms one can obtain the slanderous Stalinist newspapers. Unlike in Hungary, where it was stated that a government employee speaking to a foreigner can come under the act of treason, one can get about Yugoslavia without the equivalent of an FBI agent following one around. One can speak to anyone, and obtain first-hand information on every matter. And the workers answer you without a trace of fear or embarrassment. Trade unionists and state officials who give courteous attention to delegates from other countries do not attempt to hide the difficulties that the Yugoslav economy has to face.

But what impresses a newcomer to the country most of all is the terrific enthusiasm of the working masses in factories and other enterprises. Many a worker replied: "Can you understand our feelings? We are now working for ourselves, our children. Now we need not be haunted by the nightmare of unemployment and starvation!"

(Concluded next week)

PLAN TO EXTEND WORKERS' COUNCILS IN YUGOSLAVIA

Rad, organ of the Trade Union Federation of Yugoslavia, devotes one of its editorials to the tasks of the trade unions in the foundation of workers' councils. These councils are composed of the best workers, engineers and technicians selected by the workers themselves. They participate in the management of the factories in cooperation with the state administrations; they supervise work in the factories; they submit proposals for the improvement of production and for safe working conditions.

The workers' councils were instituted on the basis of a decision of the governmental economic council and of the Central Committee of the Trade Union Federation, a decision adopted last

autumn which provided for the formation of workers' councils only in certain government establishments so as to permit the test of experience on the work of these councils. Since it has been demonstrated in practice that most of the workers' councils obtained good results, it has been decided to proceed to the formation of councils in other enterprises as well, particularly in those which have themselves taken the initiative in their formation. Rad emphasizes that the foundation of the new workers' councils constitutes a new important step in the field of collective management of the socialist factories in Yugoslavia. (Reprinted from Yugoslav News Service, French edition, May 30, 1950.)

The Fourth of July

By William E. Bohannon

SWP Candidate for Congress, 11th District, N. J.

To most Americans today the idea of revolution in this country seems impossible or unnecessary — or even "un-American." But the Fourth of July is an annual reminder that the United States was founded by a revolution and has a proud revolutionary tradition that is not surpassed in many other lands.



The revolution that began in 1776 was not the first on American soil. As William F. Ward pointed out in his brilliant series of articles in the Fourth International last year, the first great social revolution on this continent that we know about was the overthrow of the tribal Indian society that the European immigrants found when they came here.

The next stage in the revolutionary process which has made the U. S. what it is today was the war and civil war in the 18th century for independence from Britain and for the right of the American colonists to rule themselves and the country's resources as they saw fit.

The "irrepressible conflict" that broke out in the 19th century was a revolution against the system of slavery, which was hampering the industrial development of the nation on a capitalist basis and threatening to destroy the hard-won democratic rights of the masses, white as well as black.

Thus we can see from our own national experience that no system is eternal. When conditions demand and opportunity permits, a system which the people regard as outlived gives place to a new system.

The present capitalist system owes its existence and power to three victorious revolutions — against Indian tribalism, against British colonialism, against Southern slavery. It seems very imposing today, but we know that it is not eternal, and that it will give way to a better system

and the majority of the people want a change and are ready to fight for it. In the opinion of the Socialist Workers Party that day is not far off, and it is being hastened by the social, political, economic and moral bankruptcy of a ruling class that has outlived its usefulness and can only provide us with increasing wars, depressions and invasions of our civil rights.

That is why the Fourth of July is not a day of dead ceremonial for revolutionary socialists, as it is for the capitalist rulers who would like the people to forget the revolutionary origins of the profit system. We honor the revolutionists of 1776 by trying to emulate them, by seeking to complete the progressive work which they began.

When someone asks us how we, a relatively small and isolated party, can hope to lead the people in such a great undertaking as the establishment of a new social system, we are reminded of the experiences of past American revolutions and encouraged by them.

Every great progressive movement necessarily has to start out as a minority. Sam Adams and his friends who organized the Sons of Liberty and the Committees of Correspondence which played such a decisive role in the revolution against Britain also began as a minority, and even in this minority only a very small fraction were from the beginning consciously in favor of an all-out fight for independence.

The capitalist class, which favored and benefited from past revolutions, hopes to prevent the next one by using witch-hunts and "subversive" blacklists to suppress the revolutionary minority of our time. But they won't succeed at this in the long run any more than their British, Tory and slaveholding predecessors succeeded in holding back the march of events in previous centuries.

The Taxes You Pay

By Joseph Hansen

SWP Candidate for U. S. Senator, N. Y.

Around election time Congress talks about easing the tax burden for the little fellow. Sometimes they go so far as to knock a few cents off the annual levy. It's a way of softening up the voters.

The shooting in Korea, however, now gives them a convenient pretext for passing up even this small gesture. In fact, if the war-mongering propaganda about "calculated risks" in bringing the cold war to a boil is any indication, we're in for some increases that can finally sink the family budget.



Maybe they'll hold off until after election. But the experience of two world wars should be proof enough that when the bombs begin dropping, no matter what else happens there's one thing you can be sure of — the cost will be passed on down the line until it hits the lowest income levels.

If taxes went for useful things like schools, highways, bridges, hospitals, civic improvements and so on, no one would object to carrying his fair share.

However, only a few pennies out of each dollar you pay in taxes goes for such benefits. Most of that dollar goes down the bottomless drain of war. Wars past, wars present and wars to come.

This is not all. Since the government gets its wars on credit, it's not only the astronomical cost of war but interest on the debt too. Interest is up in the billions a year now and nothing in sight to bring it down.

How are we to get out from under this burden? An immediate obvious remedy is heavier taxes on the giant monopoly corporations. Their profits soared to all-time highs during the war. They came out of the conflict with tremendous new holdings abroad and vast increases in plant equipment built at government expense. Now they're

running up profits that make the war-time mountains of greenbacks look like ant hills. Why not send them the tax bill?

That seems reasonable enough. Why isn't it done? The difficulty is they happen to have among their many monopolies also a monopoly on Congress. The views of these experts on taxes are not nearly as complicated as the forms they force us to fill out. They figure that anyone forced to skip along on peanut wages and dumb enough to vote for a Republican or Democrat is also the type that will carry the biggest part of the tax burden if he's approached right.

Now there are two sides to the tax question that are hard to see. One is the size of the national debt and the amount of war expenditures in the government budget. The figures are just too big to get a hold of. They don't translate easy into lunch-bucket language. The other thing that's hard to see is a small steady dribble of pennies, nickels, dimes and dollars.

So first they deduct a chunk out of each pay check for taxes. Then they ask for a sales tax on most of the items you exchange the rest of the check for.

Next you add special taxes like those slapped on show tickets, whiskey, cigarettes, the baby's talcum powder and other such luxuries. Then the tax on gasoline, train fares, telegrams, the telephone — so many items that when you figure it up you wonder how the family eats on what's left of that poor, battered pay-check.

Obviously there's a job waiting to be done on taxes. The poor should not have to pay through the nose. The tax load should be placed on the rich. After all they can afford to pay and it was their government that ran up the bills.

Looked at from a dollar and cents view, isn't it about time labor was putting its own tax experts in Congress?

Stalinists Concoct Fantastic Charge Against Yugoslavs

By Al Lynn

LOS ANGELES, June 19 — In a most suspicious-sounding story released here in today's Stalinist People's World, "Tito thugs" and the opening of a new Yugoslav Consulate in San Francisco were jointly blamed for an alleged beating of the manager of the Stalinist San Francisco book store, on June 13.

In a three column spread, reeking with the odor of familiar Stalinist frame-ups, the story is told of John Voich, manager of the International Book Store, who was beaten and robbed a week ago. It took the Stalinists nearly a week to publish (concoct) what they obviously regard as a very important story.

Voich relates that he received a mysterious phone call on the night of June 13, informing him that the building housing the book store was on fire. He says that as he prepared to leave his house to check on the fire, an automobile appeared at his door with three Yugoslavs who wanted to discuss the question of Yugoslavia with him. They offered to give him a ride downtown to the book store, but when they arrived there was no fire.

Thereupon, according to Voich, they drove around the city for several hours during which they discussed Yugoslavia. Voich says they agreed with everything he had to say against Yugoslavia and Tito. All at once they threw him out of the car, beat him up and robbed him, leaving him a few miles from his home.

FANTASTIC CLAIMS

In his People's World statement Voich says he is convinced that the attack was carried out by agents of the Tito government "because it was not done in the fashion of amateurs." "And," he added, "we know that the Tito government has been shipping just such well-trained experts all over the world." He also claimed that there is a "definite link" between the beating and the recent opening of the Yugoslav Consulate in San Francisco, evidently believing that they send a consulate halfway around the world just to take care of him.

There are many discrepancies in the story despite the long time the Stalinists required before they decided to try to fit this case into their anti-Yugoslav slander campaign. If an assault actually took place, it would seem that it was a case of robbery.

SHABBY RUSE

But the "liberal" opposition among the members of the Board of Regents was easily beaten into line by the witch-hunting majority by means of a shabby ruse. On April 21 the witch-hunters "withdrew" their demand for a separate "loyalty" oath and ordered instead a "contractual commitment" to exactly the same effect.

They further lumped together the academic and non-academic employees, a stratagem to make the opposition appear as an insignificant minority. President Sproul reported proudly to the Regents that "out of 9,929 letters sent out requesting the non-Communist declarations, satisfactory replies had been received from 9,633."



MICHAEL BARTELL

Hansen, Bartell Head N. Y. Ticket

(Continued from page 1)

elections in this state. In 1946, although the party had overcome all the tremendous obstacles placed in its path by the reactionary election laws, its nominating petition was challenged by the Democratic Party, and its candidates were barred from the ballot on a flimsy, trumped-up pretext. In 1948, however, the SWP succeeded in placing its presidential ticket on the ballot in this state.

The election law was drafted with the deliberate intention of making it as difficult as possible for minority parties to be listed on the ballot. Signatures are required from all 62 counties in the state except one, including many which are very sparsely settled.

Nevertheless the New York organization is embarking on the campaign with every confidence that it will be able to overcome these obstacles, so that the workers of this state will have the opportunity to vote for a workers' ticket and a socialist program in November.

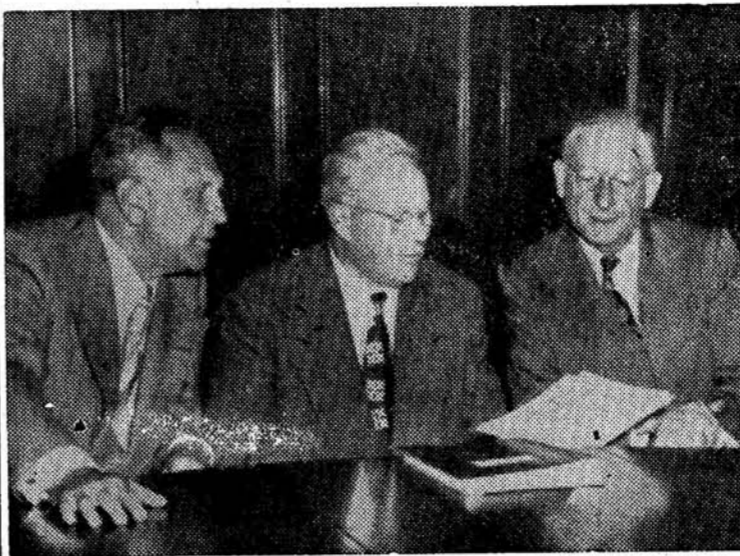
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After a three-hour session, regents of the University of California approved the discharge of 157 university employees for refusal to sign an anti-Communist oath. L. to r.: Lt. Gov. Goodwin Knight, Gov. Earl Warren and University President Robert Sproul.

REGENTS INITIATE MASS PURGE OF STAFF AT CALIFORNIA UNIVERSITY

On June 23 the Board of Regents of the University of California dealt the most damaging blow yet given to the fast-fading academic freedoms in this country and set the pattern for the institution?

The decision of the Regents was made unanimously by the 18 members present; six members were absent. Gov. Earl Warren, who all through the dispute donned the mask of a "liberal," presided over this meeting and gave his approval.

The witch-hunters have every reason to gloat over the victory they have chalked up. They have instituted the most sweeping purge in modern times in an American university, setting the precedent and the pattern for the rest of the country.

With the intensification of the war hysteria, which is bound to continue regardless of the final outcome of the explosion in Korea, the witch-hunters and all the enemies of civil rights will redouble their efforts. Clearly, if the California witch-hunters are not resolutely beaten back, it is merely a question of time before all our schools and universities will be regimented, as happened in Germany under Hitler and in the Mikado's Japan.

Robert W. Kenny, attorney for the "non-signers," has announced that a test case in the courts is being planned. Court action is, of course, indicated, but it is pitifully inadequate, as recent court decisions against civil rights have shown. If any case must become a national one, it is this sinister purge in California University. For obviously it concerns not only the progressive elements among students and teachers, but all of the labor and liberal forces in this country.

Rogge Defies CP Pressure, Makes Pro-Yugoslav Speech

(Continued from Page 1)

the hotel management to cancel the hall with the threat that demonstrations and violence would take place if the meeting were held. This also blew up in their face when the management decided to cancel the hall rented to the YPA but rented the same hall to the individual members of the Westside Club who were sponsoring the meeting in defiance of what they characterized as a "high-handed, irregular decision by enemies of the new socialist regime in Yugoslavia."

In his speech, Rogge expressed his support of the Tito regime. "They broke from the Cominform because they wanted to make their reforms in their own way," he said, "and they have every right to do so."

During the question period Rogge underscored the many progressive aspects of the new regime. "It's sheer nonsense to call this a fascist state," he told the Stalinists. "They are building socialism for the benefit of the people, but they are intent on doing it their own way. They are resisting dictation from the East and they will resist it from this country."

"The bulk of the people are obviously in support of the new regime," he said. "I heard more real discussion of the problem of human freedom in Yugoslavia than anywhere else I've been. They are bent on developing freedom of the individual in a collective society, and even those of us who may doubt that this

can be done should support their right to try it."

"I WON'T ANSWER"

The scandalous role of the Stalinists in attempting to suppress public discussion of Yugoslavia was bared to the hilt at this meeting. Attempting to skirt the issue, the hack from the YPA County Committee, Joe Kay, declared to the meeting that the issue of Rogge speaking on Yugoslavia was not at all involved in their efforts to prevent the meeting or their expulsion proceedings against those responsible for its organization. "This is simply a case," he asserted, "of people with a public record of disruptive activities and opposition to the program of YPA."

This was blown sky-high when Alexander Jurich, chairman of the editorial board of Novi List, paper of the Friends of New Yugoslavia, rose from the audience and posed the question to Kay: "Would the YPA sponsor a meeting for Mr. Rogge on the subject of Yugoslavia?" In a pitifully weak voice, Kay replied "I won't answer that question."

The audience expressed loud approval as Jurich then condemned him as "an agent of the Cominform . . . a group of political gangsters who are opposed to democracy anywhere."

The meeting closed with an appeal by the chairman, Ethel Peterson Weiss, for all YPA members to join the fight against the proposed expulsions and "let the vilifiers of Yugoslavia know that we will not be silenced!"

NAACP Parley Votes to Start Own Witch-Hunt

By J. Blake

BOSTON, June 25 — The 41st annual conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, concluded here this week, took a long step backwards in the struggle for internal democracy and for civil liberties in general by opening up its own private witch-hunt.

Instead of seriously attempting to analyze the reasons for the failure of the NAACP's political action program to win civil rights legislation, and instead of carefully seeking the cause of the tremendous loss of membership in the past few years, the national officers diverted the dissatisfaction of the delegates into the dangerous course of blaming the "Communists" for all their organizational ills.

After the groundwork had been laid by a barrage of speakers, national officers and guests invited to address the convention, the national board of directors got the resolution they wanted by a vote of 309 to 57, with the rest of the 500 delegates from 38 states either not present or abstaining.

SWEEPING POWERS

The resolution empowered the board of directors to appoint a committee "to investigate and study the ideological composition and trends of the membership and leadership of the local branches" and "to suspend and reorganize, or lift the charter and expel any branch which, in the judgment of the Board of Directors . . . comes under Communist or other political control and domination."

On political action, this year's convention resolution had nothing more to say than last year's: "Both the Democrats and Republicans let us down. We realize that in the days ahead, attainment of our legislative program will depend largely upon the fullest participation of our membership in a dynamic political action program within the non-partisan policy of the Association."

There was no analysis or explanation of why that policy has failed to get results up to now nor was any reason given for believing that a continuation of the same fake non-partisanship will bring different results this year.

A positive achievement of the convention was its clearest rejection of the proposal by the Rochester, N.Y., branch to narrow the field of activity of the NAACP strictly to matters of discrimination, and to withdraw from the growing alliance with labor in the struggle for broad social legislation.

In a strong resolution on labor and employment, the NAACP reaffirmed its support of collective bargaining and democratic trade unionism, urged Negroes to be loyal and active union members and to exert pressure from

inside organized labor to eliminate color bars which still exist in unions.

The NAACP also passed resolutions on social security, minimum wages, housing, public works programs and FEPC which were practically identical with the demands of the labor movement.

POLITICAL CONFAB

NAACP Executive Secretary Walter White announced that the board of directors "has approved a recommendation that a meeting be called this fall of interested organizations to plan united action against those politicians in Congress who sold us out on civil rights."

He made it very clear, however, that this meeting would represent nothing more than the same old policy of "rewarding friends and punishing enemies" among the Democrats and Republicans, while discriminating against minority parties.

"Notice is hereby served," he said, "that no political party will be permitted either to participate or to influence the decisions or actions of this conference. We shall meet on a completely non-partisan basis as American citizens and voters who are bitter at the sellout we have suffered and who are determined to express our disapproval, irrespective of political party, of those who failed to keep their word."

The convention decision to hold next year's conference in Atlanta is expected by some to have a salutary effect in bringing the organization closer to the crux of the Negro struggle, the South and further from the demagoguery of Northern "liberalism" and its paternalistic administration influences.

On the perennial problem of democratization of the NAACP itself, the only progress made was further integration of youth members through representation on the national committee and branch committees.

STILL IN THE SADDLE

Highest authority in the organization remains with the national board of directors rather than with the delegated representatives of the membership at the convention, and the new power given the board to purge the branches far outweighs the small concessions to the youth.

The NAACP now is as bureaucratic an organization as some of the worst of the unions. Whether the rank and file membership in the branches will accept without protest the type of leadership that settled more securely in the saddle at the Boston conference, remains to be seen.

MYER DEFENDS RENT CONTROL IN CHICAGO RADIO DEBATE

CHICAGO, June 25 — In a radio forum broadcast over station WGN today, M. J. Myer, director of the Citizens Committee for Rent Control, called for continued federal rent controls strengthened by criminal sanctions for violators. He pointed out that the present law is full of loopholes, runs for only six months, and can be renewed for no more than six months again.

"The housing shortage will not be solved in a year," he declared. "So adequate rent controls should be extended indefinitely till the shortage actually ends."

Myer spoke on the Northwestern University "Reviewing Stand" program. He debated the rent control issue with James C. Downs Jr., president of the Chicago Dwelling Association, and Cornelius Tenginga, president of the Taxpayers Action Committee of Chicago.

Both Brown and Tenginga opposed rent control. They argued that controls deprived the landlord of full rights in his property, and that they prolonged the housing shortage.

When Brown drew a dismal picture of the landlord's plight, Myer read from a recent statement by H. T. Nelson, head of the National Realty Board, expressing unbounded enthusiasm over the future of property values. Tenginga's answer was that Nelson is not a landlord.

The discussion ranged over the whole field of housing, from the meaning of the building boom to the high cost of apartment buildings.

Brown claimed that the average tenant today spends no more than 25% of his income for rent, and pointed out that this proportion has long been recommended by economists.

Myer challenged this figure, pointing to the redecorating, maintenance and other costs so frequently borne by the tenant today. Further he asked: Why should the 25% figure be permanent? If the standard of living is to rise, why can't a man pay a smaller proportion of his income for rent and have that much more general buying power?

On the Class Nature of Yugoslavia

A discussion article by M. Pablo in the December issue of the SWP's International Information Bulletin, 27 pp., 25c.

Also still available: the June issue, containing the Fourth International IEC resolutions on the war danger, the evolution of the buffer countries, and China. 35 pp., 25c.

Order from Socialist Workers Party, 116 University Place, N. Y.

Stalin and Nationalism

By Ruth Johnson

To the amazement of the world press, Stalin has finally called a halt to one expression of Great Russian chauvinism. The Russian language, he admits, is not the instrument created by a new social system. The theory dreamed up by N. Y. Marr and taught as gospel truth by the Kremlin since 1934 is now declared "un-Marxist." Its long reign is brazenly confessed to be due to "a regime under which even the gentlest criticism was condemned and under which scientists were removed from their posts or demoted for criticism of Marr's teachings."

In a signed article prepared for Pravda, Stalin speaks as though he were Rip Van Winkle awakening in a deplorable world. Marr was all wrong; his theory that different classes develop different languages is "absurd," and it's high time for a change in the books.

No one can believe that Stalin was previously ignorant of the Marr theory, or of the bureaucratic tyranny which extends to every branch of Soviet science. The spectacle of the Kremlin laying sole claim to culture, scientific progress and knowledge generally is familiar to everyone. No one can seriously believe that Stalin will relax the brutal dictatorship over Soviet thought; his article itself is a call for a new bureaucratic purge.

Back of this change in line, we can see Stalin's desperate fear of Titoist sympathies in the satellite countries. The connection between language and national oppression is excellently presented in a recent pamphlet, *The Russian Language and Great Russian Chauvinism*, written by Radovan Lalic, Professor of Foreign Languages at the University of Belgrade. (Published by the Yugoslav Information Center, New York 10.)

Lalic calls attention to a Moscow order intended to make Russian the prime language of Czechoslovakia. This was not the individual crime of a misguided zealot among the bureaucrats,

but the avowed policy of the Kremlin. The Literary Gazette of the Soviet Union on Jan. 1, 1949, had arrogantly decreed just such action:

"The replacement of one world language by another," the Gazette had written, "has occurred time and again throughout thousands of years of the history of mankind. . . . Looking at the future on New Year's Day, we see the Russian language as the world language of socialism."

Stalinist censorship does not allow us news of how the Czechs received the application of this theory, but resentment must have reached a high pitch to produce Moscow's sudden change of tone. The story of the Kremlin's Great Russian chauvinism did not begin and does not end, however, with the language question. Lalic cites other invasions of national rights within the Soviet Union itself, especially after World War II.

Whole peoples in Soviet autonomous republics have been uprooted and destroyed as nations. The Kalmuk, Balkar, Chechen, and Ingush populations were removed from their homes by order of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, charged with "treason." Even if the charges were valid, Lalic asks pointedly, "how is it possible that a whole people should betray their socialist fatherland after over 20 years of life in socialism? If treason was widespread among these people, as the Soviet revisionists claim, who then is to blame for this, wherein lies the reason for it? And is the national question to be solved by such police methods?"

The Soviet Union today is a prison-house of nations, as it was under the rule of the Czars. The walls have been extended to include Eastern Europe. Stalin's warning to the jailers not to impose their language on their prisoners does not mean a turn to national freedom for the Kremlin's victims. It is only a hypocritical promise of a prison reform, to keep the inmates from hearing so clearly the Yugoslav call to independence.